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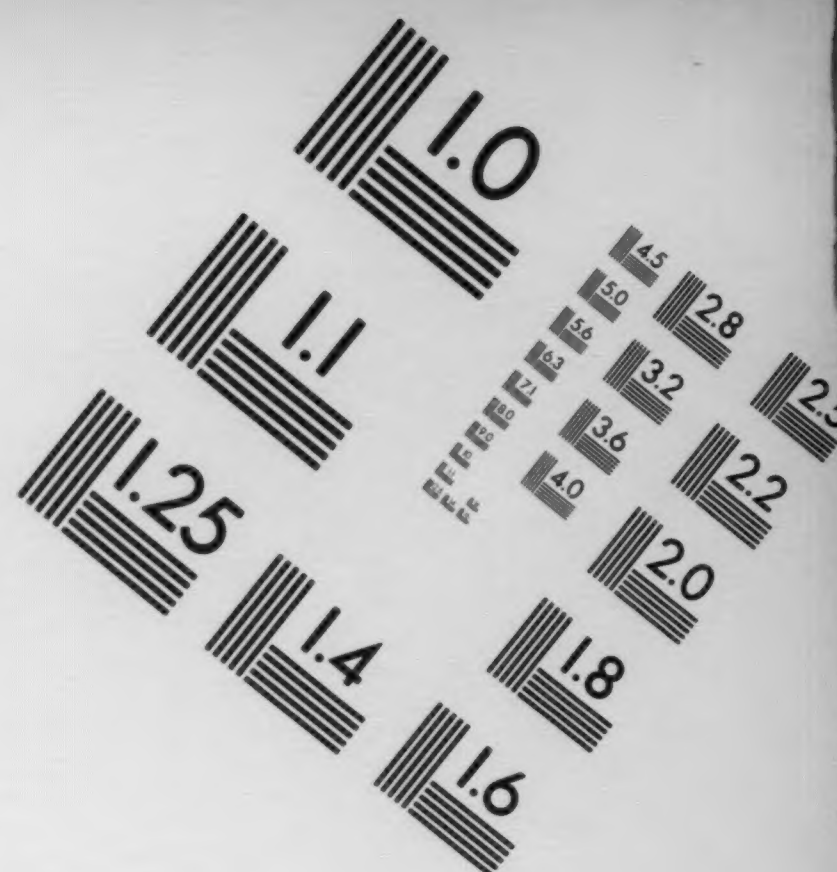
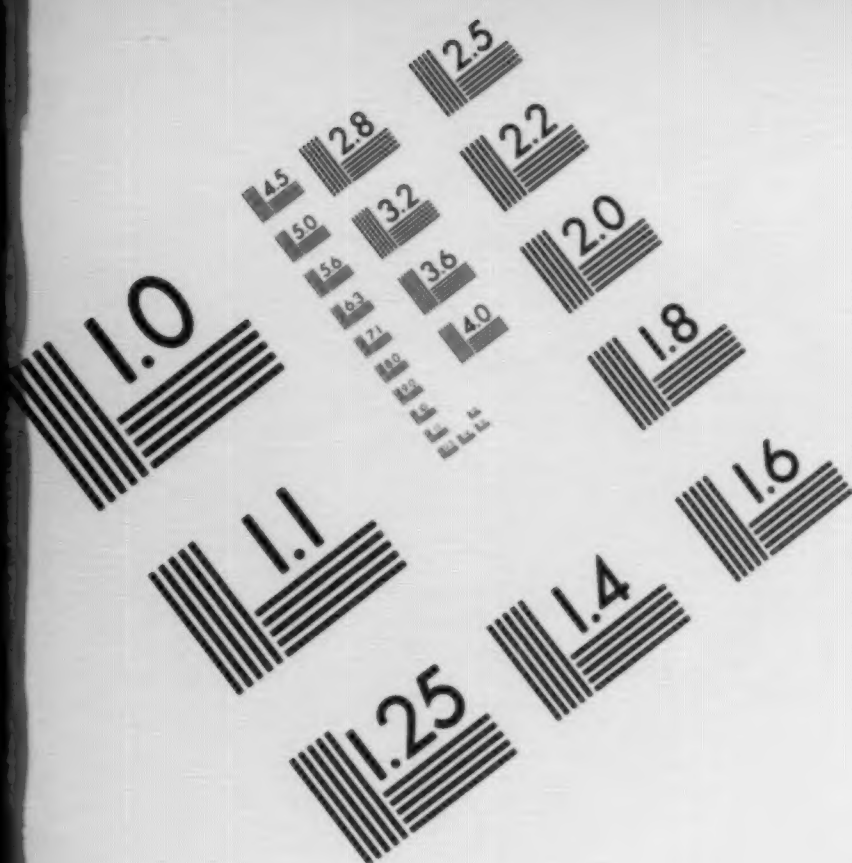


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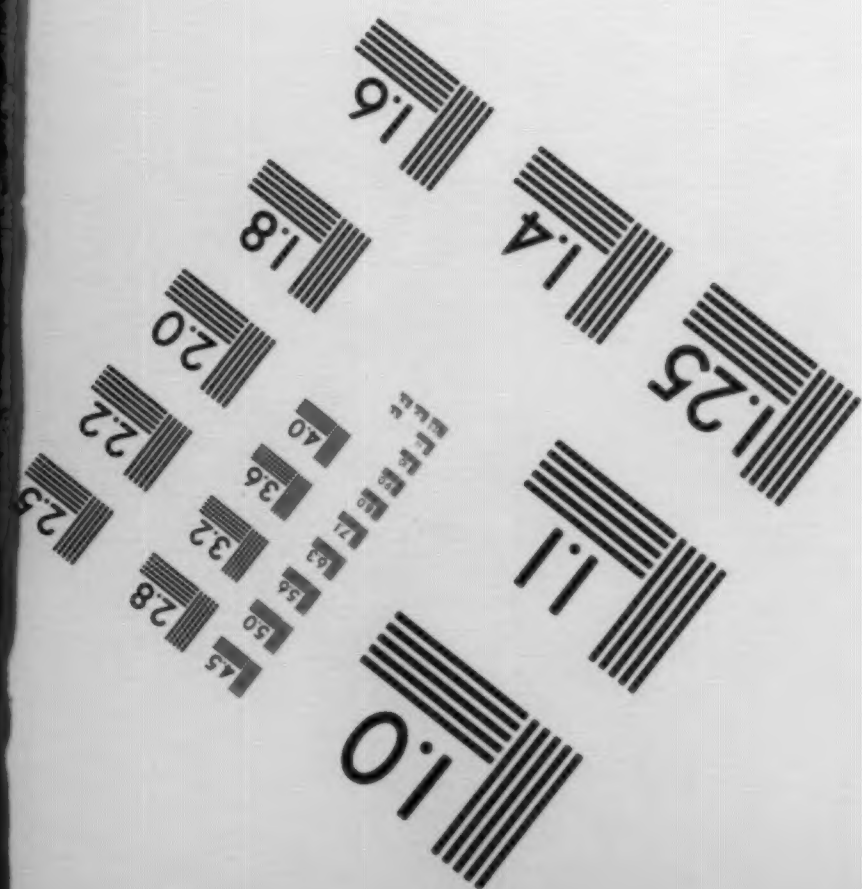
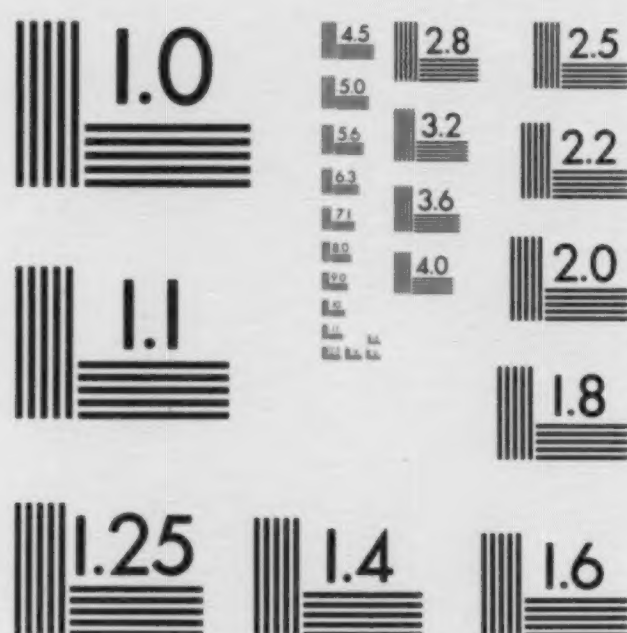
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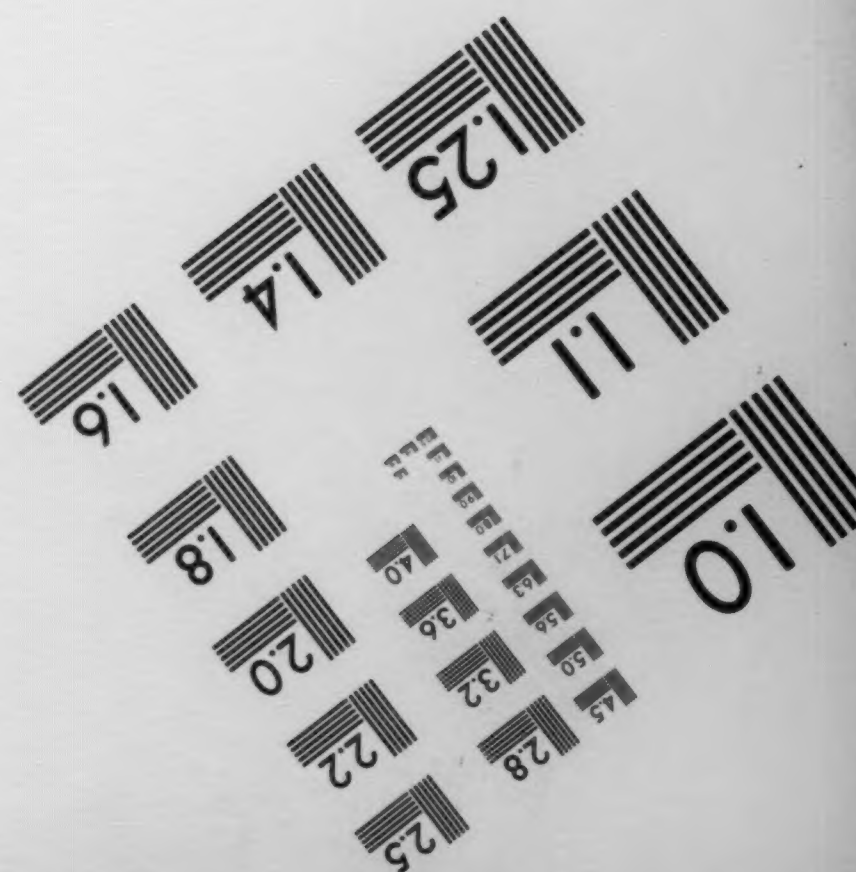
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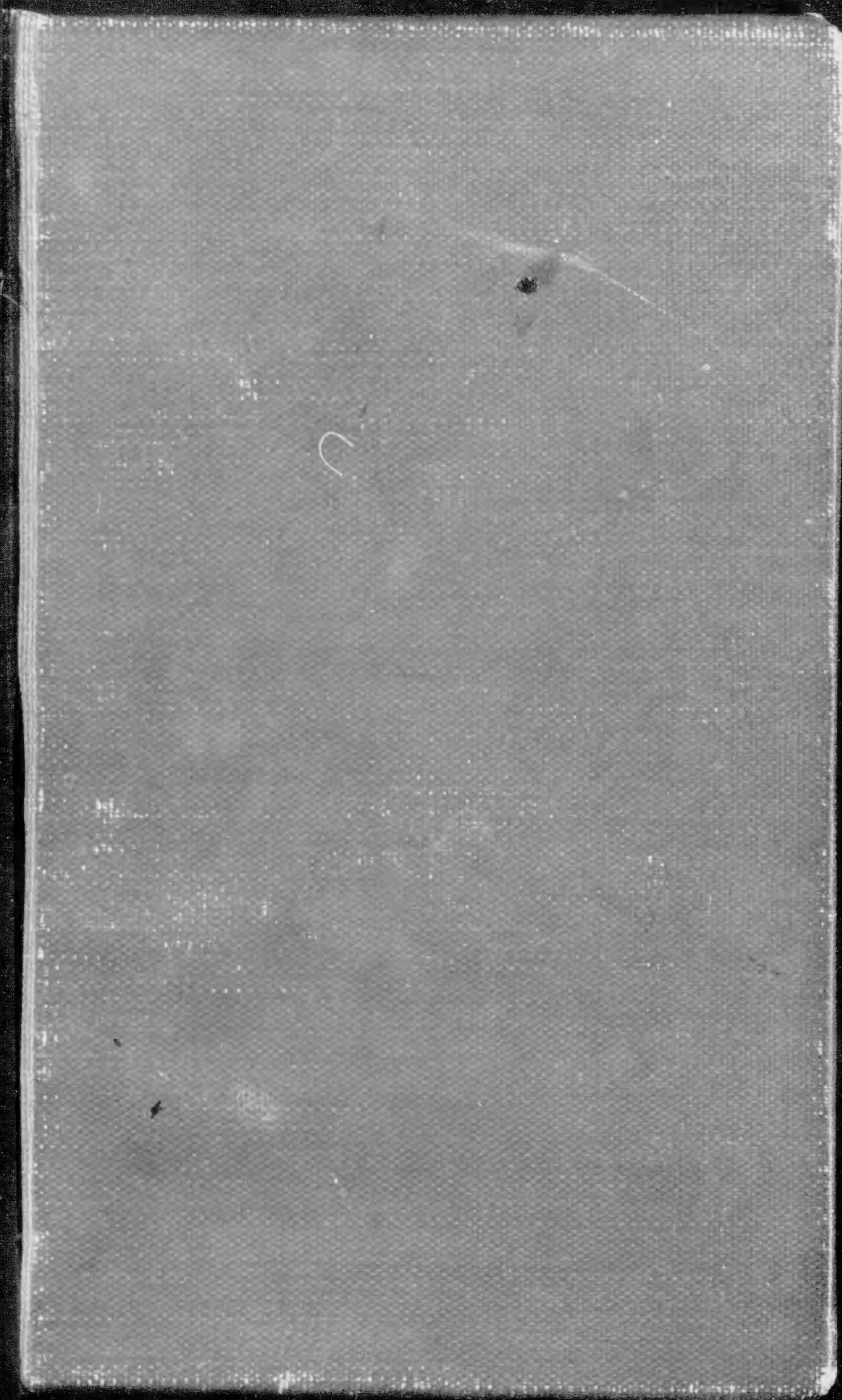


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THE
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Third Edition
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IN 1839.

By Mrs. HAMILTON GRAY.

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THE
HISTORY OF ETRURIA.

PART I.
TARCHUN AND HIS TIMES.

FROM THE FOUNDATION OF TARQUINIA TO THE FOUNDATION OF
ROME.

BY
MRS. HAMILTON GRAY.



LONDON:
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P R E F A C E.

WE beg to warn the readers of this work, that the references to ancient authors quoted in it, may often appear incorrect as to paragraph and page. This arises from different editions of the classics having unavoidably been used and consulted, during the composition of the work, owing to a frequent change of residence. In each edition the pages vary, and in some of them the paragraphs.

The courteous reader is therefore requested, when at fault, to look into the index of the works in question, and there he will almost always find those references given, which are proper to his own edition, concerning the subject under consideration.

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ERRATA.

- Page 15, line 1, *for Vellijus read Vellejus.*
 22, 6th line from top, *for spendor, read splendor.*
 57, 13th line from bottom, *for styles read style.*
 129, 2d line in note, *for sone read son.*
 208, 4th line from bottom, *for chapter read chapters.*
 234, 2d line from bottom, *for nations read notions.*
 238, 12th line from bottom, *for constitutions read institutions.*
 303, 5th line from bottom, *for Macrobus read Macrobius.*
 306, bottom line, *for him read he.*
 323, 6th line from top, *for enbalmed read embalmed.*
 352, 4th line from bottom, *for n read in.*
 361, 10th line from top, *for from Greece for Atria read for Greece from Atria.*
 362, 6th line from bottom, *for Rhæotia read Rhetia.*
 365, 6th line from top, *for interest read intention.*
 369, 10th line from bottom, *for of Sabines read of the Sabines.*
 396, 13th line from bottom, *obliterate the comma after the word Campanian.*

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INTRODUCTION.

I HAVE undertaken to arrange in chronological order, the diffuse and abundant notices which we have, widely scattered through classical authors, respecting Etruria and the Etruscan people, and which, as far as I know, have never yet been embodied in one history. This work I dedicate to my countrymen, hoping that it may fill a void in literature, and prove destitute neither of interest nor improvement; and most heartily do I wish, for their sakes, that it were more within the compass of my feeble powers to do full justice to so weighty a task.

Those who know what it is to write a history and what are the qualifications necessary for an historian, are aware that it requires a union of memory and knowledge, of judgment and acuteness, of reach of intellect and depth of thought, which are very rarely combined in one person, and to which I make no pretensions. But what lies within the compass of my power, I have done. I have spared neither study nor research to arrive at the knowledge of the truth; I have consulted ancient authors, as well

as read modern ones, and I have nowhere intentionally misled or misrepresented, in order to support a favourite theory. I have found the field unoccupied, and mine has been the first plough to break the fallow ground. May more skilful hands cultivate it richly, and reap a golden harvest!

The authorities which have been consulted in the composition of this work, are Livy and Tacitus, Virgil, Varro, Pliny, Dionysius, Diodorus, Herodotus, Plutarch, and Strabo; the English Ancient History, in twenty volumes, to which I cannot sufficiently express my obligations; Dempster de Etruria Regali, Bochart's valuable Treatise upon the Phœnicians, Micali's two works upon Italy, Müller's Etrüsker, and Niebuhr's Rome; besides a multitude of lesser authors, and the Annals of the Archæological Institute of Rome. May my countrymen excuse the deficiencies of this work, and accept the information which it contains.

The Etruscans appear not to have been a native people in Italy, but to have arrived there in ships from some foreign country, about twelve hundred years before the Christian æra. Some authors call them indigenous, but this merely means that they were settled in Etruria from the earliest period of Italian history of which we have any knowledge, and that the first dawn of civilization and literature in that land may be traced to them. In the same manner, when they are called by Pliny, Diodorus, and Dionysius, the inventors of handmills, trumpets, prows, and of many arts and sciences, it merely

means that they were the first introducers of these things into the Peninsula.

Their history naturally divides itself into four parts, which we shall treat of in order.

1st. From the Settlement of the Etruscans in Italy to the Foundation of Rome.

2nd. From the Foundation of Rome to the Death of Tarquin the Second.

3rd. From the Death of Tarquin the Second to the Death of Sylla.

4th. From the Death of Sylla to the Extinction of the Etruscan Faith in the Fourth Century of the Christian Æra.

To conclude with a short account of the manners and customs, arts and sciences, religion and commerce of the Etruscans.

Every nation in western Europe may take an interest in their history; for though unacknowledged, they were the prime originators of all our civilization, and many of their laws and customs exist amongst us at this day, and will continue to influence us unto the end of time.

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HISTORY OF ETRURIA.

CHAPTER I.

THE RASENA.

Our first notices of the Etruscans are from Hesiod* and Homer,† who call them the mighty Tyrseni, and say that they lived in the days of the Demi-gods; Eschylus, Euripides, and Herodotus, who call them Tyrseni, the only Italian‡ nation known to the early Greeks, celebrated for their dominion of the sea, their commerce, and their piracy. About a hundred years later than Herodotus, the Greeks knew that they were a different people from the Latins, and Aristotle§ and Theophrastus|| wrote largely upon their laws and government, but the

B. C.
CENT.
XIII.

* Hesiod. Theog. 1015.

† Herod. in lib. de vit. Hom

‡ Dionysius of Halic. l. 1, says, that Italia of the Latins was Tursenia of the Greeks.

§ Athen. Deip. xii.

|| Scholiast. Pind. in Pith.

works are lost. The later Greeks, describing the same people, call them Turrheni or Pelasgi, and the Latins call them Etruri, Etrusci, Tusci. It is singular that by none of these names did the people call themselves. Dionysius of Halicarnassus made a particular study of them and their institutions in the reign of Augustus, and wrote their history in twenty books; and though that history is lost, yet the circumstance of his having written it makes his authority of more weight in all those passages of his Roman history in which he treats of the Etruscan people; and he affirms that they called themselves Rasena, as he supposes, from some native hero. The word Rasn, Rasnes, is often found in their inscriptions, and though no Latin author has thus denominated them, it is, notwithstanding, their distinctive and appropriate appellation, even as Gael is that of the Scottish Highlanders, although no English historian has made mention of them by that term.

The name of an ancient nation is a thing of much consequence in tracing its origin, because it was never arbitrary, but had always a meaning attached to it, implying either some peculiarity in the people, such as "tall, strong, red, fair;" or that they were the descendants of a certain man, or that they came from a certain country or city. Of this, the example best known to every one is the Israelites, who took their name from Israel, and who were besides Hebrews, from Heber, and Jews, from Judah. They were also called "the people of Moses," and "the

seed of Abraham;" and they evidence to us the common practice of the East, which was to give many names to the same people, and frequently to the same person, but each name for its own peculiar reason. Hence the Rasena were Tyrseni, Turrheni, Etrusci, and Tusci, and each had its derivation. Niebuhr thinks that the real name is Ras, or Rus, and that Ena is a Latin termination. But as Pursn, or Pursenna, is unquestionably Etruscan, and the n or enna in this name, is not a Latin addition, there is no reason why it should be in Rasena, nor much probability that Dionysius, who, besides, gives us both the Latin and the Greek name, would have changed the native pronunciation, as it was taught to him. The name of Rasena, the radicals of which are R. S. N., (for in Etruscan the vowels seem always to be a matter of indifference,) is further confirmed by its being the only one adopted by all the early Greeks, who, like Dionysius, must have learned it from the people themselves; and they called them Tyrseni, or tyRSNi.* No other appellation, according to Niebuhr, being found in any Greek author before the time of Plato. We shall, therefore, suppose the letters R S N to be proved as forming the radicals of the word by which the people called themselves; and the stock from which they are descended, whether man, country, or city, is likely to have had that or a similar pronunciation.

The Greeks, in like manner, called their country

* The T here is merely a servile letter.

TyRSeNa, and believed it to include the whole of Italy, from the Alps to Magna Grecia; because in the whole of that wide space from Spina to Cape Garganus, and from Luna to Cuma and Paestum, they knew and had commerce with no other people. The first colonies of the Greeks in South Italy bordered upon the country of the TyRSNi, and some towns, especially Parthenope Baia, Pozzuoli, and Nola, were composed of both people. The later Greeks, from the time the Romans became known in Magna Grecia, i.e. from about 350 B.C. down to the second century of our æra, called the people Tyrrheni and their country Tyrrhenia, and give as a reason, that they were great tower-builders, or as Dionysius says, the first tower-builders in Italy—*Tuppoi*, whence Turrhenoi. The real reason, however, is probably derived from the Roman Etruri, or the name they themselves called their country, Etruria, Eturia, Ature, whence the Greek Turi, Turroi, Tyrrheni. This last appellation is the one by which they are best known in poetry and general history, and it is also a corruption, as Niebuhr and Müller both prove, of the name Tarchun, or Tyrrhenus, the great hero, lawgiver, and leader of the Etruscan people.

It is scarcely necessary to quote authorities for these various names, as any one may satisfy himself of the correctness of the statement, by looking into any of the Latin or Greek writers whom we have mentioned.

Herodotus, about 450 B.C., is the oldest author who attempts any history of the TyRSNi, or, as they name themselves in their inscriptions to be seen in Italian museums, the "Rasne." He gives a very curious story, and doubtless a very old tradition, current amongst themselves in that age. He says, (lib. i. 95,) "In the reign of Atys, son of Manes, king of Lydia, the country was afflicted with a grievous famine, which the people long bore with great patience, but finding that the evil did not cease, they sought a remedy, and each one imagined what pleased himself best. Upon this occasion they invented dice, ball, and all sorts of games, excepting *πεσσοι*, calculi, a sort of drafts, of which they were not the inventors; and they played at these new games one day and fasted, whilst they ate and, it is to be hoped, worked on the day following. In this manner they continued to live for eighteen years! But at last, the evil, instead of diminishing, increased, and the king Atys divided his people into two bands, and made them draw lots, the one to remain and the other to quit the country. Those who departed had for chief the king's son Tyrsenus.

"The banished Lydians first went to Smyrna, where they constructed vessels, loaded them with furniture and useful implements, and embarked to go in search of food and habitation elsewhere. After coasting along several countries, they landed in Umbria, where they built cities, which," says Herodotus, "they inhabit now."

It is, indeed, remarkable that this language is still so far true, that some of the descendants of Tyrrhenus's colony, which settled in Italy more than three thousand years since, did very lately inhabit, and possibly may still dwell in the cities which Tyrrhenus colonised; witness the Cecina of Volterra and one or two more Tuscan families, whose names denote an Etrurian origin. Many will smile at this, but let them ask themselves, Do not we know the descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, nay, even of Aaron, at this very hour? Herodotus continues, "that the Lydians quitted their former name, and took that of Tyrseni, from Tyrsenus, son of the king, who was chief of the colony."*

It is scarcely necessary to criticise the absurdity of this story, which, nevertheless, Herodotus cannot be supposed to have invented. No land ever suffered famine for eighteen years. The longest famine ever known upon the earth was the seven years' famine mentioned in Genesis, many years before the date of the Italian Rasne. The story is not Lydian, in our acceptation of the name Lydia, as is shown by Dionysius,† confirmed by Müller and Niebuhr; for Xanthus, the historian of Lydia prior to Herodotus, never mentions it. The Lydians never were either a maritime or a commercial people. They had no navy; they sent out no colonies. Smyrna, in that early age, did not exist; Tyrsenus

* Vel. Paterculus, lib. i., who repeats the story, and Strabo, both, from Herod., call Lydus and Tyrrhenus brothers.

† Lib. 1.

is not a Lydian name: and when, in the reign of Tiberius, the Lydians claimed kindred with the Etruscans,* Tacitus tells us that the senate rejected their claim. This story, however, omitting the details of the famine, is repeated by Strabo, Velleius Paterculus, Virgil, Horace, and Plutarch, the one borrowing from the other, and all deriving their information from the father of Greek history. "The ancients," says Wilkinson, speaking of his own experience in Egypt, "tell us little of any land excepting Greece and Rome, and what they do tell us is generally wrong."

Dionysius examined the grounds of this story, which was universally believed in Rome in his day; and he says that the Rasne had nothing in common with the Lydians, neither language nor religion, those two strongest of all evidences, nor manners, nor customs, nor laws, nor national peculiarities. The Rasne being from the beginning a trading and commercial nation, which the Lydians were not. Some, he says, called them "Turrheni-Pelasgi," and of the two, they resembled the Pelasgi more than the Lydians, though most unlike to both.

It thus seems proved that the Etruscans were not Lydians, and yet that all the authors quoted agree in their having arrived in Italy by sea, from some

* Tacit. Annal, (lib. iv. § 24.) Eleven cities disputed the honour of raising temples to Tiberius; the Sardians recited the testimony of the Etruscans, that they came from Lydia under Tyrrhenus, but the senate rejected their claim. Dion. repeats the whole of the story.

other country, and under one great leader of royal rank, called by the Greeks Tyrsenus, by Greeks and Romans Tyrrhenus, by the Romans also Tarchon,* and by the Rasne themselves Tarchun or Tarchu. Those who call the Etruscans indigenous, i. e. not tracing themselves beyond their settlement in Italy, equally agree as to their first great ruler Tarchun.

Dionys. lib. 1, after relating the whole of Herodotus's story and confuting it, gives the version of Xanthus, that king Atys had two sons, Lydus and Torebo, both of whom remained in Asia, and both of whom are probably Eponyms, after the manner of the east, to signify that Lydians and Torebi were of the same stock. He then goes on to say, that he considers those authors who would make the Etruscans indigenous, scarcely less foolish than Herodotus and his legend; because the people and their language were different from all the rest of Italy, though they influenced every state between the two seas. It is curious to see Dionysius lay so great stress upon language, which modern criticism has proved to be the real key to the extraction of a people. He thinks the Greeks called the Raseni Turseni from their *Τυρσείαι* or fortresses, and Turrhenoi from their turreted habitations, or from some great prince. The Romans, he says, called the people Etruscus from their country Etruria, and Tuscus (which is a false idea) from the pre-eminent excellence of their frankincense and sacrifices; *θυοσκόος*

* Vide *Æneid* passim.

being the Greek for a sacrificer, from *θύω*, a sacrifice; whence the Latin word for frankincense, *Thus*. The Turrheni and Pelasgi, Dionysius says, were long the only names connected with Italy which were known to the Greeks. Therefore, though the Pelasgi were conquered by the Turrheni, and all their cities taken, the two people came to be confounded by the Greeks, and supposed to be the same. "In like manner, they included under the name Tyrseni the Latins, Umbrians, and Ausoni; the distance of the two countries rendering accurate information very difficult." * Nothing, surely, can more rationally and satisfactorily explain the confusion in ancient authors between the Turrheni and the Pelasgi, and how the acts of the one are continually attributed to the other. If it be true, as Dionysius affirms, that Agylla, Pisa, and many other cities be Pelasgic, can we wonder, when the Greeks found them inhabited and governed by Turrheni, that they should imagine the two people to be the same? The Greeks excelled in imagination, but were never famous for exactness or truth. Hence Helanicus of Lesbos says that Tyrsenus, the leader of the Tyrseni, and Pelasgus were the same person. Hence other authors, according to Dionysius, make Tyrsenus the son of Hercules by Omphale, the Queen of Lydia. A poetical version of Herodotus's story, that Tyrsenus or Tarchun was a royal person of great courage and talent from Lydia. Strabo follows this version, which yet we have proved to be false.

* Dionys. lib. 1.

With respect to their antiquity, we have seen that Hesiod and Homer could not trace what had existed so long before themselves, and that Herodotus merely gives us the date of Atys, king of Lydia, a mythological person, whose ancestors sprung from the earth, and whose era is not known. Dionysius, lib. i. says, they expelled the Siculi, whom Niebuhr makes the Itali, the first inhabitants of Italia, three generations before the Trojan war; i. e. about 1260 B. C. Strabo says that the Pelasgi expelled the Siculi at that time, meaning, very probably, by Pelasgi the Turrheni; but if otherwise, he must by implication place the settlement of the Tyrrheni still earlier, for Dionysius, i. says, that they, the Etruscans, taught the Pelasgi how to fight. Ptolemy and Aristides say that they were cotemporary with the Argonauts and Theban Bacchus. Athenæus* and several other authors say that they fought the Argonauts, which must have been 1266 B. C., according to Sir I. Newton. Appian says, they triumphed 1000 years before Rome; and as the first Roman triumph is ascribed to Romulus, this fixes their date at 1700 B. C., and can only mean to express their great antiquity compared with the Romans.

Dionysius says, they conquered the Umbri 500 years before Rome, i. e. about 1253 before Christ. Virgil makes their hero Tarchun cotemporary with Æneas, 1177 B. C., when they were a settled and

* Deipnosoph.

powerful nation, and Vellijus Paterculus confirms this date by placing Tarchun in the same age with Orestes, king of Argos.

It seems then established by Greeks, who were wholly unacquainted with Etruscan numbers, and by Latins, who were acquainted with them, that the Turrheni or Rasena arrived in Italy about 1250 B. C. Now, in confirmation of this,* Varro tells us that the Tuscan annals were collected together and made into a written history in their 8th sæculum about the year 347 of Rome, which places the beginning of their æra between 400 and 500 years before Rome. Cicero gives the same statement, and Plutarch tells us that in the year of Rome 666, an Etruscan Aruspex proclaimed that the Etruscan day of 1100 years, during which Jove or Tina had given them dominion, was near an end,† and this again brings us to the same reckoning.

From all these concurring testimonies, it seems quite clear that the Rasena, Tyrseni, Turrheni or Tuscans, arrived in Italy about the middle of the thirteenth century, B. C.; and that they were a settled and powerful nation, both according to their own records and the early Greek authors, about 1180 B. C.

Before discussing the precise point of time from which the annals of the Tuscans date, we will inquire who was their leader? where they landed? what inhabitants they found in Italy at the time of

* Varro apud Censorinum, 17

† Vide Niebuhr on Seculum.

their arrival? what arts and sciences, laws, religion and language they introduced? and lastly, upon this subject, whence they probably came?

Herodotus, lib. i., says that they sailed from their native land, and established themselves in Italy under Tursenus, and all the numerous Greek writers who follow him give the same story, changing the name, as they became personally acquainted with the people, to Turrhenus. Dionysius, who alone studied them, examined their annals and wrote their history from individual research, says that they did not name themselves Turrheni but Rasena, and that the name Turrheni was probably derived from some great prince, whom Müller and Niebuhr prove to have been Tarchon, or as Micali has found it written in inscriptions preserved in Italy $\text{V}\text{X}\text{O}\text{A}\times$ Tarchu, and again, Tarkisa and Tarchina. We shall spell it Tarchun, because there was no O in the oldest Etruscan alphabet, and in the same manner and for the same reason, we shall substitute U for O in Etruscan names generally. Cato, Cicero, Festus, and Servius, call the Etruscan leader Tarchon; and as to him, the various authors quoted attribute the founding of all the Etruscan states, and especially of Tarquinia, which was called after his name, the promulgation of laws, the institutions of religion, and the formation of the army, we may consider it a settled truth, that Tarchun was the first leader and ruler of the Etruscans.

Our only testimony as to where they landed, is to be found in Herodotus, i. 94, and his followers,

who call the country Umbria, and this is confirmed by Livy, v. 33, who says, that "They first settled in the country between the Appenines and the lower sea, and afterwards sent out colonies north and south." Umbria, 1200 years before the christian æra, included, according to Pliny, all the country from the Po as far south as Mount Garganus. This account of their first landing is not disputed by any ancient writer, and the internal evidence of which such a matter is capable is all in its favour, such as names, dates, and the seat of government; and the certainty that all Etruria proper was once called Umbria, that the Umbrians were conquered by the Etruscans, and that several of the chief states, such as Perugia, Arezzo and Cortona, were long indifferently called Turrhenian and Umbrian.

Thus it would seem that this matter also is demonstrated; and that we have gained the facts that the Rasena under Tarchun landed at some spot in Umbria, about 1250 before Christ; the period at which their own annals commence, being, according to the best scholars, 1187 before Christ. As the country was called Umbria, it must have been inhabited by the Umbrians; and as they conquered the Pelasgi, and as many of the Turrhenian cities were also called Pelasgic; so it would seem that the inhabitants with whom they first met, were Umbri and Pelasgi, of whom more hereafter.

The arts and sciences which they brought with them, consisted, as implied by all the authors before

quoted, of everything which in that age was known to the Lydians, or to the eastern nation which is designated by that name. As Tyrsenus is called the son of Hercules, his people must have been a brave, strong and warlike nation. As they built ships and fitted them out for long voyages, they must have understood navigation; and as orientals, they must have loved music, dancing and feasting, pomp and ceremony, dress and show.

They were probably inclined to love of ease and luxurious living; they must have cherished a profound respect for age and rank, a reverence for parental authority, a religious veneration bordering upon superstition for all that related to divine worship, a love of order and an aversion to change. The story of the famine supposes that they had long patience and perseverance, that "they knew how to want, as well as how to abound," that they were rich in expedients to remedy inevitable calamities, and that they introduced into Italy an unheard of number of games and diversions, the origin of which with them was not so much to consume time, as to divert sorrow. As the eighteen years scarcity implies that they supplied themselves with food, and did not depend upon their neighbours, we gather that they were an agricultural people; and as Herodotus says that they carried with them furniture and useful implements, we presume that the forms afterwards in general and ancient use amongst them, as well as the peculiar inventions ascribed to them, were introduced into Italy first by them. It thus

appears, that when they landed, they were an eastern colony of cultivated, refined and highly civilized men, well skilled in war, science and agriculture. Our knowledge of their dress and family names, some religious ceremonies and many domestic customs, is gathered from the arms and ornaments, the paintings, urns and sculpture found in their tombs.

Before detailing the Italian life of their great hero, it appears natural to inquire who they really were? or in other words, whence we must conclude them to have come?

Their laws and religion we gather from the Latin writers, Cato, Cicero, and Livy, confirmed by the whole Roman history; and of them and of their marked Syro-Egyptian character, even to the very name given to their laws, of "Tagetic institutions," and of their lawgiver "Tages," we shall treat in the sequel, when we come to the history of Tarchun and his times. Their language is only known from inscriptions found upon sarcophagi and bronzes in their tombs, upon statues and liturgical tables and marbles, which have from time to time, within the last two centuries, been dug up in Italy, and are now preserved in various museums. We have also a few Etruscan words in Varro, and in most of the Greek and Latin historians. And from these various sources, it has been proved that their alphabet is Assyrian; meaning by the term Assyria, that vast continent which lies between the Mediterranean and the Indus, the inhabitants of which originally had

one common character, from which each separate nation has made its own varieties. The Etruscan language, in like manner, appears to be a branch of Phœnician or Assyrian, with some mixture of Egyptian, and in later times with derivations from the Greek, and the Oscan, or the native tongue of Italy.

The use of investigating a language and the reason of laying so much stress upon it, may be exemplified by the English. Supposing a learned eastern philosopher, who knew not our history, were to examine our language now, in order to trace through it, our origin and probable relations, he would find the basis of our tongue Saxon, our scientific terms all Latin and Greek, and the language of our upper classes, our fashion and refinement, largely mingled with French. He would hence conclude that the people were a German race; but that they had derived their literature and the greater part of their political institutions from the Greeks and Romans, and their ruling classes from the French. They appear, in short, to have been a race of Saxons, civilized by the Romans, and conquered by the French. Could written history tell our story better? It is thus that we shall reason with regard to the Etruscans.

Their numerals, as will hereafter appear, are a variety of oriental writing, and are remains of the Zend or arrow-headed character, which was used in the Assyrian part of Asia from the earliest times down to the days of Darius, but not later. Niebuhr

calls them "the remains of a hieroglyphic of the west." But he should rather have said the remains of a hieroglyphic, which proves the intercourse of the Etruscans with the eastern continent, if it does not demonstrate the very spot whence they emigrated.

Their astronomy and chronology, in like manner, Niebuhr terms western or Mexican. But as the Mexicans are very clearly traced in the annals of the American Archæological Society, to have been colonists from Tartary and from Malacca, whose ancestors were settlers from lands to the west and north of themselves, our investigations pushed far enough, land us again in the centre of Asia, as the fountain spring whence the Rasena issued forth. Who and what then, do we suppose the Rasena to have been?

We think it not doubtful, borne out at least by every collateral proof, that they were a colony from the great and ancient city of Resen, or RS N, as it is written in the Hebrew Bible, the capital of Aturia, in the land of Assyria.* It is situated on the Tigris, a great navigable river, and the name is by some called the Chaldee and by others the Egyptian form of pronouncing Assyria, the Hebrew S (ש) being sounded in Chaldee, ת.† It is mentioned by Moses in the book of Genesis, x. 12, as one of the oldest and one of the greatest, if not the very greatest city, then in the world. He says, "Out of that land (the land of Shinaar) went forth Assur (or the Assyrians, i. e. the tribe of Assur) and builded Nineveh, and the

* Vide Strabo xvii.; Bochart, Pliny, v. 8.

† Vide Bochart. Phal. l. 2.

city Rehoboth, and Calah, and ReSeN, between Nineveh and Calah; the same is a great city." This was written by Moses the prince of Egypt, brought up in the court of Pharaoh, and acquainted with Zoan and Memphis, and the hundred-gated Thebes, and all the wealth, power and splendor of the first of kingdoms. Yet does he place R S N in its early glory above them all, using, as he does, an expression of wonder in mentioning it, which he neither uses respecting them, nor Salem, nor Tyre, nor Nineveh, nor Babylon. This was written at least 1460 years before Christ, two centuries before the appearance of the Rasena in Italy, and it refers to times which are many hundred years earlier.

It may be objected that if the radicals of the name Rasena are R S N, which are preserved in tyRSeNi and etRuScaN, how comes the N to be wanting in Etruria and Tusci, the Latin names for the Rasena; and does not this rather prove Niebuhr's assertion that the radicals were RS? But this argument falls to the ground, if the great city of R S N itself, in course of time, or by Greek orthography, had its name so changed that the radical N was omitted. We find in Bochart's profoundly learned work, that R S N was probably conquered by Cyrus, and that it is the city of Larissa, as described by Xenophon. It was then in ruins, but it had been a mighty and important town when in possession of the Medes. Bochart says, that when the Greeks asked its name, the Orientals would answer לרסן, L R S N, or in

Greek euphony Larissa.* Still more does Niebuhr's argument fall, if tried by the Roman appellation of Etrusci or Tusci, for he thinks that the N was itself a Latin addition. Etrusci and Tusci are taken from the country Etruria or Tuscia, now Tuscany and the adjoining provinces.

We think, from the striking similarity in religion and habits between the Egyptians and the Rasena, that a large colony from the city of Resen dwelt for a long time in Egypt; and that about 1260 years before Christ, or it may be even somewhat later, they sailed from some part of Africa to seek new homes and new fortunes in Italy. And we think that had Herodotus written either "Ludin" or "Lubia" instead of "Ludia," and "Syrtis" instead of "Smyrna," his account would have given the real tradition of the people. It is almost certain that Herodotus must have been told "Ludin," for the country of the Rasena, which he wrote "Ludia;" because the name "Ludin" is found upon the Egyptian monuments, as the name of a series of nations triumphed over by the Pharaohs two or three times before the days of Moses.† And as it is evident that the story of Herodotus is not Lydian in the sense of Lydia proper, so we must suppose him to have confused the Etruscan account with the Lydian, from similarity of names.

Concerning the events of a very remote period of ancient history, recorded by no authentic annals,

* Bochart, iv. 123. † Vide Rosellini, M. Storici, vol. iii.

and conjectured rather than traced through the mazes of the wanderings of a mysterious people, discretion forbids us to assume the tone of positive assertion. We trust, however, that in the foregoing as well as subsequent pages, hypothesis will be admitted to have assumed the garb of probability, and that we are neither deceiving ourselves, nor misleading our readers, when we believe that we can point out the true source of that wonderful race, to whom Europe owes so much and has acknowledged so little. We think that we can discern them, a stately band, issuing from beneath the lofty gateways of the high walled and proudly towered Resen, that great city, as ancient as Memphis and Zoan. Thence we follow them to the banks of the Nile, and behold them mingling in fellowship with the victorious Assyrians, and with the seed of Israel, in the fertile nomes of Lower Egypt. Until at length the avenging arm of the legitimate Pharaoh delivered his country from Asiatic oppression, and drove the men of Resen to seek for settlements elsewhere. After their second exile, we trace them to a welcome Italian home, whither they brought the arts, the arms, the luxuries, and the sciences which they had originally possessed in Ludin, and on which they had engrafted the learning of the wisest of nations.

Here they become dominant lords of the soil, and beneficent victors, conquering, civilizing, and blessing the ruder people of the west ; until the mys-

terious times of their dominion being ended, and the sand of their promised ages of glory having run, they sunk into the subordinate state of a conquered nation, and were soon absorbed in the all-engrossing "Senatus Populusque Romanus."

CHAPTER II.

THE HYKSOS.

COTEMPORARY with the Etruscans as Rasena, and closely connected with them in their original Syrian home, and in their progress through Egypt, was another mysterious people, whom the annals of the ancient world introduce to us as the vanquishers of the most civilized of nations, and founders of a powerful monarchy, which flourished for many centuries. In investigating the early history of the world, the Hyksos cross our path as a mighty shadow, advancing from native seats to which it baffled the geography of antiquity to assign a fixed position, covering for a season the shores of the Mediterranean, and the banks of the Nile with the terror of their arms and the renown of their conquests, and at length vanishing with a mystery equal to that of their first appearance.

It will be seen that we regard the word Hyksos, not as the name of a particular nation, but as the term by which those enemies were designated, who, after a long and obstinate usurpation, continued always to dispute the palm of victory with the Pharaohs, during the culminating centuries of Egyp-

tian glory, and who, though sometimes vanquished, seem never to have been totally subdued; for even, after ages of security and conquest, they reappeared again, bringing defeat and ruin in their course.

But although not marked out as any one particular people, the Hyksos were of Asiatic origin, and were inhabitants of the western part of the continent of Asia, the early cradle of the human race. From the only real authentic accounts which we possess, of the most ancient history of man, it would seem that the civilization and power of some of these Asiatic people were not inferior to those of Egypt. And this equality is confirmed by the long and often successful struggle which they maintained with the Pharaohs; while it is illustrated by the treasures of pictorial antiquity which the researches of modern times are bringing forth from the palaces and tombs of Egypt, which represent Sesostris, Sethos, and other conquerors triumphing over enemies, evidently not inferior to themselves.

But the Hyksos have a nearer claim to our interest than that which belongs to a matter of history foreign to our subject. Since to them, as the people of western Asia, belonged the great city of Resen, whence issued the ancestors of the Etruscan race.

Rosellini, in his "Monumenti Storici d' Egitto," vol. iii., part 1, page 438, mentions several people, such as the Tohen, Romenen, and Scios, as coming from the land of "Ludin," which he has satisfactorily proved to be the Egyptian name for the west and

south of Asia, if not for all the parts of that continent which were intimately known to the Egyptians. A remarkable monument of King Amenoph the 1st, whom Rosellini places 1822 years before Christ, speaks "of the Scios or shepherds, a people of Ludin who inhabited the fortresses of Canaan:" and amongst the countries of Ludin are mentioned by name "Canaan, Mesopotamia, and Ionia." He further proves that the Ludin named on the monuments, was a land of vast extent, divided into upper and lower; and that it is the Ludim or לודים of the Hebrew Scriptures, comprehending Asia Minor, and the whole of the country of Assyria.* Eratosthenes, the geographer, about 230 years before Christ, was the first who extended the name Asia beyond Syria, Arabia, and Asia Minor, over the central parts of that great continent, called by the Hebrews Ludim; and Herodotus is proved, in the nineteenth century, by the rediscovery of the hieroglyphics, to have given us a real tradition, which those who related and repeated it had ceased to understand.

We will now inquire whether there are any circumstances in Egyptian history, recorded either by the ancients or on the monuments as explained by Rosellini or Wilkinson, which make it probable that a colony of Assyrians ever did settle in Egypt; and that having once settled there, they left it again about the period when the Rasena say they arrived in Italy. Rosellini, Wilkinson, Bunsen and Champollion, all agree that the Egyptians were early in-

* Jeremiah xlv. 9; Ezekiel xxx 5.

vaded on their eastern borders by the Assyrians and Arabians, that Lower Egypt was entirely conquered and long ruled by them; and that after a strife which never ceased for centuries, the legitimate sovereigns, who had retired to the south, first to Upper Egypt, and then into Nubia and Ethiopia, regained their territory and expelled the invaders with triumph. The names of these strangers is written upon Egyptian monuments "Hyksos," and the debate amongst scholars is not as to any of the facts now stated, but only as to who the "Hyksos" were, and how long they ruled.

Bunsen * gives them a dominion of nearly 1000 years in the land, from 2514 B. C., down to 1561 B. C., when the 18th dynasty recovered their former territories, and began to rule, and during this time Abraham visited Egypt, and Jacob and his descendants established themselves in Goshen. Bunsen at the same time follows Josephus in thinking, that they resided in Egypt without dominion, or with uncertain dominion, much longer, and that amongst these Hyksos the Jews were also numbered, who did not quit the land until the time adopted by the Hebrew Bible, viz. in the year 1490

* We do not believe that this distinguished antiquarian has as yet published his views on the subject of Egyptian Chronology. The dates quoted in the following pages refer to the Chevalier Bunsen's system, as communicated to the author in 1838, by some of the learned members of the Roman Archæological Society, of which he was at once the ornament and patron.

B. C. or thereabouts, in the reign of Thutmes the 3rd.

Rosellini on the other hand, gives the Hyksos absolute dominion over lower and middle Egypt for only 240 years, re-establishes the legitimate sovereigns, in the person of Amenoph the 1st, in 1822 before Christ; and thinks that the Israelites, who were also Hyksos, but never triumphant, quitted Egypt under Ramses the 3rd, about 1560 before Christ. Rosellini, although not in this, follows the Septuagint chronology in almost all his reckonings; and Bunsen, who takes his dates from the monuments only, also comes much nearer to the Septuagint than to the Hebrew, in his calculations of all the early dynasties. Indeed, whilst all the principal independent chronologies of the east, the Chinese, the Hindustanee, Egyptian, and Samaritan, have a general agreement with the Septuagint, and with each other, none of them can be made to agree with the Hebrew, previous to the time of Solomon, nor is that Hebrew chronology supposed ever to have existed before the second century of our æra.

Spineto, in his work upon the Egyptian hieroglyphics, says, that for 127 years after Christ, only one chronology was used by Heathens, Jews, and Christians; and that this was the chronology of the Hebrew text, as it then stood, followed by the Samaritan, the Pentateuch, and the Septuagint, and corroborated by Josephus, who says that he derived all his dates from the Hebrew. An alteration took

place A. D. 130, in the reign of Adrian, when some Jewish Rabbis and a heretic, named Aquila, made a new translation into Greek. The Jews then altered the Hebrew, and appealed from the Greek, which the Christians did understand, to the Hebrew, which they did not understand. Still the Christians kept to their old dates, until Bede adopted the Jewish reckoning, not knowing its origin. And this altered reckoning was followed at the Reformation, by all the Protestants.

The name Hyksos, which is indiscriminately applied to all the strangers who conquered Egypt or settled in it, is proved by Rosellini, vol. i. page 177, to have meant "strangers and wanderers." Hence in hatred and contempt, "vagabond, wretch, beggar, slave;" and in indifference or respect, "shepherd kings, and their people." Thus the wild Scythians and Arabians, the trading Edomites and Canaanites, the civilized Phœnicians and Assyrians, were all Hyksos. Josephus says, that the Hyksos were Jews; Eusebius, that they were Phœnicians; Africanus, that they were Greeks, by which he is supposed to mean strangers from Asia Minor; and more modern writers that they were, without doubt, Arabs and Assyrians. And all these assertions are true. The Hyksos, or shepherd race which invaded Egypt before Abraham, are called by ancient writers Cushim,* that is, Ethiopians, or Babylonians. Rosellini says, that the tradition of the ancient Egyp-

* Cush lay on both sides of the Persian Gulf. Vide Bochart.

tians was, that they were a race of giants who lived between the Nile and the Euphrates.

This has a singular relation to the children of Anak, the Ben Anak or Pen Anak, whence the profound Bochart derives the word Pheanic or Phœnician. When the children of Israel were on the borders of Canaan, they could scarcely be persuaded to attack these dreaded men, of whom they had doubtless heard the most fearful tales from their nurseries upwards. They said, "we will return into Egypt; for we are not able to overcome these dreadful giants, the Ben Anak. The sons, i. e. the men of Anak come of the giants, and we were as grasshoppers beside them. They are stronger than we, and the cities in which they dwell are walled and very great."*

It is probable that every nation which the Egyptians ever conquered, as well as all those by whom they were conquered, were called by them Hyksos or foreigners. There were demonstrably in Egypt three races of them. First, The wild barbarians who destroyed the monuments and overran the country, overwhelming the Egyptians by numbers and disgusting them by fanaticism and ignorance, wasting and ruining everything in their course, and whose image afterwards, in the bitterness of hatred, they painted upon the soles of their shoes. Secondly, The scientific Assyrians, who, according to Herodotus, lib. 2, built†

* Numb. xiii. 28, &c.

† Herodotus ii. 125, &c. "The shepherd Philites and his cotemporaries, Cheops and Cephrenes, built the Pyramids."

the pyramids of Cheops and Cephrenes, and foremost among whom we place the RSNa, who ruled peacefully over a great and flourishing people in the days of Abraham, Jacob, and Joseph. Thirdly, The quiet, industrious, well-ordered Hebrews, who yet came to be confounded with the first Hyksos, because they left Egypt by a high hand, and were hated for the plagues and humiliations they had brought upon the country.

Now, among the kings of that early dynasty, which both Eusebius and Africanus call Phœnician or Assyrian, are two celebrated Etruscan names, Archles or Erkle, and Janias or Janus. Amongst the towns over which they ruled is Eluthya, the name of the great Etruscan temple at Pyrgi. Amongst the people buried at Eluthya, is a great warrior and scribe, or literary man, named RaNSeNi, remarkably like RSeNa; and another whom Rosellini calls Phipe, like the Etruscan Fipe or Vibenna. And in these tombs, there are representations of a Biga, and a man writing; of music, and dancing, and of agricultural processes, quite similar to the Etruscan.

The emblem of victory with both people is the same, a vulture; though in Italy it afterwards became an eagle; and the idea of a disembodied soul is represented by both people as a bird-like animal with wings. Amongst the traditions preserved by Diodorus* of the Hyksos, is one that 240,000 of them deserted their own king and settled in Ethiopia, where

* Vide Wilkinson.

the Pharaoh gave them land, and where they built the town of Esar, and lived for 300 years. Esar is an Etruscan word, meaning demi-god. Amongst the personal names to be found in Rosellini, are "Titi," one of the queens, and "Phipi," one of the kings,—Etruscan "Tite and Fipi;" Tachfn-es, a royal princess, like Tanchfl, king Tarquin's wife; Sephtha, a priest of Vulcan, like Sethlans, the Etruscan vulcan; "Mandu," the god of destruction, and Mantu, who is the same person in Etruria. Amongst Anastasy's papyri, as read by Young, are "Pursnei," "Tages, the son of Chalome," "Muthes, Pachytes and Phipes," all of them Etruscan names, and three of them familiar to us, as "Porsenna, Mutius, and Vibius." But above all, is the name *Tarchun*, or *Tarakun*, or *Tahraka*, as the Egyptians wrote it, an African name. *Tahraka*, or *Tarchun*, or *Tirhaka*, was an Ethiopian king of Egypt. The name is found in various Egyptian papyri, and the people, whose leader was *Tarkun*, may be traced from Africa with the same probability that the people whose leader was George, or John, or Pitt, or Fox, may be traced from England. Whatever may be liable to criticism in these remarks will be treated of hereafter.

As to the wars between the Assyrians and Egyptians, their commencement is amongst the things whose memories have perished from the earth; but they may be said never to have ceased whilst Egypt continued to be a nation. According to Josephus, Africanus, and Eusebius, six Assyrian kings, whose names have been preserved to us, were successive

sovereigns in Lower and Middle Egypt. According to the plates of Wilkinson and Rosellini, war continued between the two people throughout the 17th, 18th, 19th, and 20th dynasties, with various success, sometimes the one and sometimes the other becoming vanquished and tributary. In the days of the kings of Israel, from 1060 down to 620 B.C., we find frequent mention of these wars in the Scriptures, particularly the submission of Pharaoh Necho to Nebuchadnezzar, which conquest led the way to the invasion of Cambyses and the rule of his six next successors. Egypt then recovered her own sovereigns for three dynasties; but her power being broken, the Persians again conquered her under Ochus, 339 B.C., and ten years afterwards, she bowed at the feet of Alexander, when he vanquished Darius; and she finally became a Greek kingdom, under the Lagidae. With these latter we have nothing to do, and we merely mention them to show the unbroken communication which Egypt always held with the continent of Asia.

Both Wilkinson and Rosellini quote passages from Manetho to prove that the Assyrians conquered Egypt before the time of Osortasen the 2nd, more than 1800 B.C.; that the Egyptians afterwards not only reconquered their country, but subdued the greater part of Assyria, and that each nation settled colonies in the other, and employed the subject troops of the other in their armies. Dionysius says, that a colony of Egyptian priests was settled in Babylon, and some authors say that the magi of

Egypt were Chaldeans—which, during the dominion of the Assyrian princes in Lower Egypt, is most probable, if not indeed self-evident. The native high-caste magi would surely follow the fortunes of their lawful princes. Wilkinson thinks, that the Egyptians had always a band of Assyrians amongst their troops, either as allies or as slaves, whence it follows that if the Rasena were in their army, they would be versed in the Syro-Egyptian discipline, and would probably adopt and transplant to their new country the method of fighting of the Egyptians, their arms, and many of their military customs. It is a strong confirmation of the Rasena having been among the dreaded adversaries of Egypt, that we find a people with their countenances and dress, painted in the tomb of Nevothph at Beni-Hassan. This man was a general in the army of the Pharaoh Osortasen, who, as a mark of royal favour, presented him with a certain number of the captives he had taken in war, along with their leader, and with the thirty-seventh portion of the spoil. These captives have much the appearance of the Etruscans in the tombs of Tarquinia. Manetho says that the Assyrian Hyksos were pent up in Avaris before they were finally expelled.

Rosellini, vol. i. p. 169, gives us the account of Manetho and Josephus, that the Assyrian or Phœnician Salatis ruled in Memphis, and quartered his army in Avaris or the Delta, having there two hundred and forty thousand troops; and that he and his successors held a yearly fair in the Avaris,

which was also a religious feast, when he went to review and pay his troops, and to see that their discipline was properly preserved. The Avaris is the same land which is called Tifonia; and the fortresses of the Hykos-Assyrian troops were surrounded by strong walls. Rosellini proves that from this Tifonia, or the enemy's stronghold, came the Egyptian evil genius Typhon; and Typhon was the name which the Greeks gave to the evil genius of Etruria, because it had the same attributes as the Typhon of Egypt.

Of the Hyksos race, says Rosellini, were the Edomites and the Phœnicians. Now Herodotus, in his first book, places the Phœnicians on the Red Sea, and the Rabbis had a tradition that the Rasena were Edomites. This again seems to bring them from Assyria into Egypt. Valerius Maximus, ii. 4, says that they were Curetes, or Philistines; and the Philistines, as we learn from Genesis x. 14, were a Phœnician people, originally from Egypt.* We shall hereafter see that the Etruscans introduced into Italy the eastern armour and battle array, pay for the troops, walls and fortifications for the towns, and yearly fairs, which were both political and religious feasts. It is, perhaps, needless to remark, that Avaris was also the land of Goshen, which the Israelites inhabited for upwards of three hundred years; and, probably, both from its great fertility and strong fortifications, was able

* Gen. x. 14. Philistim, the son of Casluhim, the son of Mizraim, or Egypt. Son means colony.

to maintain and rule * a very abundant population. The fortifications were all Assyrian, for the children of Israel were unwarlike and peaceful, as we find mentioned of them in Exodus xiii. 17, and do not seem to have attempted defences of any sort, whilst they considered themselves under the protection of the Egyptian government. They were equally Hyksos or strangers to the Assyrian rulers of the time of Joseph, and to the Egyptian rulers of the time of Moses, and equally submissive to both.

The plates of the eighteenth dynasty, in the "Monumenti Storici" of Rosellini, copied from the monuments in Egypt, show us much of the people with whom the Pharaohs warred. They were fully armed with helmet and shield, sword and spear, bow and arrow, battle-axe and dagger; fighting in close ranks on foot or in chariots, and sometimes, but not often, on horseback. Their towns were walled and battlemented, as the Etruscan towns were afterwards; their gates built and formed in the same manner, and their strong forts, which were built on rocky eminences, were attacked by machines and scaled with ladders.†

The word "Avar, Avari," Lord Lindsay, in his Letters upon Egypt, proves to be the Sanscrit for

* We say *rule*, because no doubt the walled cities of Goshen rendering dominion over the inhabitants easy, was one reason why the Hebrew colonists were permitted to remain there.

† In a plate of the wars of Menephtha we see a bridge laid across the river, battle-axes in the hands of the soldiers, and helmets with ostrich plumes upon their heads.

shepherd, and "Goshen, Goshenaya," to mean the shepherd land. His researches go to prove that as the Assyrians once ruled in Egypt, so a colony of them crossed the Himalayas and settled in the north of India. The Hindu records say, that a branch of the Pali, or shepherds, from Palestina, conquered Hindostan. Hence we may expect to find many points of resemblance between the Italian Rasena and the early Hindus, and such is most strikingly the case in many passages of the laws of Menu,* and in some of the very few words which have been preserved to us of the Etruscan language. For instance, augury, the Etruscan solemn manner of consulting the gods, which comes from Augurries, the Hindu name even now for temple. Sir William Jones tells us that Menu speaks of the laws of property and the division of land, the respect due to women, the value of coin, and regulations concerning trade and commerce. Menu lived certainly 800 years B. C., and compiled his Institutes from the Vedas, which were 300 years older, about the time when the Rasena, or TuRSeNi, were a great Italian nation. Menu, however, in all probability, lived and wrote 480 years earlier, i. e. 1280 B. C., at the time when we believe the Rasena to have been an Assyrian tribe in Egypt, and when, whether in Egypt or Assyria, they probably had commerce with the Hindus.

It is the tradition of Hindostan that the first civilizers came from the north across the Himalayas,

* Vide Sir William Jones.

and it is fully proved by the writers of the Asiatic Journal that these first civilizers were Assyrian, though whether from Babylon, Nineveh, or Resen, (those three great cities,) we have no means of ascertaining. It is very possible that they may have been driven to seek a new country by some of the successful and bloody invasions of the Egyptians.

As we suppose the RaSeNi to have entered Egypt along with the Assyrian dynasty, and at some time or other to have occupied the land of Avaris, we must inquire now if there are any facts in Egyptian history that would lead us to expect an emigration thence about the year 1260 B.C. or at any time in the thirteenth century.

Now it is a very difficult matter to ascertain and to reconcile ancient dates. The early Greek chronology is all imaginative, and much of the Roman is copied from it; whilst, on the other hand, until we become better acquainted with Eastern literature, we have very few other sources of information. The Hebrew scriptures supply us with the most authentic, especially as translated by the Septuagint, and we have the further light of the Egyptian Papyri and monuments, corroborated by what is beginning to be known of the Hindu and Chinese records to help us forward through the labyrinth. It will, however, always be a labyrinth, for not only is it the case with ancient history, but with all history, that we can seldom verify dates which belong to the infancy of nations, for they, in most instances, depend upon an unwritten tradition, which refers

every event to one great æra, or to a few successive heroes. The date, then, can never, in the absence of monuments, be depended upon; but the tradition has its value in that it keeps alive all great facts and embodies them in the spirit of its own nation, even though both names and times should be highly inaccurate, and the deeds of twenty different persons should be ascribed to one, or *vice versâ*. Niebuhr holds all the chronology of Greece to be false, prior to the Trojan war; whilst the Kalenders of Asia can be verified 1905 years before the entrance of Alexander into Babylon, i.e. 2200 B.C.; and in the main, all these kalenders agree with the Septuagint. Bunsen carries the annals of Egypt 1000 years higher. It is certain that in those annals the acts of three, if not four, different conquerors are confused together and ascribed to one, which makes it very difficult for us to fix the dates of any of the actions referred to him. This one is Sesostris, probably a Pharaoh of the twelfth dynasty, and confounded with Ramses the 3rd, Ramses the 4th, Sethos or Egyptus, and Shishak or Sesonchis; leaving a distance of 1000 years between the first and last.

The Hyksos were all of them finally driven out of Egypt; but as there were different races of them, so they were driven out, or they left the land, at different times. Manetho says that the Egyptians being unable wholly to subdue them, made a treaty of peace with them, by which they were allowed to depart with their wives and families, going wherever they chose. In this manner 240,000 of them left in

the reign of Thutmes the 3rd, and took the road towards Syria.*

This is supposed, with great reason, to be an account of the 600,000 Israelites who left under Moses,† besides women and children, and a mixed multitude, probably amounting in all to two millions of souls. Bunsen and the Hebrew Scriptures place this event 1491 B.C., the Septuagint dates it 1639 B.C., without naming the Pharaoh, and Rosellini places it under Ramses the 3rd, about 1560 B.C. Again, Bunsen places Ramses the 3rd, under whom there was one emigration, if not more, about 1270 years B.C., and Diodorus‡ tells us of an emigration of the Hyksos, 240,000 in number, towards the south, many centuries later, in the days of Psammeticus, which is long subsequent to their latest departure. This figure of 240,000 recurs so often, that we imagine it to be an Egyptian expression to signify a great number. Amasis the 1st has it inscribed upon his monuments that he drove out the Hyksos, and his reign agrees with none of these dates.

There were, therefore, many different exits, and doubtless by many different ways. The most improbable is the one which we know to be the most indisputable, viz. that of the Jews, who marched completely across their enemies' country to enter Syria.

Those Hyksos who went southward are said to

* Manetho, *vide* Rosellini, vol. i. p. 169. Josephus.

† Exod. xxxviii. 26.

‡ *Vide* Wilkinson.

have done so by the will and protection of the reigning Pharaoh, and the others had only two methods of escape which to us appear reasonable. Either by ships to Phœnicia and the islands adjacent, like Danaus, or into Lybia, the land bordering upon Egypt and Avaris to the west, which way, we think, possibly was taken by the Rasena. The inhabitants of Lybia were constantly at war with the Egyptians, for we find upon the monuments that Thutmes the 1st, Memnon, and Menephtha, triumphed over them. They were, therefore, well known to the soldiers quartered in Avaris, and were alternately their enemies and friends. This part of Lybia was, moreover, early colonized from Phœnicia, as we learn both from the Greeks, who are supposed to have copied it from the Carthaginian annals, and also from some very curious traditions and corroborating circumstances now at this very time existing in the states of Morocco and along the chain of the Atlas.

We know from ancient authors that the Phœnician tribes early possessed and colonized the whole of the north of Africa, from the Delta to the Straits of Hercules, and even beyond those Straits both north and south. At this moment, in the south of Morocco and the states of Barbary, there are tribes of Phœnicians, warriors, calling themselves Beni Het, and Ait Het, and Beni Amor and Ait Amor, or the sons of Het and of Amor, the Hittites and the Amorites. There are also Ait Emelk or Amalekites. Their tradition is, that they are the de-

scendants of the Canaanites, who were driven out of their country by the Hebrews under Joshua. Their language is supposed to be a dialect of Phœnician, because some of the few known Phœnician words are in use amongst them. And in their country are the noble ruins of a town called Kassar Farown, or the City of the Pharaoh. They say that it was destroyed by the Ethiopian Tirhakah, thus evidencing that they warred with the Pharaohs, and they have besides traditions of several of the other Egyptian kings.

The Shelluhs who live in the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon also say that they were driven out of Canaan by Joshua, and in the province of Haha in Fez, they are divided into twelve tribes. They have houses and castles, though the Arabs amongst whom they live, continue to dwell in tents. And they speak a language which they call Tamazirgt, which predominates all along the chain of the Atlas, and is found in the island of Lancerote, one of the Canaries. It is the tradition of the people that Arabic (i. e. an Asiatic tongue) was the language of Fez when Tirhakah conquered Kassar Farown.

Champollion le Jeune, in his thirteenth letter, mentions that Tirhakah conquered all the north of Africa, and the distinguished historian Hammer writes that the information here given agrees exactly with Ibn Cheldoos's relation of the traditions of the Barbary states in his day. Traditions which he treated as romance; nevertheless the language and the old and strange literal characters remain

amongst them to prove the fact. Several of these tribes are in clans, and have before their names the prefixes O and Mac. Mr. Grey Jackson, British consul at Muggadore, from whom this account is taken, and who visited them towards the close of the last century, knew one chief Macneen, and another OBryhen. The alphabet of these people is the Ogham, which was the first alphabet of the Milesian Irish, and from which the numerals of the Etruscans are formed, as we shall show when we come to their arts and sciences. The Ogham is an arrow-headed alphabet, which ceased in Asia in the time of Darius, but has continued in use with these far separated tribes. The Irish language is termed, in the native idiom, the Bearla na Fene or Phœnician speech.

As to the better known colonies of the Phœnicians, Carthage, according to Petavius, was founded 137 years before Rome, and Utica, according to Aristotle, is 287 years older than Carthage, or, according to Eusebius, 300 years older; and Velleius says that Cades in Spain is of the same age as Utica. That is, they were founded at least in the year 1171 before the christian æra, perhaps 1190, which is very near the time when the Rasena appeared in Italy, having, as we think, sailed from the Lybian coast. But as the Ancient History observes, the date of these cities is most probably not of their foundation, but of their dedication. Therefore we must suppose them earlier, and the Assyrians or Rasena of the Avaris would, in that case,

be inhabitants of the same line of coast with the long-established Assyrian colonies which had fled from Joshua in the year 1450 B. C., and of the new Assyrian colonies from Phœnicia, about 1190 B. C., and would, very probably, when obliged to quit Avaris, be glad to join them and take temporary refuge in the same land. In proof of the great antiquity of the Phœnician colonies in Africa, Eusebius says that the Phœnician Hercules conquered Antæus fifty years before the founding of Utica, which is a more recent city than Tingis, now Tangiers, the oldest known Assyrian settlement in Africa. In another place, Eusebius gives the tradition, confirmed by the Egyptian monuments, the reading of which has been so recently discovered, that the Lybians were defeated by the Egyptians 393 years before the fall of Troy, or 1577 B. C., in the reign of Ammon* or Amenophis the 3rd. The date, as usual, is not correct, but the Lybians were conquered by Amenoph, very long before the destruction of Troy, and by Thutmes the 1st, 100 years earlier still, before Troy was even founded.†

If, as we think likely, the Rasena sailed from Syrtis, in Lybia, their course, in a direct line north, would land them in Umbria. And this idea seems strongly corroborated by the fact that whilst they carried on no trade at any time with the Phœnicians, they for

* According to Bunsen's chronology, Ammon, or Amosis, reigned 1561 B. C., and Amenoph 1536 B. C., which is not far from Eusebius's account.

† See A. Hist. in Lybia.

ages sent ships to Egypt, Carthage, and the Egyptian colonies in Greece. Herodotus says that the people bordering upon Avaris were the Lybian Nomades, or wandering, unsettled Lybians, and that their great goddess was Minerva, the peculiar patroness of Etruria. In another place, he says that they worshipped the sun and moon, or Jupiter and Juno and Minerva; and these three divinities were the three great gods of Etruria.

Our notion is somewhat further confirmed by the tradition of Eusebius, corrected by the monuments of Egypt, that Antæus of Lybia was defeated by the great warrior Hercules, with an army of natives and Ethiopians, 1587 years B. C., when it is really most probable that Hercules, or, in other words, the strength and power of the Assyrians, ruled the land. Lybia, however, was not subdued, and the Lybians continued to invade Egypt, and were often defeated, until the reign of Sethos in the thirteenth century before Christ, when he overran their land and annexed it to his own territories. Two centuries earlier, the Israelites exterminated or drove away the Canaanites, and many of the present inhabitants of Africa believe that they are descended from them. An idea no more incredible than that the Hebrews should be the children of Isaac, or the Arabs the seed of Ishmael. The Phœnician tribes upon the coast would, without doubt, take to their ships, and trust to their ancient knowledge of the Mediterranean; and it is at this period that Cadmus is said

to have fled into Greece, and to have carried with him the Phœnician letters.

Four exits of the Hyksos from Egypt appear to be perfectly well ascertained, besides the departure of many colonies, either purely Egyptian, or Syro-Egyptian, for other lands. The first great and forcible departure of these foreigners was under the king Amosis or Amenoph, head of the 18th dynasty. The second under Thutmes the 3rd, in the year B. C. 1491, or rather earlier. The third was under king Menephtha, 160 years later. And the fourth was about fifty years before the Troja war, in the days of Thuoris, Uerri or Remerri, father to the great Ramses the 4th, the Sesostris * Sethos and Egyptus of the Greeks. He was called Egyptus from his comparatively fair complexion, for Gyp̄t means in Coptic, a fair person. Uerri or Remerri was driven from his throne by the Hyksos, who overran his whole country, and obliged him to take refuge far in Ethiopia, where he died after a most disastrous reign of thirteen years, leaving all his rights to his son, then a child. Sephtha, the priest

* It has been already stated that the name of Sesostris, together with the glory of that conqueror, has been attributed to various Pharaohs. He to whom it is, perhaps, the most generally ascribed, and to whom Rosellini gives it, was Ramses the 3rd, great-great-grandfather of Ramses the 4th Sethos, and whose reign terminated about twenty-three years before that of Remerri commenced. The second of the above-mentioned exits of the Hyksos was that of the Hebrews, and the fourth was that of the Rasena.

of Vulcan, usurped the power which still belonged to the Pharaohs, and ruled for some time in the Thebaid; but not being able to retain the sceptre, he was set aside, and probably put to death, and the young Ramses was re-established.

Sephtha must have been related to the royal family of Egypt, and probably stood in the same relation to the crown, which the Orleans branch did to Charles X. of France. There are some interesting representations of him in the plates of Rosellini's great work, where he is seen presented to the divinity Amonrè, by Menes and Sesostris, the ancestors of the Pharaohs; an honour which he could not have presumed to claim had he not been of the royal race. It is probable that during the exile of the real sovereign, and the infancy of the heir apparent, Sephtha may have considered no one so justly entitled to sway the sceptre as the high priest of Egypt, himself sprung from the reigning house.

It was about the date of these revolutions and times of struggle, that we suppose the Rasena to have quitted Egypt and to have appeared in Italy. It is almost superfluous to remark, that if the Hyksos forced Remerri to retreat into Ethiopia, and if his son recovered the whole of Egypt, and with all the pride of conquest, reduced and expelled his enemies, carrying his arms into every Hyksos land, which, during his long life he had time to overrun; there must necessarily have been in the thirteenth century before the christian æra, a great emigration from Egypt of that people, both by sea and land.

Lybia also was then completely subdued, and annexed to his dominions.

We have thus carried on the train of probable conjecture, which already led us to the ancient city of Resen, as the early home of the Etruscan nation, and thence to lower Egypt and the Lybian coast, which we believe to have received the Rasena in their progress from Asia to Italy, and we have brought our colony to the point of their departure for their Ausonian settlement. We will only add to the reasons on which our Syrian and Egyptian theory is founded, one corroborating proof not hitherto mentioned, and that is the extraordinary similarity, almost identity, which is shown by their most authentic monuments, to have subsisted between the Etruscans and the refined people of Asia and Africa.

On examining the feasts, the dresses, the ornaments, the manners and customs of the Etruscans, as they are depicted in their paintings, and on their precious utensils, we at once recognize an Asiatic people. While in the style of their art, in their sacred rites, and in many of the objects of their religious veneration, we discern with equal accuracy, the impress of ancient Egypt.*

* To adduce examples of this is almost superfluous. It is only necessary to visit an Etruscan museum to be convinced of it. A few years since, the late Prince of Canino discovered a tomb at Vulci, of which the contents were Egyptian. The author possesses a large and beautiful scarabæus of root of emerald, of Etruscan form, and found at Chiusi, but of which

the engraving, a grove of Lotus and Isis giving suck to Horus, is as purely Egyptian as the same subject given in Rosellini's *Monumenti d'Egitto*. Etruscan scarabæi too have been seen engraved with the royal cartouche of a Pharaoh.—Ros. vol. iv. tells us that *Ludin* upon the monuments is often called the Land of the North, and Ethiopia and Nubia, the Land of the South.

CHAPTER III.

TARCHUN IN ITALY.

B. C.
CENT.
XIII.

WE now leave the region of probable conjecture, and approach that of historical certainty; since from whatever quarter of the world the Rasena may have come, or from whatever race they may have deduced their origin, the fact of their arrival in Italy is undoubted. I would venture to add that the fact of their having come from an eastern country is equally undoubted: and it is difficult to conceive how so great an author as Müller, who has done more than any other writer in our day to illustrate Etruscan history and antiquity, could have assigned a cradle among the rude and stormy crags of the Rhætian Alps, to the refined, luxurious, and scientific race, whose manners and customs recall the idea of Babylon, and whose elaborate religious ceremonies and artificial calculations, remind us of the wonderful inhabitants of the banks of the Nile.

Let us now proceed to inquire what notices we have among the principal authors of antiquity, concerning

the first settlement of the Rasena in the permanent European home which they occupied with so much glory during their fated Sæcula.

If the tradition of Herodotus, which we doubt not he learned from the Rasena themselves, through the medium of the Italian Greeks, may be depended upon, they are represented as having been driven to colonize originally by a famine, or some other plague, during which they made a vow to observe a sacred spring. Festus* gives us the full account of this institution which they introduced into Italy, and which, at the time that Rome was founded, was observed by every nation with whom they were in communication.

When a town or province was afflicted by some general calamity, the inhabitants made a vow, that if the gods would remove it, they would dedicate to their service all the children born in that year, and all the cattle born in the spring of the year upon which the dedicated children were old enough to colonize. This age was fixed at eighteen years, the time when young men were eligible for the army, and we must suppose that, along with the youthful colony, some older heads were usually sent to guide them, especially as their numbers were fixed, and were always expressed roundly by tens, as 30, 90, 100, 1000; and as the presence of an augur along with them was considered as of the greatest importance, and no man was capable of being an augur under the age of five-and-twenty. These colonies were considered as being in a peculiar manner under

* In Ver. Sac.

the divine protection, and the land which received them was held to be blessed.

The tradition then may be considered to read thus, and it seems in all points to agree with the collateral evidence preserved to us in ancient authors, or opened up to us by the recent discoveries amongst the Necropoleis in Italy.

"About sixty or eighty years before the Trojan war, and some time about the reigns of Uerri and of Ramses 4th, i. e. Sethos in Egypt, the RaSeNa, a people of Ludin, dwelling in, or upon the borders of, Lybia, which was then to a great extent under the power of the Assyrians, fitted out a fleet and sent forth the colony of a sacred spring, to sail northwards, and fix themselves in some new land. This colony was supplied with all useful instruments for agriculture, with provisions, arms, and furniture, and had for its chief Tarchun, who conducted them to the land of Umbria, on the west coast of Italy."

They landed at Gravisca, as appears to be proved by the foundation in its immediate vicinity of Tarquinia or Turchina, the town which bore Tarchun's name, and which was the seat of government, and the metropolis of Etruria Proper. Probably he made a treaty with the inhabitants, and was permitted peaceably to land, to draw up his ships, to disembark all his goods and persons, and to entrench himself on some limited spot, which he was allowed to consider as his own. Standing upon the heights of Corneto, we may imagine ourselves to be upon the very ground where Tarchun first pitched his

tents, and drew his lines, and arranged around him his well-ordered, and, as he thought, sacred colony.

We suppose him to have landed in peace for two reasons. First, because there was no tradition amongst the Rasena of any opposition on their first appearance, or of any battle or victory, which, had it taken place, they would naturally have kept in remembrance by some pillar or monumental stone, after the manner of the east,* and also, by some yearly feast ever after. Secondly, because almost every Phœnician and Egyptian colony seems at first to have established itself with the good-will of the natives, and almost every maritime settlement in Italy, from whatever quarter, preserves that tradition.

The Pelasgi are said to have come in peace. Æneas, whose history by Virgil, is probably in many parts drawn from that of Tarchun, is hospitably received, and has immediately a grant of land made to him. Carthage is founded in the same manner, and all the earliest towns in Sicily and Africa. What was the means of communication between the TyRSNi and the Umbri, we do not know, for if, even after centuries of intercourse, their languages were unlike, they must have been hopelessly unintelligible to each other at the beginning. But it is probable that the settlement granted to the strangers, was little more in its commencement than an absence of op-

* Josh. iv. 7. Josh. xxiv. 25; Gen. xxviii. 22; xxxv. 14.

position, and that the Umbri retired before the foreign tribe of glittering arms and gay apparel, with sentiments of amazement and fear.

The navy of Egypt was at that period, in so very flourishing a state, that a few years afterwards Ramses sent his ships round the coast of Africa, and took infinite pains to build for the navigation of the Red Sea, vessels* of as large a burden as had, under his flag, already for a very long time navigated the Mediterranean. † Ramses's brother, Danaus or Armais, fled from him into Greece, and as the ship he appeared in, was the first ever seen there, and named from him the Armais, so we must suppose Tarchun's vessels to have been the first ever beheld by the Umbrians; and in that case, they were probably regarded by them as great birds descended from the moon, or as Demi-gods careering over the sea; as the South Sea islanders have often considered the vessels and persons of the English. The idea that Tarchun's ships were the first ever seen in Italy, is confirmed by the Italians universally attributing the invention of the prow ‡ to the Etruscans, whilst we know that without prows they could not have made their voyage to Umbria. The next idea, that they were regarded as beings of another species, is confirmed by the tradition that Jove or Tina him-

* See Rosel. vol. v., 119. Herodotus ii. Ramses the 3rd sent 400 large ships into the Erythrean Sea to navigate the Arabian Gulf and Indian Ocean.

† Vide Diodorus, Rosellini.

‡ Vide Pliny.

self gave them the land, and that they were his peculiar children.*

We will now enumerate some of the testimonies of the Greek and Latin authors, as to the acts of Tarchun and his colony upon their first establishment in Italy. Livy† says, that they originally settled in Etruria Proper, and afterwards sent colonies to the north and south. Livy is an author upon whom we place the same reliance as upon Dionysius, because he also studied the history and antiquities of Etruria, which the Emperor Claudius,‡ his pupil, wrote under his inspection, and gave to the world in twenty books, all now lost. Livy was himself an Etruscan, and must therefore have known many things relating to his country without study, and as he devoted himself to writing and embellishing the history of Rome, and nowhere gives evidence of being proud of his own people, who were then sadly fallen from the pre-eminence which they once enjoyed, his testimony has yet greater weight, for it has every appearance of being free from all partiality. He gives us the idea of a Scotchman or Irishman writing about sixty years since, in courtly tone, the history of his country; and not wishing to offend the ruling power by any attempt to raise his own great heroes—his Douglasses and Bruces, his O'Niels and O'Briens, to an equality with the first historic names of England. Considered in this view, Livy's works contain some very extraordinary passages relating

* Varro.

† Lib. v. 33.

‡ Suet. in Claud. c. 41.

to Etruria, and such as we may suppose to have been universally and unquestionably acknowledged as true, by the Roman people in the days of Augustus.

At the time of Æneas's arrival, the Etruscans were, according to Livy, book i. 2, "wealthy and powerful, "not by land only, but by sea, extending the whole "length of Italy; which from the Alps to the straits "of Sicily, was filled with their fame. Their towns "were walled and their armies numerous." Again (in Book v. 33) he says, "The Tuscans ruled Italy "before the Romans, and their dominions extended "far by sea and land, even to the upper and lower "seas, by which Italy is surrounded, as if it were "an island. The appellations of these seas show us "the vast power of that people, for the Italians call "the one Tuscan from their name, and the other "Adriatic, from Adria, a Tuscan colony. The "Greeks name them Turrhenian and Adriatic. "This people, divided into twelve states, inhabited "the country extending to both seas, and by sending "colonies, equal in number to the mother cities, "first on this side of the Appenines to the lower "sea, and afterwards on the other side, possessed "all the tract beyond the Po even to the Alps, "excepting a corner belonging to the Venetians, "who dwelt on the sea. Nor can it be questioned "that this is the origin of the Alpine nations, especially of the Rheati, though from their unfortunate situation they have become barbarians, "and now retain nothing of their original, except-

"ing some remains of the language, and even that "is corrupted."

Strabo in his 5th book says, that Tarchun founded the twelve states of Etruria Proper, and was king of the whole. Also that Turrhenia took its name from him. Dionysius, lib. 1, says, that the Tyrrheni conquered Agylla, Pisa, Saturnia, Alsium, Faleria, and Fescennium, from the Pelasgi, or the aborigines, i. e. the Umbrians, and that these Pelasgi, whose power began to decay, and who were driven out of Italy before the fall of Troy, learnt in their latter days, navigation and fighting from the Turrheni. The only traces that remained of them in Italy, he says, were some few cities, such as Cortona and Perugia, which they possessed in common with the aborigines or Umbri. Some say that the Pelasgi were driven north of the Tiber by Tyrrhenus, the son of Hercules. Pliny says, that the Turrheni took 300 towns from the Umbrians, and that all Etruria Proper was conquered by them from the Umbri. Cato (ap. Servium) affirms that Tarchun founded Pisa, Tarquinia and Perugia, and Silvius Italicus * says that he both founded Cortona and also lived there.

Cicero de Div. informs us, that Tarchun promulgated to the Etruscans the laws and constitutions of Tages, which were the fundamental rules of their government and polity, and which treated of Tribes, Curiae and Centuries, the founding of cities, the constitution of the army, the laying out of camps, the

* Vide Dempster de Etr. Reg.

division of lands, the ceremonies of peace and war, the duties of subjects, the rights of strangers, the cultivation of the soil, the laws of augury, many details of domestic life, and above all, the forms and rites of religious worship. Festus says, that he gave the Aruspices to the twelve people of Etruria. Virgil* makes him the great military chief of the Etruscans, calling forth their forces, marshalling and heading their army, conquering Mezentius, assisting Æneas, and at length offering to resign to him the Etruscan crown—a poetical expression of Etruscan Virgil to intimate that his nation obeyed the Romans, not from inability to resist, but because they believed it to be the will of the gods. Virgil names all the principal states as then acknowledging the rule of Tarchun, and as bringing their troops to join him by sea, as if every state of Etruria Proper were maritime. Servius, in his annotations on the Æneid, quotes Flaccus and Cecina, two Etruscan historians, who say that Tarchun crossed the Apennines, and founded the twelve states of north Etruria. And Virgil, in common with some other Latin authors, asserts the same thing.

Here then is the data upon which we found our account of the life and times of Tarchun, the leader and lawgiver of the Etruscan people. "Now Tarchun and his might, and how he warred, and his deeds which he did," we must tell of them even as we find them incidentally and traditionally mentioned, in the annals of Greece and Rome: for we know but

* Æneid, vii. ix.

little of their date and sequence, excepting only the amount of the conquests, and the chief of the institutions, which are by concurring and unvarying testimony referred to him.

Tarchun landed in Umbria and effected his debarkation in peace, but he did not long remain so, as is proved by the number of cities he founded, the tract of country he conquered, and the settled state in which he left the land at the time of his death. The numbers of his colony we cannot pretend to determine, but as 240,000 is the sum of every recorded exit of the Hyksos from Egypt, and as Herodotus's tradition says, that the Turseni consisted of half the Ludim or Lydian population, we must presume their amount to have been considerable. They consisted also of women as well as men, which we know, not only because such was the law of the sacred spring, and such the story in every instance but one of the retirement of the Hyksos from Egypt; but also because of the internal evidence which we derive from the respect uniformly paid by the Etruscans to their women, which argues an equality from the first, certainly of mental cultivation, and possibly of equal daring. The honour which, as we shall hereafter see, the Etruscans uniformly rendered to the weaker sex, would not have been thought of to the conquered, and could not have been yielded to the barbarous; whilst it was the established custom of the countries from which they came. In Egypt and in Syria the women were always rulers of the house, and sometimes sat upon the throne, witness

the account of Herodotus* as to what he saw himself; the stories of Nitocris and Semiramis, and the ascertained facts of Miriam and Deborah, Amense and Tmaumoth,† Dido, Jezebel, and Athaliah.

We have reason to think that Tarchun laid out a portion of ground 200 feet square, which was his sacred inclosure, for augury, where he might consult the gods upon all his proceedings, and that he encamped his people around him in tens, and fifties, and hundreds, such being the law of their after settlement in the conquered country, and such the custom of Egypt, of the Hebrews when they left Egypt,‡ and of the Hindus of the Assyrian stock. His first step would doubtless be to found a city, in which his people might live, and as this was done by marking out its limits with a plow, he probably drove the instrument, a bronze Egyptian plow, himself, whilst it made the first furrow. There is an ancient bronze in the Jesuits' Museum at Rome, representing this scene, and giving us the form of the plow, which never afterwards varied; and that which had belonged to Tarchun was probably for many centuries, held to be sacred in Etruria.

We know not whether Tarchun invented the ceremonies used on the foundation of all Etruscan cities, or whether he transplanted, as far as he was informed of them, the customs of his fathers. It is

* Lib. ii.

† Vide Rosellini.

‡ Vide Rosellini, and Sir William Jones.

scarcely possible that he could have been present at the foundation of a city in Egypt or Lybia, supposing him to have been in the flower of his age when he led forth his colony. But he took care that none of his acts should ever seem to be arbitrary, and therefore he affected to proceed under divine inspiration, and had his forms and ceremonies written down and engraved, that they might serve for the laws of his people to the latest posterity.

We know these ceremonies, because they were all used upon the foundation of Rome, and are fully described by Plutarch, in his life of Romulus.

"First, a circular ditch was dug, about what is now called the Comitia, i. e. the market-place, and the first fruits of everything that is reckoned either good by use, or necessary by nature, were cast into it, and then each one bringing a small quantity of the earth of the country, threw it in promiscuously," to show, says Isidorus, to the heads of the colony, that it ought to be their chief study to procure for their fellow-citizens all the conveniences of life, and to maintain peace and union amongst themselves. "This ditch had the name of Mundus in Etruscan," whence has been derived that of Mundus, the Universe, and it was probably in its origin a sacrifice to Mandu or Mantus, and designed to appease the gods of the Shades. "In the next place, the city was marked out like a circle round this centre, and the founder having fitted to a plow a bronze plow-share, and yoked a bull and cow, himself drew a deep furrow round the boundaries." The bull and cow

are said to be emblematical of fecundity, though we think it likely they implied that male and female should always labour together as true yoke-fellows for the prosperity of their city. "The business of those that followed was, to turn all the clods raised by the plow inward to the city, and not to suffer any to remain outward; implying, by turning them inwards, that the walls should never be destroyed. This furrow described the compass of the city, and between it and the walls was a space called by contraction Pomærium, as lying behind or beyond the wall. Wherever they designed to have a gate, there they took the plow-share out of the ground, and lifted up the plow, making a break for it; thence they look upon the whole wall as sacred, excepting the gateways. If they considered the gates in the same light as the rest, it would be deemed unlawful either to receive the necessities of life by them, or to carry out through them anything considered unclean." All this, says Plutarch, "was done at Rome by the Etruscan Aruspices or priests, according to stated ceremonies and written rules, as is usual in their sacred mysteries."*

These rules and ceremonies were the laws of Tages,† which Tarchun said were divinely taught to him. According to this account, all the Etruscan cities were walled and fortified, the walls were held sacred never to be violated,‡ and the cities were

* Plut. in Rom.

† Macrobius, Sat. 8.

‡ The plow was used for the purpose of desecration, as well as that of consecration.

entered by gates. The Pomærium or Postmurum, is, according to Niebuhr, a suburb taken into the city, i. e. included within the limits for auspices, and surrounded by a slight wall and ditch, but not included within the high and holy walls of the fortified city. According to Livy, i. 44, this name was also given to an unoccupied space between the wall and the nearest houses within, equal in extent to that without, which it was unlawful to cultivate, and which was therefore devoted to pasture. Now as Romulus followed the laws of Tarchun, so we doubt not that Tarchun acted exactly and really as his follower, nearly five centuries later, is said to have done. He founded all the cities, and most especially the first city, with auguries, and he himself was the augur or high priest of his own colony.

The augur held in his hand a small crooked staff, without knots, called a Lituus,* and going apart from the crowd with the few chiefs or Lucumoes, whom he judged to be the most interested, he made lines in the air with his Lituus, in this form +, due north and south, east and west;† and marked upon the ground the point where the lines crossed each other. He and his chiefs then sat down upon the spot, covering their heads, and waiting until they should have some manifestation of the will of the gods. At length the looked-for sign was given, and we presume that it consisted in this instance of ten large birds which appeared upon the right hand, and which Tarchun called vultures, the Egyptian

* Liv. i. 18.

† Müller and Niebuhr.

bird of victory. As tradition says, that twelve vultures appeared upon the foundation of Rome, intimating, according to the Etruscan augurs, twelve centuries or *sæcula* of dominion, so vultures, or creatures resembling them, are more likely than any other sign, to have been the omen from which they inferred that Tina had given them dominion in the new country of Umbria, for ten *sæcula*, or 1100 years, an Etruscan *sæculum* averaging 110 years; and this period they named by the remarkable Hebrew term of *one day*—their *one day* of prosperity and rule. This prophecy was constantly current amongst the Rasena, and is more than once noticed in the Latin writers, so that when forced to submit to Sylla, the people believed they were only bowing to a pre-determined fate: and whilst this does not appear to have broken their courage, or to have, in any degree, relaxed their opposition to tyranny at the last, it certainly must have greatly animated them and have filled them with an enthusiasm for their leaders, and a confidence in themselves, at the first, that would secure to them victory.

For three or four years, we may suppose them to have been very busily occupied in building their new city and cultivating the small territory round it, and as they, according to Dionysius, were the first erectors of fortifications in Italy, so it is probable that this innovation upon the Umbrian custom of unwalled villages, or rude towns surrounded by high polygonal, but not towered or turreted walls, may have first excited the displeasure of their neighbours, who

would not like to see this new people rooted and fixed amongst them, so that they could not be driven away again. Whatever might be the cause, Tarchun was soon engaged in war, a situation which he would most carefully avoid, until he felt prepared for it.

Being, however, attacked or insulted, he drew out his troops to punish the aggressors, and it could be no very difficult task for the son of Assyria, and the tribe out of Egypt, with their rich dress and polished armour, to conquer and drive before them the comparatively uncivilized Umbrians, or their subjects the already subdued Pelasgi, or the few Sikeli,* the inhabitants of Italy in general, who might come to the assistance of the Umbri.

It seems probable that Tarchun first conquered the region which afterwards formed the state of Tarquinia, in the neighbourhood of his own first town, because that state ever after bore his name, and contained within it the holy fane of the Etruscans, at which they held their yearly parliaments, and in which they dedicated a temple to national union or concord. They probably held their annual meetings here, even before the country, afterwards theirs, had been wholly won by their swords, and ceded to them in perpetuity. As we do not imagine Tarchun to have had any allies in his first conquests, and as there is no example of the states of any ancient Italian people proving treacherous to each other, though they were frequently neutral: we must imagine Tarchun's conquests to have been gradual, and

* That is Itali, according to Niebuhr.

to have occupied some years, even though each town or state he conquered would so far increase his force, that a portion of their men would be obliged to make war with and for him, and to serve as allies in his future expeditions. His ships would probably subdue with ease the rude and poor towns upon the sea coast, and he would march against his enemies according to the points from which they attacked him, or towards which they retreated.

We are told that he took the Pelasgic towns of Agylla and Alsium, Pisa, Faleria, and Fescennium, and the Umbro-Pelasgic towns of Perugia and Cortona.* Of these we can only dispute Agylla, which from other evidence, appears not to have been subject to the Etruscans during the lifetime of Tarchun, but to have been taken into alliance only, and may possibly have been bound to furnish him with troops, and to receive with friendship any Etruscan families who wished to settle within its precincts. We are further informed, that the whole of Etruria Proper was conquered from the Umbrians, and that within this space, 300 of their towns or villages were taken and destroyed. It is very probable that Tarchun first conquered northwards to Pisa, and that then he ascended the Arno to Fiesole, whence he turned south, and fell upon the Camerti and Sarsinati, two distinct tribes of his brave and energetic, though half-civilized foes. However slow and gradual might have been his first conquests, the Umbri now fled before him like the leaves of autumn driven by the

* Dion. i.

wind, and finding themselves powerless to resist a foe who did not seek for conquest, but only for security, they were glad to sue for peace with the Rasena, who offered them a treaty on such just and equal terms, that it was never afterwards broken.

The land which became theirs, and which was subject wholly and solely to their laws, extended from the Apennines to the Tiber, and from the Turrhene Sea to the confines of Umbria Proper. But the Umbrians conceived such a respect for their allies, and were so pleased with the terms granted to them, that they adopted gradually much of their religion and most of their laws and customs, and they never afterwards attacked the Etruscans nor deserted them, nor made any conquests separate from them. We learn from the Eugubian tables, that they joined them annually in one common worship, and we find Umbrian families buried in the Etruscan necropoleis all throughout Etruria. Cato* calls Umbria a part of Tuscany, and Stephanus of Byzantium speaks of all the Umbrian cities as Turrhene. Each people dwelt indifferently in the towns of the other; the Tuscan language was understood and spoken, as we have reason to know, throughout Umbria, and the Rasena, as their history proves to us, had the wise and singular policy of making with those whom they conquered, such a peace as gave them a share in the government, and an equal interest in the permanence and prosperity of the state; thus nullifying all feelings of humiliation and hostility, and convert-

* Cato apud Servium, xii. 753.

ing them from fierce and bitter enemies, into grateful allies and indissoluble friends.

Herodotus says, "They built cities in the land of Umbria, and inhabit them still." We, who write three-and-twenty centuries later than Herodotus, are tempted, to our own amazement, to use the same words. To this very hour the Tusci dwell side by side with the Umbri, and the small tribes of the Sarsinati or Sarteinati, and the Camerti, or people of Camers, inhabit their ancient soil; and it is this almost incredible connexion with the olden time, this undestroyed, however often broken chain, that renders Italy so interesting beyond all other lands to the historical tourist, and that makes it, as it were, the neutral soil, where the ages before and after Christ harmonize; and where Europe and Asia, Greece and Germany, cultivation and barbarism, Christianity and heathenism, meet and melt into each other.

It may be proper to say a few words in proof of some of the assertions just made. We know that Tuscan was spoken in Umbria, and we are inclined to call it the court language; because, when the Romans wished to send ambassadors* to the Umbrians, they sought out as interpreter, a man who could speak Tuscan. We know that Umbrians were entombed in the Tuscan burying-grounds, because they are found there now, and have, sometimes, like the Sentinati at Chiusi† and Tarquinia, the word

* Livy, l. ix.

† See *Archæologia* for 1827 and 1836.

"Umbrana" affixed to their names; and we know that the Umbrians shared with them the government of such towns as they assisted to found or to conquer, because, Plin. iii. notices it in Campania, and says that Acerra and Nocera were named from them. Strabo (l. v.) mentions it of Acerra and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (l. viii.) associates them in Cuma.

It appears extraordinary that the Etruscans, excited by opposition and flushed with victory, should not have carried their conquests further, and either have crossed the Po and gone forward to the Alps, or have subdued Campania, as far as its utmost cape. If the only two people in Italy with any pretensions to civilization, the Pelasgi and the Umbri, could not withstand them, what could there be further south, to oppose their conquering career? But Strabo (l. v.) tells us that they were not an ambitious people, and that they did not fight from the lust of conquest. They had gained as much as they could well settle, and they never seem to have desired a widely extended empire. Where they did fight, Strabo says, "it was not for sole possession, but for dominion, for lands and soldiers, money and slaves;" such things as they supposed they could not now prosper nor be safe without. Some writers, as Flaccus and Cecina, do indeed say that Tarchun crossed the Po and founded twelve states and chief cities between the Po and the Alps, but we know from Livy and Virgil, that these cities were colonies from Etruria Proper, and it is alto-

gether incredible, that during the lifetime of one man, Central Etruria could have grown to such maturity as for each state to send out its own independent colony. Tarchun is here used in an eastern manner, to express, not the man, but his tribe; and as we say that Israel founded Jerusalem and Jericho, though Israel, i. e. Jacob, was dead, centuries before the Israelite foundation of either; so we may say, that Tarchun founded the twelve states north of the Po as well as within the Apennines.

To this it may be objected, that if Tarchun's people and not himself founded the states of the north, so his people in later times, and not himself, may have founded the states of the centre. But Strabo says, that he was king of the whole of Central Etruria, and Virgil gives it as the tradition, that 400 years before Rome, each state was settled and under its own prince, but all bowed to the authority of Tarchun, and led forth their troops at his call.

We shall suppose, therefore, that Tarchun is now monarch of this new country, and that, according to the usual custom of the east, he has changed its name, causing that which had been Umbria to be henceforward the Tarchunian, or TuRSeNian Etruria. Let us stop, before inquiring into the different aspect which it must necessarily have assumed under its new government, to make some few observations upon the people over whom his arms triumphed, and with whom he was successively engaged. Let us inquire what had been the previous state of Italy, and who

were its inhabitants; and in our backward researches, let us begin with the nation from whom the Etruscans won their settlements, and ask who were the Umbri?

CHAPTER IV.

THE UMBRI AND SIKELI.

WE will devote a short chapter to an inquiry concerning two races, with whom the Rasena were brought into collision during this first period of their Italian rule, and who are important rather for their continued existence in their descendants, the inhabitants of the Italian peninsula and its adjacent island, than from their early historical celebrity. The Umbri and Sikeli, though, in the times of which we are treating, comparatively obscure and uncivilized, possess greater claims to the original paternity of the existing Italian people than the more illustrious Etruscans and Pelasgians, to whom Italy owes its institutions and civilization. Even as the descent of the people of England may with greater certainty be mainly traced from the ancient Britons and their Saxon successors, than from the conquering Romans or the lordly Normans.

I. THE UMBRI.

According to Dionysius i. 19, Pliny iii. 14, and

Florus iii. 17, the Umbri were native Italians, which we presume to mean regular colonists from Istria, Carinthia or Dalmatia, who had at first settled in small numbers upon unoccupied ground, but when they increased and became so numerous as to require more room, they attacked the Sikeli, who are the first known inhabitants of Italy, and driving them southwards, took possession of their land. According to Niebuhr, they are the oldest people in Italy; but we cannot understand how the oldest people can have driven away a people still older. They warred with the Pelasgi, who had intruded into their country, and finally triumphed over them, and at the time the Etruscans landed in Italy, they ruled, according to Niebuhr, from the river Inn northwards, to the mountains of Garganus, southwards, including the whole of the country on both sides of the Po, and over all the centre of Italy. Now, in proof of their southern boundary, a valley in the centre of the Garganus is still called by the peasants "Valle degli Umbri;" and close to this valley is a wood called Umbricchio, and another rather more to the north is called "Cognetto d'Umbri," and as a testimony to their former possession of Etruria, the two rivers, Ombrone and Umbro, which are named from the Umbri, run through the centre of Tuscany. Pliny (iii. 5) says, that they ruled over the country between the Alps and Apennines, as far south as the Anio, also the southern part of Picenum and the districts of Palmenze, Pretutianus, and Adrianus, all of which they conquered

from the Siculi; and Zenodotus of Trezene, a Greek, names Reati (afterwards of the Sabines) as their chief settlement.

The Umbri are by many authors called a tribe of the Oscans, meaning by Oscans,* simply the inhabitants of Italy or of the land of Ausonia, called also Auruncia, Osci, and Opici. Niebuhr thinks that the Sabelli, that is, the Sabines, the Marsi, the Samnites, the Volsci, and their offsets, were probably all of the same Oscan blood, though separated into tribes by mountains and rivers, until they became strangers and sometimes enemies to each other. The Umbri were warlike, for they were conquerors; settled, for they had more than 300 towns when the Etruscans invaded them; and agricultural, otherwise they could not have maintained, as they did, a large population in their mountainous and stormy, though fertile land. After their subjugation by the Etruscans, they continued to be their faithful and inseparable allies, sharing in all their conquests and all their colonies, as we shall afterwards show; adopting most of their customs, and sacrificing in token of union, at the same altars and to the same divinities. Nevertheless, it was a Tuscan maxim, that "no people† should change its gods or forsake the worship of its ancestors;" therefore, the Umbri retained their national divinities without images, and in Umbria Proper, always continued to be governed by their own laws, and their native rulers. Their coins are Etruscan, and their letters,

* Micali Storia, viii.

† Vide Müller, b. vii.

as shown on the Eugubian tables, are a mixture of Tuscan and Latin. Their capital became Ikuvine or Iguvium, the k and g sounding alike "ig," and it is now Italianized to Gubbio, the chief town of the duchy of Urbino, or the ancient land of Umbria Proper.

The treaty which they made with the Rasena was the following:—"There shall be peace between the contracting powers, the Rasena and the Umbri, so long as the heavens and the earth retain their places: neither shall attack the other, nor yet suffer the other to be attacked:—neither shall raise up enemies to the other, and if one suffer loss, the other shall afford him protection, help, and support. They shall share one common danger, and divide one common booty; and if causes of complaint arise between them, they shall be decided within ten days in the place where the offence happened. Nothing shall be added to this treaty nor aught diminished from it."

This curious document is to be found in Dionys. vi. 95, p. 415, and is copied by him from Macer, an older author, "who (says Niebuhr) seems himself to have read the treaty, and who describes the offerings, (all of them Tuscan,) made upon its confirmation. We have, indeed, here changed the names *Latins* and *Romans* for *Umbri* and *Rasena*, but this and no other was the form of treaty used throughout Italy, from the days of Tarchun down to the battle of Regillus; and we must remember that it was from the Rasena that the Latins learned, in the first instance, all that was either eastern in their

style, or civilized in their diplomacy. The Latins learned from the Rasena, and did not teach them. And as we know the manner in which Tarquinia was founded, because we have the records of the foundation of Rome, according to the written rules of the Etruscans; so we know the Etruscan treaties, because we can read the written form of the ancient Latin ones. This will be proved as we advance. Meanwhile, we may observe that for some ages the Etruscans and the Greeks were the only civilized people in Italy, and that it is the invariable experience of mankind, as testified to us by all history, that law and order, justice and equity, letters and refinement, are communicated by the civilized to the barbarous, and not by the barbarous to the civilized. Tarchun did not learn how to word his treaties from the rude tribes of Italy. Nor did he, the Oriental chief, change his words and sentiments for theirs. If, therefore, the above was the form of all the Italian treaties, it was of the Etruscan; and if of the Etruscan, it was originally derived from them, and not imitated by them. On the subject of war and treaties, we may add, that Niebuhr thinks that, in the case of allied armies, the chief command was probably alternated between the allied powers.

We believe the Umbri to have been of the same origin as the Sikeli, and all the other tribes of Ausonia, but differing from them in being an educated and regularly appointed colony on their first arrival, and not mere stragglers and outsettlers who had multiplied in time, like the race they drove

southwards. It is evident that all the Italian tribes came from the north, for their invariable movement is towards the south, and none of them were maritime, whence we conclude that they entered Italy by land, round the north of the Adriatic, or across the mountains. The Umbri are distinguished by all ancient authors from their countrymen, because of their indissoluble alliance with the Tuscans, during the whole of their historical existence. It was a remarkable state of union without ever merging into identity. The Umbri never became the children of Tages, nor the people of Tarchun, though they never ceased to be the admirers, imitators, and friends of both.

II. THE SIKELI.

We will now ask who were the Siculi or Sikeli? Whatever author we may consult concerning the first inhabitants of Italy, we always find the Sikeli mentioned as the people dwelling in the land from the beginning. Hence, they were the first who were attacked by after settlers, and being early driven from their aboriginal homes, they are said to have been finally hunted through all the tribes of the Italians, until they took refuge in Sicily, an island which still bears their name.* They were, therefore, neither a warlike, nor a powerful, nor a civilized people; and Sallust† tells us that they were utter

* Vide Strabo, Dion., and Diodorus.

† In vit. Catalini.

savages, feeding upon acorns, and clothing themselves in skins.

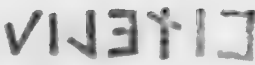
To dress in skins implies either that they hunted wild animals in order to use the fur, or that they kept flocks and used their fleece. They were, therefore, in so far as this account is true, hunters and shepherds; and we cannot have the smallest doubt that they lived upon chesnuts, and clothed themselves in sheep and goat skins, and fed upon the milky produce of their flocks, such as Ricotta and other preparations of a like nature; because they do so still. They were not a commercial or manufacturing people, and it is probable, from the very marshy state of early Italy, that they were not agricultural. They could, therefore, only be such as historians paint them. We do not know that they had any towns, and they are represented as dislodged first by the Umbri, and then by the Pelasgi, till in very despair they left the mainland of Italy, and took refuge beyond the sea. They were probably, in the beginning, not a regular colony, but stragglers from Illyria, who brought forward their flocks, and dwelt in a wide pasture land on either side of the Po, which no man disputed with them, until the regular colony of the Umbri required their room.

In process of time, this word "Sikeli" came to be applied to all who dwelt in the provinces whence the Siculi* had been removed; the Umbri called all their enemies Siculi, who were not Turseni or

* Or Sikeli.

Pelasgi, and Niebuhr proves that the other nations of Italy did the same; so that Sikeli or Siculi came to mean Italian, and is only another name for all the Italian people whom we do not choose to distinguish by any more limited appellation. Niebuhr (vol. i. p. 51) brings examples to prove, that in old Italian S and V, K and T, are interchangeable, and frequently used for each other in different dialects. Hence Sikelus is also written Vikelus or Vitalus, Sitalus, Italus. This, in striking opposition to the perished Pelasgi, shows us that both Italy and Sicily at this moment preserve the names of their oldest people.* Italus is written by the Etruscans in their inscriptions Uitellia, very like in sound to the present Italia, and they called all the nations by that name, who bordered upon them, south and east. Uitellia was pronounced and spelt by the Latins and Sabines "Italika," and at the time of Hannibal's war, all the tribes were thus called, excepting the Umbri and Turseni; and in many Greek and Latin authors, the name is used for all who were not Greeks and Tuscans. Servius tells us that the king of the Sikeli was Italus, by way of a figure to show that both were one: and Niebuhr says, that Uitellia was the name of a native goddess, and that all the country between the Tiber and the Garganus long bore her name. Thus the Latins of the Tiber may be said to have dwelt in the very heart of Uitellia or Italia. The Samnite and other coins struck in the

* Niebuhr mentions some inscriptions in which Latinus is written Lakinus.

social war, have on them the Etruscan  Viteliu, and Servius (viii. 328) writes, "Italia plura nomina habuit, dicta est enim Vitalia." Latium is particularly named by Varro,* as the seat of the Siculi;† and probably they, i. e. the first inhabitants of Italy, found a resting-place there, between the rule of the Umbri and their wars with the Pelasgi, who drove these Siculi farther south.

We have little more to say or to learn concerning them, for nations that have neither monuments nor written annals, can have no history, and can be considered only as a series of generations or individuals, who are born and die, however long any particular spot may be called by their name, or remain in their possession. Excepting as Italians in general, we know not how to designate nor to distinguish one single hero of Sikelian blood, nor one single work of Sikelian production. They are said to have warred with the Sicani in Sicily, and to have so far gained the advantage over them, that besides establishing themselves in the enemy's ground, they caused their name to become dominant in that island. Common sense confirms tradition in pointing out to us the probability, that Sicily was originally peopled from Italy, and therefore, that Italus, as Servius says, was king of the Siculi; but every town or state in that island that figures in history was of foreign establish-

* Lib. iv. and Pliny, iii. 5.

† For Siculi, vide Dionys. i. 10, Varro, Pliny, Solinus, c. 8, Servius, xi. 317.

ment, and was a colony either of Phœnicians from Carthage, or of Greeks from Asia Minor and Grecia Proper. Hence the unillustrious Sikeli inhabited the centre of the island, and are to us a demonstration, better than all narrative, and all quotations, to show us what was the original state of Latium, and what the real, and pure, and native civilization of early Italy.

The Sikeli had no army, and no navy. From this we gather that they were not a maritime people, and did not make their first settlements on the coast, nor arrive by sea, like the Rasena. They had no cities, no forts, no walled towns, no laws commented upon by the Greeks nor adopted by the Romans, like the Rasena, no public character, and no grand civil institutions. Yet they were shepherds and hunters, and probably, in so far as necessary, became agriculturists; they in time learnt letters and numbers for the common uses of life, from their neighbours; they could fight when attacked, and run their boats along the shore, for the sake of fishing and change of habitation. They had a religion, so far as we can trace, of rude stones, and holy groves, and mysterious caves, and sacred animals, and voices in the wind; and they had unwritten laws of common custom, and the rule of Head men. But a treaty, such as we have described with the Umbri, or a city, such as we know to have been Tarquinia, they were as incapable of imagining or of executing, as of flying in the air, or of living in the sea.

It appears certain that the first colonists of Italy

were not educated men, though of the same blood, and with the same original powers of mind and body, as the most distinguished of the stock of Japhet. But uneducated men, as we see in our own island, do not civilize each other, and are usually quite contented in all ignorance not positively inconvenient, being all the while proud of conscious ability and bodily strength. Moreover, uneducated men are not submissive to law and order, except in cases of extreme danger, and cannot endure the restraints and refinements of civilized life. This was the case with the Sikeli; they amassed no riches to tempt conquest, they exhibited no weakness to provoke contempt, and they had no discipline or warlike force to excite fear. They accordingly dwelt in general peace with their wealthier neighbours, and remained in all prominent respects as they had originally been. Whilst such of their race as did not flee from the mainland, being conquered by nations who were superior to themselves in cultivation, or being forced into continual and unavoidable communication by the forts upon their borders, and the colonies spread throughout their territories, enjoyed the advantage of gradually becoming assimilated to a more excellent way, and of adopting as their own, institutions which raised them in the end to be the greatest, and most distinguished amongst the empires of the earth.

At the time of Tarchun's landing and conquests in Umbria, we have no account of any nations in Italy excepting the Pelasgi, the Umbri, and

the Sikeli, or, as they are also called, the Opici or the Oscans.

We shall return to this subject at the period when we suppose Italy to have become more thickly peopled, and more distinctly divided.

CHAPTER V.

THE PELASGI.

WE now come to that very difficult question, who were the Pelasgi?—that people with whom the Umbri warred before the arrival of the Rasena, and whom they finally succeeded in driving away or rendering tributary.

If we ask, who were the Scythians, the Israelites, the Egyptians, Ethiopians, Lybians, Carthaginians, Greeks, Romans, Persians, Assyrians, or Phœnicians, any of these ancient nations renowned in history, their localities are easily pointed out, and some undisputed information concerning them is, with equal facility, obtained. If we ask, who were the less known Umbri, the Etrusci, the Latins, the Sabines, or the Lucanians, the map of Italy will answer us now. But if we ask, who were the Pelasgi? who figure in all the early annals of Greece, Italy, and Asia, and who are named by every Greek and Latin historian, we read such different and irreconcilable accounts of them as to make us doubt if such a

people ever had any real existence. When we look over the maps, whether ancient or modern, of the wide territories which they overran, and the islands which they colonized, we find that they have left not a single province, nor stream, nor mountain; not a single city, nor cave, nor fountain, to give evidence of their being, and carry forward their name. Yet there are walls both in Italy and Greece, of the same construction, built of immensely large polygonal blocks of stone, the angles being neatly fitted to each other; and there is a line of towns having these walls, and gates with a peculiar symbol on them, which are ascribed to the Pelasgi, extending directly across Italy, and resembling walls and gates ascribed to the same people in Greece, such as Lycosura, Tyrins, and Mycene, and in some parts of Asia Minor. The architecture is as massive as that of the Etruscans, but ruder, less laboured, and less regular. Pausanias (lib. 21) distinguishes the styles both from the Etruscan, which was quadrilateral, regular and without cement, and from the Cyclopean, which was massive, but irregular, having the interstices filled up with small stones. Now as these polygonal walls are to be found at Spina on the coast, and strike across to Amiternum, Acquicola, Alba, Arpino, Preneste, Alatri, and Atena, and as they are not Etruscan, it is impossible not to believe in the existence of some other race by whom they were erected.

We have somewhat contradictory accounts of the Pelasgi by different writers; such as, that they

were the origin of everything noble and refined in the Grecian character, and on the other hand, that they were cruel and barbarous,* ignorant, weak, and wild. Herodotus (lib. 1) says, that they were a fixed nation, in opposition to the Helenes, who were always wandering; and Dionysius, that they were never quiet, and that they derived their name from Pelargos, a stork, to denote that they were for ever on the move. Herodotus (lib. 8) says, that they built cities, and conquered, and prospered, and spread; Dionysius, (lib. 1,) that the first set who came into Italy could neither build nor fight, and that the second set, who could build, learned both fighting and navigation from the Turrheni. Homer calls them "Godlike;"† while many authors‡ say they were the slaves of the Enotri in Italy; and Herodotus, that they became at a very early date the slaves of the Hellenes in Greece. All agree that they disappeared both in Greece and Italy about the time of the Trojan war, and in Asia soon after; and that such as were not exterminated, or enslaved, became then amalgamated with other people.

We think there is something very extraordinary in these first fathers of the great works of Europe suddenly disappearing, like the genius of a fairy tale, into thin and unsubstantial air, and we think also that the various accounts of them are as irreconcilable as those of the barbarous and civilized Hyksos

* Hecataeus, Strabo, Dion.

† Odys. xix. 177.

‡ See Niebuhr, i.

in Egypt, whom in various points they closely resemble. Indeed, there can be little doubt that the Pelasgi were not one people, but many people: and that their name does not signify a nation, but is the characteristic of some class of men. Such, for instance, as "Pale-face" expresses to the North American Indian, and "Children of the Sea" to the men of Hindostan. They know not of the white stranger, whether he be English or French, Dutch or Portuguese, Swedish or Italian. He is a "Pale-face," and under that name they would describe all the nations of Europe, however much they might differ from one another in language, religion, and habit. Dionysius (lib. 1) mentions an idea that the name Pelasgi might be derived from Pelagos, the sea, and it no doubt originally meant "maritime stranger:" for in every country, numbers of them seem to have arrived by sea, and to have made settlements upon the sea-coast.*

Herodotus (lib. viii.) says, that they were the oldest inhabitants of Hellas, called from them Pelasgia, and that they came from Thessaly, and had no images. Other Greek historians say that their original seat was first in the Hellespont, whence they spread into Thessaly, but agree with Herodotus that they reigned in Argos, Lacedemonia, Attica, and Arcadia, and that they peopled Thrace, Bœotia, Phocis, Ionia, and the islands of the Egean Sea. Strabo (v. 221) says the same. And Niebuhr adds to

* Concerning the Pelasgi, vide Herodotus, vii. and viii. Strabo, vii. ix. xiii.

this enumeration, Macedonia. Herodotus says that their tongue was barbarous, that is, not Greek, and that the Atheni, Lacedæmoni, Argives, and Arcadians, had all turned into Hellenes before the return of those Italian Pelasgi, whom with brotherly kindness they made their slaves, fifty years or two generations previous to the Trojan war. Menecrates says that in Asia they became extinct as unaccountably, immediately after the Trojan war. Again, Herodotus says, that Argos of the Pelasgi was founded by Inachus, son of Ocean and father of Phoroneus, who built a temple to Hera or Juno; that nine kings succeeded him, and that the ninth, Pelasgus, was conquered by Danaus the Egyptian, whose fifty daughters married and settled in fifty towns of the Pelasgi. Lynceus, whom others make a native prince, and husband of one of these daughters, is said by Herodotus* to have been an Egyptian from the Thebaid, and to have built Lycosura. Now as Herodotus calculates the foundation of Argos two hundred years before the introduction of letters and numbers by Cadmus, we shall beg leave to doubt if its date could be very precisely known. And as the oldest monument in Greece, i.e. the statue of Hera,† is attributed to Phoroneus, the grandson of Ocean, and we cannot imagine how the son of Ocean could have reached Argos without a ship, and as the first ship ever seen in Greece was that which conveyed Danaus from Egypt, we shall sup-

* Lib. ii.

† Vide Herodotus.

pose that Phoroneus means Pharaoh Danaus* himself, the brother of Pharaoh Sethos or Sesostris, king of Egypt,† who, according to Manetho, did really lead a colony of civilized men into Greece, and imparted to that land the rich stores of knowledge and refinement which had long been the portion of the nations of the east.

We now know, from the concurrent testimony of Egyptian scholars, that Danaus emigrated to Argos during the rule of the 18th or 19th dynasties, at which period Egypt was in the height of her glory; and all the arts of the ancient world, architecture, sculpture, engraving, jewellery, manufactures, and agriculture, were carried by her inhabitants to their utmost perfection. Her annals were most carefully kept, and most laboriously repeated in writing and engraving, in painting and in sculpture, and the kings' sons were always scribes.‡ Can we, then, believe that Danaus the prince and his men would not introduce letters and engraving into Greece? Can we believe that they could or would abstain from it? We may say that the Greek alphabet is evidently Phœnician, and that the universal tradition ascribes it to Phœnicia. But this tradition has not prevented many learned men from doubting if the Greek alphabet did not come out of Egypt, and if by Cadmus we were not to understand merely כדים (Kedim,) or

* Herodot. ii. says that both Danaus and Lynceus came from Chemnis, a city of the Thebaid.

† Josephus says nine generations before the fall of Troy.— Vide Rosellini, vol. ii.

‡ Vide Rosellini.

the east, and by Cadmus's alphabet, the k'd-mean or eastern alphabet? It is very remarkable that the Hebrews, after their centuries of residence, and all the other colonies which have issued from Egypt, have always used the Phœnician alphabet, and not the hieroglyphics; and in the days of Danaus we have already shown that it had been for a thousand years the prevailing character through all the north of the land of Misraim.

Either, then, Danaus introduced that alphabet, and was, as is most likely, the founder of Bœotian Thebes—for Herodotus says he came from Thebes in Egypt, whence the tradition of the Cadmean alphabet introduced by the founder of Thebes came to be related thus, that it was Cadmus who founded Thebes; and that this founder brought letters into Greece. Or, on the other hand, seeing that we can place no dependence upon the early Greek chronology, Danaus may have found that Assyrian alphabet already introduced from Phœnicia, and understanding it as well as his own, he would certainly not change it. No German settler in England would ever think of altering our character for either the cursive or the monumental writing of Deutschland. When the Greeks in their turn, under the Ptolemies, became the rulers of Egypt, the hieroglyphics were held as too sacred to be used by any save the priests, and by them only for sacred or monumental purposes. And so much were the Grecian monarchs regarded by their subjects in the light of the old Hyksos, that as, according to the testimony of Wil-

kinson and Rosellini, no name of any Hyksos ruler has ever been found in an Egyptian tomb, neither has any name of a Grecian or Roman sovereign ever had place there, any more than those of the ancient Assyrians or other strangers. The Ptolemies are indeed the antitypes of Salatis, Archles, and Janias. They allowed all the nationalities of the people quietly to take their own course, and without destroying what previously existed, they super-added to them their own nationalities, their own literature, and their own faith. This is a mixture which, passing through Greek channels, has caused endless perplexities and confusion in history, but not having touched the ancient religious structure, seems to have left unaltered the Egyptian principles and Egyptian mind.

It is from these Egyptians and Phœnicians that we find evidences of regular walls, and of arches in approaching courses, as at Tyrins and Mycene in the neighbourhood of Argos, and even evidences of bridges,* amongst the enigmatical remains of earliest Greece: and "the fifty daughters" whom Danaus brought with him, is merely an eastern manner of expressing fifty towns which he colonized. Danaus, or Armais, arrived in Greece in the first ship ever seen by the natives, called from him "Armais," and after the model of which the renowned Argo was built, which carried the Argonauts to Colchis, also an Egyptian colony further north.† And Hero-

* As seen by Colonel Muir over the Eurotas, near Taygetus.

† Herod. ii.

dotus says that he introduced the worship of Demeter, that is, Isis, afterwards identified with Sabine Ceres, and that he taught it to the Pelasgic women. Rosellini doubts if there is any Greek monument existing, older than the reign of Psammetichus, 654 B. C., but if there is, he considers the stamp of it to be Egyptian. The Greeks he proves not to have invented anything; and indeed why should they, or how could they, when all the refinements of life were already abounding in India, Assyria, and Egypt? * Herod., lib. ii., says that the Greeks derived their arts from the Egyptians.

In the work of Rosellini we have the quotations of Josephus from Manetho, and the independent testimonies of Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, as to Armais or Danaus being the brother of Pharaoh Sethos, against whom he conspired, and was consequently forced to flee from Egypt by sea. He arrived at Argos in the first ship, or at least in the first large and powerful vessel ever seen in that country; and he conquered Argos and Argolis, and reigned over them. Diodorus calls him Hermæus, whence Hermes, the Greek Mercury, the same as the Egyptian god Thoth, whose worship he probably introduced. Rosellini says that the only representation of a naval armament to be seen on the Egyptian monuments is one in the reign of Sethos.

We have said that Demeter is the same with Isis. Isis is also the same with Juno, and no doubt

* See Ros., vol. iv. p. 72, upon Arts and Sciences.

Danaus was the man who introduced the worship of Hera, whose statue Herodotus saw. Amongst the nine imaginary kings of Herodotus who were descended from the Ocean, three have Egyptian names, Apis, Phoroneus, and Phorbas or Phorpi. Lynceus, the Egyptian, who built Lycosura, is said, by Pausanias, to have been a Pelasgian, and Lycosura,* founded after the conquest of Argos, according to the usual calculation, 1453 years B. C., he, says "was the most ancient of all the cities of the world"—meaning by the world doubtless Greece—"and was the model from which all other cities were built."† The fifty daughter towns of Danaus were all established in Pelasgia, i. e. the Peloponnesus, and the king of Argos conquered by him is named by the fancy term "Pelasgus," whom Hellanicus makes the same as Turrhenus or Tarchun; in other words, the person for the time being who ruled the Pelasgi, wherever they might settle. Danaus‡ must have been Pelasgus, or a sea stranger himself. The majority of Greek Pelasgi were evidently Egyptians

* That is, Lycosura was founded after the conquest of Argos by Danaus, which took place 1493 B. C.

† Thus it follows, that all the cities of Greece were built after the model of one erected by an Egyptian.

‡ Herodotus says that Danaus reigned two generations before the coming of Cadmus and nine before the Trojan war. (lib. ii.) He says that the Cadmeans, i. e. the eastern tribe, drove the Hellenes out of Phthiotides, their original seat. Many scholars believe the *th* in Greek to be derived from the barbarous Pelasgic tongue, and the similarity between the unmusical Phthiotides and the name of the Egyptian god Phtha cannot escape notice.

and Phœnicians; and the first colony in Italy—admitting the reality of such a colony—must have been the rude* inhabitants of Hellas, whom these polished strangers displaced.

The oracles of the Pelasgi were Dodona, Eleusis, and Delphi, and hence a strong evidence for one race of Pelasgi having been Egyptians. Dodona, according to Herodotus, lib. ii., was founded by priestesses from Egypt. If, therefore, the Pelasgi consulted it, they consulted an Egyptian oracle. Strabo, lib. ix., says that the oracles of Delphi and Dodona were originally Pelasgic; and some Greek authors say, that at Delphi was the oracle of the Lybian Neptune and Egyptian Themis, before it was dedicated to Apollo. Eleusis was sacred to Demeter or Ceres, the goddess introduced by Danaus: and Herodotus says that it was founded by Eumolpus, the Ethiopian, who came from Thrace. Now, as in the days of Danaus, according to Manetho, his brother, the king of Egypt, Ramses or Sesostris, carried his arms into Thrace, and left colonies there, the story of Eumolpus is quite consistent with history and probability, and the priesthood was continued in his family for twelve hundred years. Delphi was consecrated to Apollo, and was a mean oracle in outward semblance, though so widely renowned. Its Egyptian origin is corroborated, if not proved, by the circumstance, that when in

* Thucydides tells us how rude, unlettered and unrefined, were the first inhabitants of Greece, and he is reproved by Dionysius for telling truths which disgrace his country, and which, he says, would have been much better concealed.

548 B. C. the temple had been burnt and the Greeks wished to rebuild it with stone and marble, Amosis,* the Pharaoh of Egypt, sent large sums of money to assist in its erection; and this he would not have done without a belief that his people had a national interest in it, and that Delphi was connected with Egypt. Apollo of Delphi, the "Magnus Apollo," was the Egyptian god Horus, or as both the Greeks and Egyptians called him, "Aroere."† The peculiar deity of the Pelasgi, "Pan,"‡ both Rosellini and Wilkinson prove to have been an Egyptian god, one of the eight great divinities;§ and he had a particular fane at Mendes, where his sacred goat was kept: his oracles in Greece were on Mount Lycæus, the settlement of the Egyptian Linceus, who built Lycosura, and here games were instituted in his honour.

Cecrops, the Egyptian, and Cadmus, the Phœnician, are said by Herodotus both to have conquered the Pelasgi, i. e. conquered those who dwelt in the country which they (the sea-kings of their day) made Pelasgic. The first Pelasgi,|| or dwellers in that land, had, according to Herodotus, no images, and only one supreme god, whose name, from reve-

* Vide Rosellini.

† Vide Rosellini's *Monumenti Storici*, vol. iii. part i.

‡ Pan of the Egyptians and Pelasgians was also a God of the Turrheni. Rutilius, in his *Itinerary*, speaks of "Pan Turrhenis qui mutavit mœnale silvis."

§ Vide Herodotus ii. 46, 145.

|| The Italian Pelasgi are here more particularly meant: the people who were driven out of Greece by the Egyptians, and who settled in Italy.

rential feeling, they never pronounced. This is so extraordinary a testimony, that we have difficulty in believing it, especially as authentic history cannot demonstrate the existence of any such monotheistic and spiritually-minded people; and we have preserved to us, along with all accounts of the Pelasgi, also the names of many Pelasgic gods. We must, therefore, suppose that they worshipped large shapeless stones, or some visible object, perhaps some bird or beast, which was not a graven image, and which occasioned the Egyptians to remark with amazement, that they had no sculptured images. The unpronounceable name of their one god, is like a garbled tradition of the Hebrew Jehovah, brought into the land by Cadmus, (the Hebrew כְּדִים or k.d.im, the men of the East,) who probably fled from Syria before the armies of Joshua.

It is, indeed, more than probable, if not completely proved, that the word Pelasgi-i, or Pelast-i, is itself Syro-Egyptian, and means the same thing as Hyksos, or "wandering stranger." Lord Lindsay gives some proofs, in his Letters from Egypt, of the Philistines, (an Egyptian colony in Canaan,) the Egyptian Hyksos, and the Pelasgi, being all one. This word is spelt in Hebrew פְּלִשְׁתִּי or P L S T I, and Niebuhr, vol. i. p. 51, proves that in numerous instances the K and T, K and G, are convertible into each other—Pelasti, Pelaski, Pelasgi. Calmet says that "Philasges" or "Pelasgi," means a wanderer or stranger. Attica was, according to Herodotus, Pelasgic; yet he says that Athens was founded by

Cecrops the Egyptian, who arrived with a colony from Sais, 1556 years B. C., and who introduced agriculture and the worship of Athena. This Athena is now known to scholars, beyond all dispute, to be the Egyptian goddess Neith. Her name in Syrian letters, written from right to left, would stand thus, HTIN; and as the Greeks probably learnt to read and propagated these letters the reverse way, this name, adding the Greek particles A and E, would read to them AHTINE, whence Athena. In like manner, Themis, the Goddess of Justice, is derived from the Egyptian Thmè. Cadmus, the Phœnician, is said by Herodotus to have founded Thebes, the capital city of Pelasgic Bœotia, yet Thebes is not a Syrian, but an Egyptian name; and he is said to have introduced the worship of Zeus, Hera, and Athena, i. e. Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, who are the chief Egyptian divinities. Neptune or Poseidon was also a great Greek divinity, and is proved to have had his origin* amongst the Lybians, the neighbours and enemies of the Egyptians. The Greek and Syrian traditions, and the Egyptian monuments, inform us that both Egypt and Phœnicia were in the habit of sending out colonies to Europe from time to time, many centuries before the Trojan war; and this is incidentally but strongly confirmed by the Holy Scriptures, the Carthaginian annals, and the traditions of the Shelluhs and Amorites, and other tribes who now inhabit Mount Atlas in Africa.

* Vide Ancient Hist. vol. xvii.

It is scarcely necessary, in the present advanced state of our knowledge, to prove that the chief Greek gods were all originally Egyptian, but if any one doubts, he may see this matter ably demonstrated in Rosellini, and Spineto; and Homer gives his testimony to their foreign origin, by telling us that the language or terms used in their service was not Greek, but foreign. He says that "the language of the gods was different from the language of men," i. e. from his language; and the first Greek hymns, the Orphic, are said to have been brought by Orpheus out of Egypt.

The annals of Greece also, were kept in the Egyptian manner, for Tatian says that the Greeks learnt to write history by copying from the Egyptians; and Homer has been accused by Tatian of stealing the whole of his noble poems from the library of Ptha, at Naucratis, in Egypt, and giving them to the world as his own.* The Greek verse of these poems is so indisputably original, and the comparisons and the manner of relating each event or fable so individual, that such an accusation can never detract from his merit, and amounts only to a charge, that he took his facts and materials from the best kept annals in the world,† where they were likely to be most accurately recorded, and that he gave the substance of them without quoting his authorities, at a time when none of his hearers at all concerned themselves about the proofs of the things they heard.

* Vide Spineto.

† Rosell., vol. iii. Monu. Stor. part i.

If the story of Troy has, as we are persuaded, a real foundation,—if it began, as Herodotus says, by an Egyptian trading vessel taking Helen to Egypt from Argos, the largest and wealthiest city in Greece,—if she was there separated from her lover, and restored to her husband by the Egyptian king, after ten years of exile and of absence,—and if Memnon, an Egyptian general, and twenty thousand troops, (whom, with extraordinary accuracy and agreement with Egyptian monuments, Homer calls Assyrians and Ethiopians, i. e. Assyrians and natives under an Egyptian commander,) fought at Troy,—then the story of the war was certain to be known in Egypt, and would be recorded among the events of that day. It is said to have happened in the reign of Thuoris or Proteus, the unfortunate Uerri. And though his was the legitimate authority, during his whole lifetime, in Lower Egypt, as the Great Mogul was for centuries the only sovereign acknowledged in Hindostan, yet, like the Great Mogul, his did not continue to be the power, and if he detained Helen upon her arrival, he might have been himself a refugee in Ethiopia at the time when she was demanded back, and thus be wholly unable to surrender her.*

* During the first and protracted domination of the Hyksos in Lower Egypt, there can be no doubt that the sovereigns of the native dynasty, were not permitted to retain even a shadow of authority, but were confined to Upper Egypt; while in Lower Egypt there reigned a line of Asiatic monarchs with the title of Pharaoh, under whom Abraham visited the banks of

There is one difficulty which may strike a scholar, with regard to the Greek gods having been introduced from Egypt, viz. that the seat of the gods was in the north. So it was also in Etruria, and so it is in Hindostan. Now, if they came from the far south land of Egypt, how could they come from the north? But if the Egyptians or the Syrian Egyptians derived their gods from any country north of themselves, from Chaldea, for instance, the fatherland of Ham, and of the first Egyptian sovereign Menes, then, wherever their gods were transported, the same language would continue to be used concerning them, and the seat of the gods would continue to be placed in the north, though in fact the term meant no more, than the north of that land from which they had been originally derived to the daughter colony.*

the Nile, and who were the protectors of the Hebrew race. But it is remarkable that during the short restoration of the Hyksos dominion, in the reign of the unfortunate Uerri or Remerri, he alone continues to be the Pharaoh of the monuments and authentic records: no mention is made of a Hyksos Pharaoh. And even after his death, when a usurper assumed the royal title, that usurper, instead of being a Hyksos, was a high priest in Upper Egypt, who was ere long dethroned and made way for the vigorous reign of Ramses the 4th, Uerri's son, who overthrew the armies of the strangers, and forced them to evacuate the country.

* The Normans, who conquered England, came from the south. Yet because, when they conquered Neustria, they came from the north, they had ever after the appellation of "Northmen."

Again, it may be objected that, in the days of Herodotus, the Egyptians could not have retained this version of the origin of their gods, as they made a yearly pilgrimage, with great pomp into Ethiopia, carrying thither the god Ammon, as if to celebrate his birthplace; whence it has long been a fashion to people Egypt, and to derive her science from the south, and not the north. But the very origin of this opinion dates no farther back than the time of Herodotus. The first founded city of Egypt was Memphis, in the north,* and not in the south; her oldest works are the Pyramids, and not Thebes; and the pilgrimage into Ethiopia, was not to celebrate the birthplace of Ammon, but the refuge he and his people found there, when driven away by the Hyksos, from the land of their ancestors, their idolised valley of the Nile.

It appears, then, without contradiction, that Greece was civilized by colonies from Phœnicia and Egypt, between 1800 and 1200 B. C.; that the Pelasgic remains in Greece are the works of these nations, or of the natives who were enslaved by them; and that the chief divinities of Greece, and all the Pelasgic oracles, were Egyptian. Euripides, who flourished about the same time as Herodotus, says that the *Pelasgi* of Argos were called Danäides, or

* Vide Egypt. Published by Christian Knowledge Society. No royal name is found in Upper Egypt before the 16th Dynasty; and Osortasen is supposed to have founded Thebes. Amosis, the 6th king of the 17th Dynasty, built there the temple of Ammon, and recovered Memphis.

the colony of Danaus, and that the inhabitants of Lemnos were Pelasgi, who had fled from Attica, and who were the sons of Ægyptus. The Cretans also were Pelasgi, and these Pelasgi were Philistines, or Cherethims from Palestine.*

Now the dwellers in Pelasgia, of whom we have been speaking, i. e. the colony which came from Thrace, through Macedonia and Thessaly, to the southern parts of Greece, and the more numerous bands who joined them by sea, these men conquered and drove away a previous race, who are said to have taken refuge in Italy. The Greek Pelasgi increased and required more land;† and upon consulting the oracle of Dodona, after a lapse of two centuries, they were ordered to follow the first refugees, and to colonise also in that western country. Dionysius, lib. i., says, that the first set were *wholly barbarous*, and were found dwelling in huts and in poverty, but that the second set, who joined themselves to them, knew how to build and how to wall cities. They landed at Spina, and thence making their way through Italy, built the line of towns already enumerated, subjecting Cortona, and making a strong settlement at Reati; and it is worthy of remark that all these cities are in the style of Egyptian Pelasgic Lycosura. They are said to have driven the Sikeli,

* Pliny says that the Cretans were called Curetes, and that their king was Philistides: Valer. Max. ii. 4, says, that when the Etruscans are called Pelasgi, it means that they were Cretans or Philistines.

† Dion. says that they were driven away by Deucalion.

or native Italians, who were not Umbrians, southwards, until they took refuge in Sicily, and to have established themselves all through the country of the Umbri, whom, as subjects or allies, they doubtless assisted against the Etruscans, when they fought for dominion under Tarchun.

It is possible, that they may have brought with them the Phœnician letters, and that they may have written them as the Greeks learnt to do, from left to right; but of this we have not a particle of evidence; and every probability, from the most ancient inscriptions in northern Italy, lies the other way; these being either Etruscan or Etruscanized Pelasgian. They kept up no communication with Greece, or her oracles for they are said to have learnt navigation from the Etruscans, and fighting also, (which must mean military discipline,) and being conquered by the Umbri, and by the Rasena, who subdued the Umbri, such of them as did not choose to submit to the Umbrian terms of peace and toleration, returned to Greece,* and there were never more heard of. They are said to have there become slaves to the Hellenes, whilst those who remained in Italy, marching southwards and driving forward the Sikeli, met with a similar fate, and became enslaved by the Ænotri, or barbarous inhabitants of southern Italy.† The only known colonies of Grecian Pelasgi who continued to exist, are mentioned by Herodotus, lib. i. 57,

* Myrsilus of Lesbos says, that they were driven out of Italy by plague and famine, both of which may express war.

† Vide Niebuhr.

as, in his day, inhabiting the towns of Tralles in Caria, and Placia and Scylace on the Hellespont. Under the Umbri they had made good a settlement in Italy, at Pisa and at Agylla, and they had been admitted to some degree of power in Cortona and Perugia, where, though the power was lost, they, for many ages, continued to form part of the population, and whence, as their posterity fondly believed, they had sent forth the colony of Dardanus to Troy, before Cortona was a town, or they themselves knew how to navigate the sea.

With this ignorance and incapacity, however, we have to reconcile the account of their sending a thankoffering to Delphi for the expulsion of the Sikeli,* three generations before the Trojan war; which we shall do, simply by stating that, as they could not send to Delphi without ships, and as they knew nothing of maritime affairs until after their union with the Turseni, it is most probable that, by means of the Etruscans, they were enabled to fulfil their pious intention, if they ever really did send such an offering there. The tradition of their origin remaining, and the maritime Rasena having undoubted commerce with Greece, especially with Corinth or Ephyra,† in the days of Homer, it is very likely, and consonant with the customs of all the ancient nations, that they should send offerings to the chief temple of their mother-country. And the words of Strabo, book v., only bear out that they, in early times, sent to Delphi a treasure as a

* Dion. i.

† Iliad, ii. 570.

thankoffering for peace in their settlement, upon the cessation of disturbance from their enemies. This cessation is referred to three generations before the Trojan war, at which time, Dionysius says, the Sikeli, i. e. bands of continental Italians, were driven by more northern enemies into Sicily. Strabo calls this memorial a "treasure of the Agyllans," and not a gift in order to propitiate the oracle on a consultation; as when they afterwards asked advice about their Phocian prisoners. Modern authors, confusing together the accounts of Strabo and Dionysius, have fancied that it was conveyed to Delphi at the time which the Greeks said it was meant to commemorate. As well might we say, that the Martyr's Monument at Oxford, just finished, was erected in the days of Elizabeth. This offering was probably a commemoration of their peace with the Etruscans, and the final treaty and favourable terms granted to them by the conquering Tarchun. From this time forward the Agyllans, even when wholly Etruscan, continued to keep up a communication with Delphi; and other Etruscan states, as we find from Strabo,* Dionysius, and Pliny, also sent gifts to the Greco-Pelasgico-Egyptico-Apollo. Etruria sent gifts to other places in Greece besides Delphi, for at Olympus, Pausanias † saw a golden throne, which was a present from Arimnos, "king of the Tusci, who was the first Barbarian that sent gifts to Jove."

By different authors, the Thracians, Arcadians, Ionians of Asia, and Oenotrians of Italy, are all said to

* Lib. v.

† Vide xii. 3.

have been Pelasgian. As, then, in Greece, all were called Pelasgi, who ever inhabited the country once in Pelasgic possession, so in Italy, we find that name given without distinction or inquiry to the Sikeli, whom the Pelasgi displaced, to the Umbri among whom they settled, and to the Turrheni who conquered and inhabited all the centre of Italy, which they had overrun. Strabo, lib. v., says that they drove out the Sikeli before the Trojan war, and calls them, from the testimony of Hecataeus, "barbarous Pelasgi, bands of robbers;" and Pliny, lib. iii. 5, confuses the Pelasgi with the Raseni, when he says that they drove the Umbri out of Etruria. Strabo, lib. v., says that Pelasgi from Thessaly founded Agylla, that they had a treasure called by their name in Delphi. (hence supposed to have been consecrated before they became Cerites,) and that they were considered Thessalians. Pausanias says that the Thessalians were admitted from the first, into the council of Amphictions, and hence the Agyllans as Thessalians were allowed to send gifts and offerings to Delphi.*

Niebuhr proves that the name Pelasgi was given to every people in Italy, from the Danube and the Tyrol, where they could never have penetrated, down to its most southern shores; to Sikeli, Umbri, Turrheni, and Oenotri, just as ignorance or poetry may have made it convenient. Dion. Hal. (l. i. 10) affirms that they first came into Italy (where they

* Vide Micali, p. 81.

landed at Spina) "along with the Curetes and others of that blood," and he makes both Peuceti and Oenotri in southern Italy, Pelasgi; and the second band of Pelasgi, he says, were brought in by command of the Oracle of Dodona. In giving their general character, he mixes together the traditions of the Canaanites, flying before Joshua, and of the Jews quitting Egypt. He says that they were a people cursed by heaven, and to be found everywhere, broken and flying, and that in this manner they seized upon Peloponnesus, Hellas, Arcadia, Argos, Ionia, and Thessaly, whence they, this cursed people, passed over into Italy, and the islands of the Levant, and the Ægean Sea.* Again, he gives the common Phœnician tradition that they fled, because they would not give the tenth of their children to the gods, for which reason they were visited with plagues, until they were destroyed. This is like a version of the plagues of Egypt, and death of the first-born, as it might be related in Canaan and Lybia, and thus be transplanted to Europe.

The Pelasgi have left their vast polygonal walls in Asia Minor, Greece and Italy, not to mark either the cradle or the grave of their race, but only their occasional resting places, as they travelled on from east to west, until they ceased to be Pelasgi or strangers, and became parts of the settled nations. Gell melts them into the Osci in Italy, as Herodotus does into the Hellenes in Greece, and unless we accept the explanation of their being "sea strangers,"

* Dionysius l. i.

they are, for a conquering and powerful race, the most enigmatical of all people. Their valour was powerless against barbarians; their civilisation disappeared before unlettered rudeness, and the earth seems to have opened her mouth and to have swallowed them up, that so useless a race might be seen no more.

We think that the Pelasgi in Greece were Egyptians and Phœnicians, and that the first Pelasgi in Italy were Greeks, displaced from Pelasgia, poor and unrefined; whilst the second were Greeks, refined and tutored by the foreign colonies which had become naturalized amongst them. We think, moreover, that where they had once settled, there they continued to exist, to flourish, and to improve, though with a change of name, taking that of the people among whom they dwelt.* And that hence they were called Hellenes in Greece, and Turrheni in Italy, even as the Celts in Scotland, the Danes and Saxons in England, and the Catti† in Nor-

* In proof of this, Hellanicus of Lesbos says, that the Turrheni were first Pelasgi, and changed their name; and in like manner Dionysius says, they were confounded with the Umbri before the Trojan war.

† The Catti alluded to, settled at Cadheim in Normandy, now called Caën; another branch of them settled in Catti, or Caith-ness and Sutherland, in Scotland; and the late Duchess, Countess of Sutherland, had for her grandest northern title, "Lady of the great Catt." About one league from Katheim or Caën, is a village named Allemagne, famous for its quarries of beautiful stone. It is said that when the tourist Dibdin was at Caën, he asked whence came the stone with which the city was

mandy, all go under the general name of Scotch, English and French, though preserving their distinct descents and national peculiarities, which can never be mistaken. The Greeks, who speak so confidently of the Pelasgic wanderings and deeds in Italy, twelve centuries before Christ, knew nothing of Italy itself, excepting Agylla and their own southern colonies, until after the taking of Rome by the Gauls.

We have now established the following points:—

First, That the Rasena or TuRSeNi, Turseni, or Turrheni, called also Etrusci and Tusci, landed in Italy in the thirteenth century before the christian æra, and some years previous to the Trojan war. That they were a people of Ludin or Asia, though they came from Lybia or Africa, and probably after a long residence in Egypt.

Secondly, That they landed in Umbria under Tarchun, and conquered all Etruria Proper from the Umbrians and Pelasgi.

Thirdly, That the Pelasgi had twice sent colonies, of different characters, from Greece or Thessaly into Italy, and that the second, and better appointed and instructed race, had driven away the Sikeli, and established many colonies, and built many towns in the land of the Umbri, three generations before the Trojan war.

Fourthly, That two generations before that war, some other power had suddenly overwhelmed them.

built, and being answered by the people from Allemagne, he wrote in his book, as many Greeks would have done under similar circumstances, that Caen was built of stone from Germany!

The sword, plague, and famine are said to have attacked them; they became small,* and such as were not reduced to slavery left the land, or dwelt humbled and subject amongst the Umbri and Turseni; whence their most appropriate name in old Greek authors, "of Turseni-Pelasgi."

* Dionysius, l. 1.

CHAPTER VI.

THE TWELVE DYNASTIES OF ETRURIA.

CENT.
XII.
B. C.

OUR next theme is the number of towns which Tarchun founded, after he became master of all that tract of country, known to us by the permanent name of Etruria; the manner in which he divided his territory, and the institutions and laws which he gave to his people. All the cities, both beyond and within the Po, are ascribed to Tarchun, (vide Livy, v. 33,) and yet we know that many of them could not have been founded until after the period of his death, whilst others had an existence previous to his arrival. We shall therefore make a distinction between those, of which we believe him to have been really the founder, those which he conquered and re-founded, and those which were in later times colonies of either the one or the other.

Gravisea, in the territory of Tarquinia; the towns of Alsium, Falleria, or Falisci, and Fescennium, Aurinia,* afterwards Saturnia, and Pisa, were all conquered Umbro-Pelasgian towns, which became subject to Etruscan rulers, and had then erected around them, the sacred Etruscan gates and

* Dionys. lib. i.

walls. They were all commercial and flourishing under Etruscan rule, but none of them, so far as we know, ever became the residence of sovereign princes or the metropolis of a state, excepting Falleria. Cato * says that Tarchun founded Pisa; (i. e. that he destroyed the Pelasgic port which resisted him) and that after the eastern fashion, he changed † its name, and thus re-founded upon the same site, the rich and ancient city of Pisa, the queen of the Arno, before Florence came into being. According to Dionys. Hal., Tarchun conquered Camers, Cortona, and Perugia from the Umbri; according to Cato, he founded Perugia, and according to Servius, he both founded Cortona and lived there. He also changed the name of Camers to Clusium, (now Chiusi,) and on the conquest of Perugia, changed its former appellation to the name which it now bears. Servius, ‡ moreover, says that Clusium was the residence of Etruscan kings before the time of the Trojan war, and therefore it may be regarded as having been from the first, the chief city and metropolis of a state. These were all towns re-founded by Tarchun.

Besides these, Cato says that he founded Luna, on the Gulf of Spezia, once a large trading town,

* Origin. xxiii.

† This was the constant practice of the children of Israel, *vide* Numbers xxxii. 38, 2 Sam. xii. 28. We find also throughout ancient history that each nation was in the habit of calling its towns either by the names of their founders, conquerors, or gods.

‡ Æn. xi.

famed for its walls of white marble,* but now razed to the ground, and its site only known, because the district in which it lay is still called Luneggiana. Virgil † gives amongst the states of Tarchun's time Populonia and Cosa; but as both of these were colonies, we must suppose him to intend by them the principal towns which they represented, namely Volterra and Vulci, both of which were probably really founded by Tarchun. Etruscan Virgil is a great authority in Etruscan matters, and will be frequently quoted, not as exact history, but as current and accepted tradition.

Were any Englishman to write an epic poem on king Arthur, he would very likely, summon ambassadors from London, Lincoln, and York, because all those cities existed in Arthur's time, and therefore they may have sent ambassadors to him; though we never heard of them before. But no English poet would send to him deputies from Liverpool, Manchester, or Brighton, because all these cities are known to be of very modern date. Just such an authority as a learned and judicious Englishman might be, who wrote an epic of king Arthur, such do we consider Virgil, in relation to the affairs of ancient Italy. But suppose again, some learned grammarian were to write long criticisms and comments upon the poem of Arthur, and were to detect in it, some such anachronisms as "the great town of Leeds," or "the renowned and commercial Glasgow," he would tell us that these places were so called in the spirit of prophecy, and give us the ancient

* *Vide* Rutilius.

† Æneid. x.

name of the first little village at Leeds, and the early history of the small but episcopal Glasgow, as nearly as he could trace them, in king Arthur's time. Just such an authority is Servius, when we quote him for the early condition of Etruria.

Very many Etruscan cities we know to have been founded by Tarchun, from their early fame and power, their established coëval dominion, and the Assyrian form of their names. All those, for instance, belong to this class, which commence with Fel, or Vel, or Bel, which are the same with Hebrew בל B.l. or Baal, and mean Lord, to which is added some affix. Of these, we have Volterra, or "Felatri," as its name is spelt upon its ancient coins; Bolsena or Felsuna; Bononia or Felsina; Vetulonia or Fel.tulan; Fiesole or F.lsole; and Vulci or F.lee.

To these earliest names, we must add, though not of the same class, Arretium, as a Tarchunian settlement; and it is possible that the sea ports of Populonia and Cosa might be used as harbours in the time of Tarchun, though the cities were of later growth, even as Leith, though only of late years become a town of some consideration, was always the port of Edinburgh. Veii, which Virgil does not deem considerable enough to have had any dominion in the days of Tarchun, was yet probably chosen by him as the site of a border fort, for its name פאה, Ph.ee.h, means a boundary, limit, or border. The names of many of these towns are so strikingly eastern, and so strongly and incidentally corroborative of Herodotus's tradition, "that the Etruscans were a people of Ludin" from Lybia, that we cannot forbear

to give them, even at the risk of seeming tedious, and we transcribe them from the Ancient History, vol. xvi. art. *Etruria*.

The great towns well known to Roman authors, taking them from north to south, were Luna, Pisa, Fiesole, Volterra, Vetulonia, Populonia, Arretium, Cortona, Perugia, Clusium, Rusella, Volsinia, Cosa, Vulci, Tarchunia, Faleria, Agylla, Pyrgi, and Veii. Of these, twelve were ruling cities, capitals of the dynasties, and the others were dependencies upon them; and four of those enumerated, viz. Populonia, Cosa, Veii, and Fiesole, being colonies from the earlier cities, were of no account during the lifetime of Tarchun.

Luna, from לון, "to lodge or rest in," a harbour for ships praised by Strabo, v. It had most beautiful marble walls, called by Rutilius, "Candentia Moeria Lunae," and according to Cato* was a place of trade before the Trojan war, i. e. immediately upon its occupation by the T.R.SeNa. Its name answers to Portland, or Newport in English. Lucan says that it was ruined and deserted in his day, and he† and Pliny both mention it, as famous for Augurs and Aruspices who were introduced by Tarchun. Carrara and the finest marble quarries of Italy lie in the Luneggiana.

Pisa, from פי שואה "Pi. suah." "The mouth of noisy waters," on the confluence of the Æsar and Arnus, a short distance from the Turrhene Sea. Both rivers bear oriental and genuine Etruscan

* Origin. xxv.

† In Pharsalia, l. v.

names. No one acquainted with the Bible can be ignorant of the brook Arnon in Palestine. Cato* says that Tarchun founded Pisa, whence we deduce that the name is Etruscan. Dionysius says that a Pelasgic settlement existed there when Tarchun began his career of victory. Piet.he.sa is supposed on some coins to mean Pisa.† Its harbour was capacious, and was called the Pisan Gulf.‡

Fiesole or F.lsole, or פּוֹל סֶלֶץ, "the tribe on a rock," is traditionally a thousand years older than Florence, which was founded by Sylla 90 B.C., in order to take its place.§ Hence as its date is only one thousand and ninety years before the Christian æra, it cannot have been one of the original states, but only a dependency. It is celebrated by Polybius ii., Livy xxii., and Diod. Siculus. xx.

Volterra, פֶּלְטֶרָה, F.l.tur, and on the coins Felathri, "tribe on a mountain," or "the high fortress," one of the greatest of the Etruscan states, and one of the most interesting which now remains. It is said to have been built against Pisa, in order to keep it in check; and for this reason, it is perhaps

* Servius x.

† The Hebrew word Bt. or Pt.suah. would have the same meaning—Daughter of noisy waters.

‡ We have taken the numismatical names of the Etruscan towns from Müller's chapter on Finance, vol. ii. p. 331, in his History of the Etrüsker. Volterra is spelt Vel or Fel.a thri; Populonia, "Puplun;" Clusium, "Kakam," as is supposed; Volsinia, "Felsune;" Vetulonia, "Fet.luna;" Caere, Karait, or "Cisere," the C being hard, &c.

§ Vide Dempster.

the first genuine Etruscan city after Tarquinia. Dempster quotes an ancient MS. authority, which dates its foundation at one hundred years before the Trojan war, that is, in the earliest days of the Rasena, and says that it was long afterwards repaired and defended by king Propertius, who colonized Populonia, and assisted Veii to found* Capena. Dionysius Hal. iii. 51, and Pliny, mention it along with Clusium, Arezzo, Rusella, and Vetulonia, as if it were in especial alliance with these states; and there can be no doubt but that in cases of divided opinion, they hung together. Etruria owed her downfall to these divisions within herself between the north and south, after the foundation of Rome.†

Vetu-lonia, בֵּית עֲלִיָּן, Bit-oliun, or on coins Fet-luna, or, as it is found on some inscriptions, Fetulun. The ancient history derives it from Bet or Vet-Elion, the principal Lucumony or government. But we think it more likely to mean "the daughter of the Highest;" or, as it was a royal town near the sea, that it conveyed some idea like "Kingston," or "New Port Regis," or "Mount Royal," in English. It is now called Vetulia, and Feltule, and Vetletta, about three miles from the sea, and is a mass of ruin, overgrown by wood. Müller ii. 1, 2, says that ruins are to be seen in Vetulonia, not only of colossal walls, but of Mosaic pavements, fragments of

* Servius vii.

† For Volterra, vide Cicero Orat. pro Sex. Rosc.; Dion. Hal. l. iii.; Liv. l. x.

statues, and a huge amphitheatre. In its neighbourhood are the hot springs which are mentioned by Pliny, lib. ii. 103; the value of which in every case was fully appreciated by the Etruscans. Dionysius ii. says that it was a powerful city or state in the days of Romulus, and as we scarcely hear of it afterwards, Dempster thinks that it was probably destroyed in the infancy of Rome, at the time when Etruria was divided against herself. Silius Italicus,* says that it was the most illustrious, which we presume to mean, the largest and richest of all the Etruscan cities, and that Rome borrowed thence her fasces, secures, lictors, curule throne, toga prætexta, and all her other ensigns of regal power.

Micali has visited the ruins in the Vetulonian forest, and says that they are very extensive. Supposing this city to have perished in the time of Romulus, its ruins give us, beyond every other, an idea of what was then Etruscan civilization.

Pupulunia, פפ הלק P. p h. l. m or l. n, upon the coins Pupulun, "a harbour for metals." This, if tenable, is a very remarkable derivation; for it exactly describes the character of Pupulunia. It was a colony of Volterra, and though subsequent to the time of Tarchun, it was long prior to Rome, and the greatest emporium in Italy for the iron and copper ores of Elba,† which were brought here to be manufactured for internal use, and also to be exported to other nations. It is now Porto Baratto.

* Punicor. viii.

† Vide Strabo and Aristotle.

Arrezzo, or Arretium, or Aret, from ארת, A.R.T, a lake, pond, river. It lay upon the confluence of the Clanis, and the Arno, not far from the lake of Perugia. A. r. t and Hareth, pronounced with a foreign accent, are both scriptural names. Arretium was the capital of its own principality, and Silius Italicus* says that it was the seat of the ancient kings of Etruria. Its walls were and are of an architecture singularly beautiful, and are celebrated both by Pliny† and by Vitruvius.‡ Its pottery was also reckoned of the finest workmanship and colour§ in Italy, and some specimens of it may now be seen in the Museo Gregoriano in Rome. It was also famous for the manufacture of arms.||

Cortona, a city and state, sometimes mistaken for Crestona¶ in Thrace; and yet more often for Crotona in the south of Italy. It is called by Virgil, Corytus, and is made the birth-place of Dardanus, and the cradle of the royal house of Priam. The ancient history considers its name more clearly eastern than that of any of the others, and believes it to be derived from כרת, K. R. TI, or Creti, a town of the Cherithim or Philistines, "wandering strangers." At the time of Tarchun's conquest, it was inhabited by the Umbri and Pelasgi in common, and its first fortifications are supposed to have been Pelasgic, though the present walls are Etruscan. It was the metropolis of a principality, and Sil. Italicus says that Tarchun had a residence there. (See Dempster.)

* Punicor. vii.

§ Plin. idem.

† Plin. xxxv. 14.

|| Liv. xxviii. 45.

‡ Vitruv. ii. 8.

¶ Dion. i.

Perugia is one of the most beautiful and romantic cities, in a land where all are beautiful, and the greater number romantic. It was a city of the Umbri, inhabited also by Pelasgi at the time of its conquest, like Cortona, and Cato says that Tarchun changed its name. It may be derived from פרושה, P. R. U. S. H, "divided or separated," or from פרצ, P R Z, to break, defeat, overthrow. It was divided from Umbria by the Tiber, here a noble river, and there are many reasons for thinking that its government may have been shared with its former possessors, though the chief ruler was ever after Etruscan. It was a powerful state, having several dependencies, and lay near the famous Mount Ciminus. Cluverius, from Cato, says that it was founded, i. e. remodelled by Tarchun, and Servius (*Æn.* x.) that it was founded by Ocnus, or Bianor, a native chief. By native, however, he means Tyrsenian; and Ocnus may very probably have been the first king, and hence called the founder. Never was a town more divided as to the fame of its first existence, and of the man or men to whom it owes its origin, which proves that it had many ancient heroes, to each of whom in time its greatness came to be attributed. Dempster refers its earliest sovereignty to Aulestes, the brother of Ocnus, i. e. a brother chief. Müller says that it was conquered by the Sarsinati, and Micali, that it was founded by this people, and hence it may be considered the daughter of Sarteano.

Clusium, now Chiusi, from חלש, CH. L. S, to conquer, or reduce. Livy tells us that its Umbrian

name was Camers,* and Servius that Tarchun changed it to Chlusium or "Chlus," the *um* being a Latin termination. It was the rival of Tarquinia in ambition and power, having less of commerce, and preserving more of the spirit of liberty. Both the state and the city were influential, and Servius† says that it was the seat of the Etruscan kings before the Trojan war, i. e. in the days of Tarchun. It stands upon the river Clanis, and the lake of Clusium, and must always be interesting as the capital of Porsenna, though now only a border town in Tuscany.

Rusella, or ראש עילה, Rusoil.h, "the top of a hill," or "the chief on a height." It is near the lake of Castiglione, and the little town of Moscona, and only the walls now remain. Dion. Hal. and Livy give it as the capital of one of the ruling states, and Müller (ii. 1, 2,) calls it one of the most important cities of Etruria.‡

Volsinia, now Bolsena, and, on the coins, Felsuna. It was a town famous for mechanical arts and hand-mills,§ hence its name פול צנע, Ful-z. n. a, means "the mechanical tribes." From Volsinia, in Greek Ουολ-σθονιον,|| the Romans took 2,000 statues of bronze.¶ It was near, but not on the site of the present Bolsena, and was famous for its Kalender-Temple of Nortia,** the Tursene Fortuna.

The learned work from which we have taken

* Lib. ix.

† *Æn.* x.

‡ Like Vetulonia, its site was chosen close to hot mineral springs, which are still known as the Bagni di Roselle.

§ Plin. xxxvi. 18.

|| Müller ii. 1.

¶ Plin. xxxiv. 7.

** Livy vii. 3.

these names, gives many more, but these may surely suffice to show the inherent Assyrian elements in the Etruscan tongue. We may be told that the examples given are eastern, no doubt; but that they are Hebrew, and not Phœnician. St. Augustine, however, tells us that the Punic, or Phœnic, or Phœnician language spoken in his day, when it was still a living tongue, was very like the Hebrew, and that the Canaanitish was a mediate tongue, between the Egyptian and the Hebrew—a singular testimony. We can prove that the Hebrews, Assyrians, Syrians, Chaldees, and Phœnicians, all derived their alphabets from one common original, and hence it would seem that all these languages were branches and varieties of one Semitic tongue, even as Italian, French, Spanish, and Portuguese, may be called varieties of one Oscan tongue, i. e. Latin.

The ancient history conceives Faleria and Fescennium to be Etruscan names, though Pelasgic towns before they were conquered; and Falisci also, from its prefix of F.l or V.l, was probably an Etruscan name, the appellations being changed upon the re-edification and re-occupation of those places by the conquerors. Falisci and Falerii in old authors, both Greek and Latin, are constantly confounded. Gell seems to have proved that they were one and the same people; but that Falisci signified the state, whilst Falerii designated only the town and its domains, hence all Falerians were Faliscians, but all Faliscians were not Falerians. Fescennia was a large town in the state of Faliscia, famed for its metrical

and pantomimic verses, and the whole state, including Veii, was in a peculiar manner under the protection of Juno. Virgil calls the Falisci, "Equi Falisci." Strabo, p. 226, speaks of "Equum Faliscum." Faleria is now Citta Castellana. Zonarus tells us of the war against the Falisci, and the siege of their strong city, named Φαλεριοι Falerioi. From Livy (v. 27) Müller gathers that Faleria was divided into Upper and Lower, which is made still more indubitable by the Falisci of the lower part being called Equi Falisci, or Falisci of the Plain. Falisci,* i. e. Falerii, was founded by Halese the Etruscan, who also founded, that is to say, re-adorned and rebuilt Alsium,† or Al-se, the "um" being a Latin termination. This Halese is termed the Son of Neptune, i. e. a Sea-king, or great Etruscan admiral.

Thus, as genuine Etruscan names of towns or states, we have the large list beginning with Fel, and meaning lord or tribe, Felathri or Volterra, Felsuna or Volsinia, Velce or Vulci, Felsule or Fiesole, Faleria, Falisci, or Halese. Also, as genuine Etruscan derivatives, we have Pisa, Cortona, and Perugia, so called for local reasons; Tarquinia, named from Tarchun himself; Alsium from Alese; and we may add Nepete, which Winning derives from Napate in Egypt. Nepete‡ and Sutri were among the oldest towns in Etruria, as were also Luna and Aurinia,§ afterwards Saturnia.

* Servius Æn. vii.

† Silviu Italicu, l. 8. Vide Dempster.

‡ Müller, vol. i. § Dion.

The boundaries of Etruria Proper were, the Apennines to the north, the river Macra and the Tyrrhene sea to the west and south, and the Tiber to the east. Or, as expressed by the Roman Archæologia, "Etruria Proper extended from the Portus Veneris and Luna, to Ostia, the Tiber, and Rome." Strabo,* Dionysius,† Livy,‡ and Servius,§ inform us that this territory was divided into twelve dynasties, each being governed by its own prince, while Tarchun was acknowledged as king of the whole. We have nowhere a perfect list of these dynasties in any ancient Latin historian, none of them thinking it necessary to inform an Italian reader of what he knew so well, any more than an English writer, though he might say much of York, Newcastle, and Warwick, would think of enumerating to an English reader, the fifty-two counties of England. We are accordingly only informed that the number of states was twelve, whilst the great towns which sent members to the Diet, or which rose into consideration at different periods, varied, and probably the seat of government varied with them. Veii, for instance, which made so great a figure in the decline of Etruria, was merely a colony of Volterra at the commencement; and though it became a royal residence, was probably, for many years previous, a secondary town, or mere fort, in the state of Faliscii.

The names of the twelve chief cities of Etruria, which we gather from Dionysius, Livy, Virgil, Ser-

* Lib. v. † vi. viii. ‡ iv. v. vii. § xi.

vius, Strabo, and Plutarch, are the following: Volterra, Clusium, Cortona, Perugia, Arretium, Falerii, Tarquinia, Volsinii, Rusella, Vetulonia, Agylla or Cere, and Veii. All these twelve were, at different times, the residences of princes, and the seats of government. But from the most remote period of which any of the writers here quoted, treat, Vulci had been a ruling state also, and continued to be so to the end. It was not, however, influential, and has been, therefore, little noticed, though the Fasti Consulares for the year 472 of Rome, grant a triumph for the reduction of the Vulcientes.* Vulci, from its situation between Tarquinia and Volterra, must have been one of the very earliest of the Etruscan conquests, and a member of the confederation before Cere was conquered, or Veii founded. Polybius calls this town *Ολκιον*, Olkion, or, as a Latin might pronounce it, Uulki. It is situated in the Piano di Vulci, and presented, in Cluverius's day, a very considerable mass of ruin. It is interesting now from the beautiful objects of art which are continually drawn from its sepulchres. This example, and that of Vulsinia, show us that Etruscan F or V were sounded in Greek *ou* or *o* short.

It follows as a consequence that if the original number of the states was twelve, we must find two that are not included in the enumeration above given, such as Vulci and Lucca,† or Pisa, or Saturnia, or Alsium. We do not believe that the states at any

* Vide Müller, ii. 1, 2.

† The learned Dempster, in his *Etruria Regali*, gives Lucca as one of the original twelve.

time, consisted of fewer than twelve, for that seems to have been the fundamental and sacred number; but they may have consisted of more without a nominal increase. We have examples of this in the Swiss Cantons and the United States of America, amongst the moderns; and in the tribes of Israel, and the college of the apostles, amongst the ancients. Because twelve was the sacred number of these latter, we find Ephraim and Manasseh comprised amongst the tribes, and St. Paul and St. Matthias amongst the apostles, without altering the reputed number. Müller (ii. 1) deduces from a very curious inscription dug up a few years since in Italy, that the states, even to the second and third centuries of our era, kept up their union, and that the religious bond was preserved among them, though the political one was dissolved. This inscription will be hereafter given. It is a doubt whether or not Tusculum was included amongst the original dynasties. Müller decides that it was clearly a Tyrsenian State; and Cato says that the town was founded three generations before the Trojan war; thus attributing it in loose chronology to Tarchun. But if it had been in the original number, the name would have continued amongst the Etruscan deputies, though the territory was gone, and this does not appear to have been the case; therefore we prefer the alternative of its having been at a later period an Etruscan colony amongst the Latins, and choosing rather to associate itself with them, than with the mother country, of which it was not permitted to be a ruling state. This may the more easily be believed, because the faith of

Tusculum was in all essentials Etruscan, even after we find its name on the lists of the Latin confederation. Lycophron calls the Tusculani "Turrheni Pelasgi."*

Tarchun is rightly said to have founded the dynasties, because we do not know that the Pelasgi and Umbri had any dynasties, and he is with equal propriety said to have founded the cities which he renamed, and around which he erected the almost indestructible Etruscan walls. "These walls were consecrated, (says Varro,) that the citizens might feel more courage in dying there in defence of their country." If they triumphed, it was under the banner of their patron gods; and if they fell, it was on holy ground.

From coins in the Jesuits' Museum in Rome, and from several passages in the Latin poets, it appears that each ruling city had three or four smaller or inferior cities in dependence upon it, or in peculiar relation and alliance with it.† Hence we can discover a certain prominence in many cities that never were ruling, as Populonia and Cosa, because they supplied the chief means of defence, or were the chief marts of commerce to their principals; and it is even possible, in a few instances, that when they became in

* Livy says that Mamilius of Tusculum, the friend of the second Tarquin, was the son of the founder, and that his family had been long princes amongst the Latins. In the same sense he might have said that the family of Tarquin had been long princes amongst the Romans.

† Virgil *Æn.* x. 202, speaking of Mantua, says:—

"Gens illi triplex populi sub gente quaterni."

wealth and size, or even in public convenience, very superior to that principal, they then took its place.

We know the names of at least nineteen or twenty municipia or distinguished cities in Etruria Proper, viz. Cortona, Perugia, Arretium, Volsinia, Tarquinia, Clusium, Volterra, Rusella, Vetulonia, Pisa, Fæsule, Veii, Cære, Falerii, Aurinia, Caletta, Vulci, Salpinum, Lucca, and Luna. Dempster, in his *Etru. Reg.* iv. 8, selects from these as the ruling twelve, the following: Veii, Tarquinia, Faleria, Vetulonium, Populonia, Corytus, Volsinii, Cære, Clusium, Fæsule, Luna, and Lucca. Cluverius* names Cære, Tarquinia, Rusella, Vetulonia, Volterra, Arretium, Cortona, Perugia, Clusium, Volsinii, Faleria, and Veii. Niebuhr names Cære, Tarquinia, Rusella, Vetulonia, Volterra, Arretium, Cortona, Perugia, Clusium, Volsinii, Veii, Capena, and Cosa.

In later days it is certain, either that Cære or Veii supplanted other sacred towns of smaller consideration, or that they were added to Tarchun's league, and still the number was only called twelve: indeed no other number is ever assigned to them throughout the Italian history. We cannot form an idea of the relative importance of these states from any passages in the Latin authors, for whatever list we examine, we shall always find some one, or two, or three, omitted of those which we know to have been, even to Sylla's time, essential and dominant members of the original league. We have not in any known author, an enumeration of

* Cluv. lib. iii. c. 26.

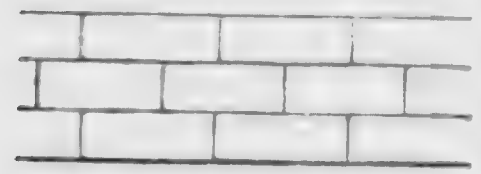
the twelve states of Etruria; and in order to obtain them at any period of her history, we are obliged to collect all our authorities together. Virgil divides the states that ranged themselves under Tarchun into four bands, exclusive of Tarquinia, which of course followed its own chief. He places under one general, Cosa and Clusium; under another, Populonia and Ilva or Elba; under a third, Pisa with the troops of its dependencies; and under a fourth, Cære, Pyrgi, and Gravisca. At the same time, he represents the Falisci as independent and allying themselves with the Latins, along with Fescennium and Capena. Virgil selected towns which had for ages been of importance, without pausing to examine their relative antiquity; for in the days of Tarchun, Cosa, Populonia, and Pyrgi, would be little more than watch-towers, Elba was scarcely known, and Capena had not one stone of its walls or temples laid upon another, being a later colony of Veii, which itself was merely a border fort till Volterra became over-peopled.

On the whole, from the evidence of names, and the incidental testimonies in the case of various cities, to their very high antiquity and long-continued power, we shall presume the following to have been the twelve dynasties founded by Tarchun, and left in full communion with each other, and all subject to the same laws and institutions at the time of his death. 1. Lucca, including Luna; 2. Volterra, including Pisa; 3. Vetulonia; 4. Arretium; 5. Cortona; 6. Perugia; 7. Clusium; 8. Rusella;

9. Felsini or Vulsinii, including Salpina; 10. Vulci; 11. Tarquinia; 12. Faleria or Faliscii. Each of these states had a capital of its own name, besides ports and harbours and many dependent towns.

It is natural for us to inquire if there are any signs by which we may still distinguish, or ever could have distinguished, an Etruscan city from one which was Pelasgic or Sikelian. Now, throughout Etruria Proper, there is one style for every great city—and indeed for every city, great or small, which was ever founded by Tarchun, or according to his laws. They are all upon a height, all surrounded by walls, which are built of immense blocks of stone, cut in parallelograms, and laid together without cement. Sometimes in alternate courses,

thus: and sometimes with one course lengthways, and the next endways, all of prodigious thickness and strength



with square towers at certain distances, usually about fifty yards apart, with lofty gates, either arched or square, and with a citadel and a temple; Dempster de Etrur. Reg., says that each had a theatre, a circus, and an amphitheatre, and certainly no Etruscan city has been found without these characteristics. Each had its burying-ground beyond the walls, laid out according to the size of the city, each had baths, and each had one or more common sewers, like the Cloaca Maxima at Rome, of an architecture so beautiful, and upon a scale so vast, as to strike the mind of every observer with amaze-

ment and wonder, even at this day. The walls, the towers, and the Cloacæ, are to be seen still, in almost all the Etruscan cities, or in their ruins, and are open to the examination of every one who chooses to visit them; and, from the evidence which they give of the wealth, the power, and the moral force of those who could construct them, Niebuhr is led to assert, that the people who laboured in them must have been slaves; and that the might of conquest and the hand of tyranny alone could have raised them, or have caused them to be raised.

This is a strange sentence from a man who was aware that tyrants consult their own gratification chiefly, and not the public good; that they love to magnify their own consequence—to swell in the strengthening of their own pride—to blaze in the dazzling of their own vanity—to call places and lands by their own names—to have tombs like the Pyramids, gardens like those of Babylon, and commerce like that of the pacha of Egypt; but all to the utter contempt and neglect of the people, and to the gratifying of that *little self*, which lives to posterity as a corrupted head, fit only to ruin, and not to rule the members, a scorned and cursed thing.

The grand distinction between the Etruscans and every other ancient people is, the noble public character which is stamped upon all their works; and this Niebuhr himself acknowledges. Every thing was for utility—the utility and benefit of all; the poor as much as the rich, the plebeian as much as the noble. The common religion, the common

improvement, the common security, the common wealth, and, we had almost said, the common comfort. This is the stamp—the distinctive mark of all their remains; and they bear in character such a vastness—such a solidity—such a grandeur, and such a skill, that it has been, till within very late years, too incredible, and too stupendous for the minds of scholars or travellers to fathom. Yet, if we believe this people to have come out of Egypt, there is nothing in the most extraordinary or gigantic of their works, but what we might previously have expected, and might, indeed, have wondered if we had not found. The traveller may pass from Cortona, Arezzo, and Tarquinia, to Karnac and Luxor upon the Nile, and he will find the self-same architecture. He may compare the beautiful gates of Volterra and Perugia, with the arch of the same construction, formed of concentric layers and with a key-stone, as at Thebes; or the roof of the Galassi tomb at Cære, with the many arches of a similar formation, made of approaching courses, that are to be seen amongst the palaces and tombs of the Pharaohs.* He may find the so-called Tuscan pillar and Tuscan portico in the tombs of Beni Hassan, dating 1700 before our era, especially that of the family of NAHRE.†

He may also compare the prodigious hydraulic

* Those who cannot travel, may see the arches alluded to in Belzoni or Rosellini's Egyptian Views, and in Micali's Plates of the Antiquities of Italy.

† Vide Rosellini Monumenti Civili on tombs.

operations of the two people, and he will be struck with their identity of character. The same may be said of the striking similarity of the gold ornaments, the armour, the bronzes, the sculpture, the painting, the pottery, and all that we know of the arts and sciences of both people; with this exception, however, that what existed in Egypt sixteen or seventeen centuries B. C., did not appear in Italy until three or four hundred years later. The Etruscans were not the inventors, but the importers of these things, and were the originators of civilization to Italy, only as a colony, from Asia or Asiatic Africa.* This is a far more rational and probable origin of the knowledge and refinement of early Italy, than the idea that civilization should start forth from ignorance and barbarism. In the one case, we must presume inspiration, and in the other the more natural course of tuition. In the one case we produce Minerva from the head of Jove, and in the other, Jove himself is made to spring from the bosom of chaos and eternal night. Too mighty a generation for aught but almighty power; and not to be attributed to the sons of men.

There are three descriptions of primitive, cotemporary architecture existing in Italy. First, the Etruscan, with its regular quadrangular stones, either with or without cement; second, the Pelasgic, also massive and without cement, but polygonal; and third, the Cyclopean, consisting of huge stones of all

* Lybia was Phœnician Africa, and Egypt was reckoned by the ancients in Asia.

forms and shapes piled together, and having the interstices filled up with small materials. These two latter are described by Pausanias, lib. vii., in Greece, whilst the former alone is found in Egypt, and is not unfrequent in Asia Minor. The order of chronology in which these three styles of masonry are to be reckoned, is not as if the most barbarous were the most ancient; but, on the contrary, as if a priority in antiquity should be assigned to the most refined. This is proved, because the people who knew how to make bricks, (which are found all over the world with regular angles, and which are, in their oldest form, quadrilateral,) were the most likely to use squared stones, and to have gradually substituted them for a greater quantity of bricks, in order to save time and labour, and to increase, as they would think, durability. It is sufficient to add, that there are Egyptian bricks in the British Museum which date 1800 years B. C.; and that the Scripture informs us that bricks were used by the builders of the Tower of Babel.

For this reason we might have been sure, *a priori*, that we should find quadrangular stones used by the Egyptians, and by the colonies and natives of Babylon, R.S.N., and Nineveh; and not only do we find them there, in fact, but those monuments and walls in Hindostan, which are of immemorial antiquity, are also in this style. Indeed, we cannot doubt, that the brick-like quadrilateral and regularly cut stone, is the oldest form of architecture in the world, and that it is derived from the early

patriarchs, who were carefully educated, large-minded, and long-experienced men, living in the records of tradition as giants, in order to express their powers, both of mind and of body, which we have inherited in a much more feeble degree, and for a much more limited period. The polygonal, is a less skilful form of masonry, though it is still artificial; and implies that the builders who used it had both tools and measures. The Cyclopean is the rude imitation, not so much of a better style of building, as of the things built. The men who used it were men of energy, but destitute of skill or art, and not as yet possessed of tools. Its origin is the most recent of the three; and it has been used by wild men ever since man went wild, which was not until centuries after he was civilized; not until after the confusion of tongues, and the dispersion of Babel. The Cyclopean architecture in Greece, is that of the natives after the arrival of the Phœnicians, as we gather, because those natives who first fled from them to Italy could not build. The Cyclopean architecture in Italy, on the other hand, is that of the Sikeli, after the arrival of the second Pelasgi, and before they had better models from the Etruscans. Hence in many Italian provinces, formerly subject to the Pelasgi, we find Cyclopean, Pelasgic, and Etruscan walls of the same age; and in very many we find a mixture of Etruscan and Pelasgic, or even of Etruscan and Cyclopean, where the Etruscans have rebuilt upon the foundations of conquered Pelasgi or Sikeli, or have assisted them to fortify their own

cities. These remarks concerning the comparative antiquity of squared polygonal and Cyclopean walls refer to general examples, rather than to those of Italy in particular. For in that country it is probable that the polygonal is older than the square stone, of the really more ancient style, which was not introduced until after the arrival of the Etruscans. The Cyclopean walls were probably a rude cotemporary imitation of the other two styles.

Whoever wishes to see the Etruscan style in its native country, and in modern perfection, should visit the Pitti Palace in Florence, which has been erected with admirable taste, by the princes of Tuscany as their national residence; as if to show to the eyes of all men, that such works can be erected by freemen, and by the subjects of monarchs, whom they love, and revere as fathers. Works of vast solidity, stupendous size, and massive grandeur, can never prove that the men who laboured in them were slaves. Our British railroads, of the self-same architecture, our harbours, and our tunnels, are not the performances of slaves. The great military works of Napoleon, his galleries and passes through the Alps, though planned and effected by a great despotic chief, were not the labours of slaves. And no historian or statesman will dare to assert, that the reason why other nations, either ancient or modern, have not executed works equally great and equally lasting with the Etruscan, was either want of arbitrary power in the rulers, or want of inclination to exert that power when possessed. The reason

has been, because other nations have not had genius to conceive of things so mighty, nor skill to erect an architecture so beautiful. They have not been educated under laws which made public interests sacred. The people, whether conquered or native, have, under most governments, been ground to pay taxes, and starved, and tasked, and brutalized; but they have not, with the exception of the military, been set to any labour which could raise themselves whilst they executed it, or which, at the same time, that it gave bread to the hungry mouth, caused fertility to the countryman's field, and security to the citizen's home.

The great public works of Etruria were her pride and glory under Tarchun, and are her pride and glory still: and whilst we gaze upon the walls which he built, and which testify to his existence, and proclaim his wisdom and his power; the mind refuses to believe in their remote antiquity, by reason of their very perfection. Our ignorance has not been able to comprehend his knowledge, nor our feebleness to measure his might.

In arguing, however, against the strength and solidity of the Etruscan walls being an evidence of slave labour, we do not mean to assert or imply, that they were constructed upon the voluntary principle, for their unity of plan and vastness of structure are a positive proof to the contrary. They were raised by law, according to one standard, sacred in the eyes of those who imparted it; and by a race who understood the benefit of labour and

the necessity of security, and who had no wish to disobey the noble chief who was their lawful head. They were, moreover, assisted by a conquered tribe, who, though not enslaved, were yet forced to do as they were commanded, and to learn what they were taught. Both Pelasgi and Umbri had sense enough to know that it was their best interest to submit to a people, whom they could not resist, and who studiously preserved, as joint lords or joint tenants of the soil, all who would bow to their dominion, or accept of their merciful laws. How the great walls of Etruria could be so built, we learn from how Rome was rebuilt by the Romans after its destruction by the Gauls.* It was somewhat in the same manner as our works by the piece, or our military labours, which are never considered slave works. The magistrates imposed it upon the citizens as a duty, that they should rebuild and re-inhabit Rome within three years, each man being answerable for his own share of the labour, and in like fashion, the Etruscans must have appointed to each man his own portion of the work, until the whole was finished.

Before proceeding with our account of the Etruscan towns and states, and in order fully to comprehend them, we must now mention the most extraordinary act of Tarchun's life, and the manner in which he promulgated his code of laws, and fixed the institutions which were for ever to form and rule his people.

* Vide Niebuhr.

CHAPTER VII.

TAGES.

CICERO relates* the tradition, that whilst Tarchun was ploughing at Tarchunia, most probably ploughing the sacred foundation of its walls, a genius arose from the deep furrow, with a child's body and a man's head, who sang to him the unalterable, eternal, divinely-inspired laws, of his future government, and then sunk down and expired. This is a most beautiful legend, and among so unimaginative a people as the Etruscans, implies the common, and therefore well-understood, eastern mode of using familiar allegories to state great truths.

1187.
B. C.

Tages was not seen, and he had no occasion to be seen, in order to be obeyed by the Rasena. It was enough that his laws, fresh from heaven, should be communicated to the chiefs, through their acknowledged head. The laws of this able ruler were not promulgated as the laws and will of Tarchun, but as those of Tages, whom Cicero calls "the Son of

* De Div. ii. c. 23, 38.

Jupiter," and who was as much superior to Tarchun, as he to the meanest of his vassals. Tages, the genius of Etruria, was the same with Phœnician Tanates, or Tauates, and Egyptian Thoth; the Coptic word, which expresses hand, and the man who was the first and greatest scribe, the deified writer and law-giver of the wisest of nations. Tages, appeared with the head of a man and the body of a child, fit emblem of the governors and of the governed, showing forth that his laws, full of mature wisdom and sound judgment, were yet of infant date to the land of Tarchun. He was not "Tages transplanted from Egypt," but "Tages born again in this new country." He belonged to the Rasena, notwithstanding his grey hairs; he rose from their soil, and whilst he appeared as the ruler of all their chiefs, he was adopted by the nation as their own child. He embodied himself in their spirit, he adapted himself to their situation, and he bade them live henceforward as a new people, in the land which God had given them. They were no more either Egyptian or Assyrian, though whilst they assumed a new face, they might look back without forgetfulness to the Ludin and the Lybia, whence they issued forth.

Cicero and Censorinus say, that Tarchun received the genius in his arms, learned his laws, which were delivered in verse, and then wrote them down. When written, and therefore neither subject to change nor liable to mistake, Tarchun called around him the chiefs and princes of his people, named Lucumoes, or La.u.ch.me, from the Hebrew לַחֲמֵי,

L. ch. m, captain or leader; he rehearsed to them the wonderful event that had taken place, and read to them the laws of Tages as adapted to the colony of Tarchun. The chiefs approved, for the greater part of them were such laws as they had always revered and been subject to; they learned them anew from Tarchun, sang them, wrote them, and in turn, each ruler made them the unchangeable laws of his own state. All these men knew, that without a religious sanction, human legislation could have no stability; that power, in order to be lasting, must have a sacred foundation, and that "the powers that be, unless ordained by God," cannot endure. It seems also that they believed no wisdom to be worthy of reverence, but what came from above, and that though they had learned many idolatries, they had not yet learned the worship of human reason; for they dreaded the weakness and fallibility of man's judgment, so as to place no trust in any ordinances but those which they conceived to be divine.

With what holy reverence the laws of Tages were received, and how diligently they were copied, and how vigilantly they were guarded, we may learn from their having endured, and maintained their ascendancy in Italy, until supplanted by Christianity. Tages was to the Italians, the same as Menu to the Hindus, and Moses to the Jews, and Müller (ii. 1, 1) calls his institutions the "Leviticus of the Romans." Servius* says that a nymph received Tages before he disappeared; this subject is sometimes represented

* Ad Æn.

upon ancient gems, but it is a mere continuation of the allegory, and refers to the Priestess Bygoë, who after the death of Tarchun, wrote a commentary upon some part of the laws of Tages, and is therefore said to have received him, and to have nourished him, and to have sung to him.

These laws, so wonderful in their contents as to be almost incredible, if we did not believe the greater part of them to have been derived from much older Eastern codes, treated, according to Festus and Dionysius, of tribes, curiæ, and centuries, or the manner of dividing and classing the Etruscan people; a division which though obsolete in Rome in the time of Cicero, continued in force throughout Etruria, because the laws of Tages, unfringed, had been guaranteed to the Etruscan states by the municipal alliance. They were written in three volumes,* to which many others, in the same spirit, were afterwards added, but none were ever held in equal honour. These three were the Libri Fatales, the Libri Tagetici, and the Sacra Acherontica, of which the latter, or at least the doctrine which it taught, was known to Homer; and it is from his descriptions, that Sophocles places Avernus in Tyrsenia. These and many other Etruscan books were translated into Latin in the days of Lucretius, and were collected in fifteen volumes, with comments by C. Labeo,† and at length, many of the Romanized Etruscans in the times of the empire, could only read their institutions in the Latin tongue. Cicero de Divinitate

* Müller.

† Micali Italia ii. xxii.

quotes from translations of the "Libri Etrusci," "Chartæ Etruscæ," "Libri Tagetici," "Disciplina Tagetis," "Sacra Tagetica," and the "Liber Terræ ruris Etruræ." Pliny* says that these books had pictures in them. Servius tells us that in the days of the Father of the Gracchi, the Augural books and the Libri Reconditi† were translated from the Tuscan. Festus informs us that the "Rituales Etruscorum Libri," told of consecrating altars, temples, cities, walls, and gates; the levying of armies, and the government of the people, besides the division into tribes, curiæ and decuriæ. Consequently they treated of debtor and creditor, the rights of parents, obligations of marriage, and laws of property.‡ "Property," says Varro, "is under divine protection. Jove has appropriated to himself Etruria, and to restrain the covetousness of men, has ordered every possession to be marked by boundary stones, which none may move without the anger of the gods."

Cicero§ says that Tages, i. e. Tarchun, introduced augury, and that augury and divination were called the "Ars Etrusca," and "Disciplina Etrusca," which treated of sacrifices and lightning; and Ovid, in his Metamorphoses,|| affirms that Tages was the first who taught the Etruscans to see into the future:

"Indigenæ dixere Tagen, qui primus Etruscam,
Edocuit gentem casos aperire futuros."

* Plin. xxxv.
§ De Div. 1.

† Müller.

‡ Micali.

|| Met. xv. 533.

Servius* celebrates the useful arts which Tages taught. And Tarchun is said to have built a hedge round the house of Tages, and to have placed there a boundary stone;† another beautiful Eastern manner of expressing the inviolability with which the original Etruscan laws were invested by public opinion.

Cicero and Censorinus say that Tarchun wrote these laws, and there can be no doubt that commands so sacred and so important to the well-being of the government in all its departments, and in each separate state, would be immediately engraved on bronze or stone, and would have impressions of them taken off in wax, in order to be distributed amongst the princes and pontifices, and in order that each town might have its own copy. We need not stop here to prove to any one conversant either with the Scriptures, or with Eastern antiquities, that writing and engraving were old and common arts, long before the Rasena entered Italy. We will therefore proceed to say a few words upon each head treated of in the laws of Tages, in order to have a clear idea of the source of civilisation to Italy, and of the life and times of Tarchun.

Tages taught the Lucumoes how they were to consecrate walls and temples, fortresses and gates. We find these and many of the laws of Tages in Cicero de Div. books i. and ii.; in Servius on the Æneid; in Vitruvius; in Cato de Orig., and in various other authors. But the best compendium

* Æn. viii.

† Müller.

of them all is in Müller,* from whom chiefly we shall quote. Every city was founded after the same manner as Tarquinia. The augur chose its site, and marked the foundations with a plow, which the heads of the colony followed. Many of the Etruscan cities were four miles in circuit, and as nearly square as the lay of the ground would admit, occupying all the surface which crowns some rocky height; and the burying-ground was upon the height opposite, having a valley, and a brook or river between. Each town had one national temple dedicated to the three great attributes of God, strength, riches, and wisdom, or "Tina, Talna, and Minerva." The Etruscans acknowledged only one supreme God, but they had images for his different attributes, and temples to these images; but it is most remarkable that the national Divinity was always a triad under one roof, and it was the same in Egypt, where one supreme God alone was acknowledged, but was worshipped as a triad, with different names in each different Nome.†

Every city might have as many more gods, and gates, and temples, as the inhabitants pleased; but three sacred gates, and one temple to three divine attributes was obligatory, wherever the laws of Tages were received.‡ The only gate that remains in Italy of this olden time undestroyed, is the "Porta del Arco," at Volterra, and it has upon it the three heads of the three national divinities, one upon the keystone of

* Müller's Etrusker.

† Vide Egypt by the Christian Knowledge Society.

‡ Serv. Æn. i. 422.

its magnificent arch, and one above each side pillar; and though now they are so effaced by time as to retain upon them no distinguishable features, yet they impress the mind of the beholder with an indescribable feeling of majesty and greatness. This gate is the pride of Italy, and has ever boasted that it was old, (even more than 400 years old,) when Rome was founded. It is as old as the walls, and the walls are as old as the foundation, and the foundation is coëval with Etruscan domination, which, according to Virgil, was firm and established when Æneas landed 1180 B. C. If the model of this gate can be found at Thebes, three hundred years older, it is evidently quite immaterial, as a question of the progress of science, whether it was introduced into Italy by Tarchun, the eastern prince, or by some of his early successors. It is only less wonderful that great works should be introduced by those who grew up familiar with them, than by their children born in a new country, where no models of high refinement or architectural skill, had any previous existence. Many antiquaries suppose, from this beautiful gate, that all the Etruscan towns had the chief gate adorned with the three sacred heads of Tina, Talna, and M. n. rfa. The great gate at Perugia is a restored Etruscan arch of almost equal beauty, and has no heads; but this may be accounted for, because the original gate was destroyed by Sylla, and the present one is a restoration by Augustus, who might not desire to keep up the old and dangerous nationality.

The ruins of an Etruscan temple may still be seen on the Monte Capitolino in Rome, where, in the grounds of the Palazzo Caffarelli, there are many massive remains of the ancient one of Jupiter Capitolinus, founded by the Etruscan kings. It will be said, that as this temple was twice* burnt and twice rebuilt by the Romans, it is ridiculous to suppose that we look upon Etruscan remains. But this temple never changed its form, that being solemnly prohibited by the augur, who, if not an Etruscan by birth, was at least as much Etruscan by necessity, as an English Roman Catholic is Roman by his religion. When the Romans wished to enlarge the temple, and to change its form, the augur answered that "Jove neither changed his form nor altered the bounds of his habitation."† At Rome we do, therefore, look upon an Etruscan work, and we know the plan and symmetry of the Etruscan temples, (which were all after one and the same model, prescribed and written down in the books of Tages,) from the coins of Vespasian and Domitian, on the reverse of some of which, the temple of Etruscan Jove Capitolinus is represented. Dionysius Hal.‡ gives us the description of it, and says that it was two hundred feet long by one hundred and eighty-five broad, with three rows of columns in front, and two rows at the sides. Müller thinks there was only one row at the sides. The body of the building consisted of a nave and two aisles; the three holy shrines standing side by side at one end, and in the

* Vide Tacitus, Hist. iii. † Tacit. iii. 71. ‡ Lib. iv. 61.

exact centre there were folding-doors which entered into the sanctuary.

The most holy of all the Etruscan temples would of course be that of Tina Tarquiniensis, in Tarchun's own city of Tarchunia, where he either was by necessity, king, priest, and augur, or he chose his own augur amongst his princes, for he is said to have introduced augury, and the power of the augur was the highest in the state, and even superior to that of the king.

"Augury," says Müller, "was considered as a covenant between God and man, where each must act his part; and the augur, in those early days, firmly believed that his thoughts and words were inspired." Tarchun, then, having measured off the ground for his temple, placed it in the highest part of Tarquinia, close to the fortress, for this was always the chosen site, in order that the one might sanctify and bless, and the other protect and defend the city. Tarchun next obtained his omen, which might be a flash of lightning drawn by himself from a cloud, as he introduced the discipline of lightning, and Müller proves that the Etruscan augurs had complete power over the electric fluid. He then pronounced with a loud voice, in the presence of a multitude of his people, these solemn words, in the name of Tina of the Rasena: * "My temple and my sacred land shall extend as far as I please to make it holy, and to dedicate it by the mouth that now speaks. That — holy object (tree or some other limit named)

* Vide Müller on the Etruscan temple, vol. iii, also Varro.

"which I name, shall bound my temple to the east. That — holy object which I name, shall bound my temple to the west. Between them I limit this temple with the drawing of lines. Having surveyed it with the sight of mine eyes, after reflecting thereupon, and establishing it according to my good will and pleasure." The augur then drew with his lituus upon the ground, and was silent.

This is probably what Plutarch and Tacitus call the prayer of consecration, and it took place whenever the augur was called upon to make ground holy; for the Etruscans could only consult the gods in a spot previously consecrated, and any spot so consecrated was considered a fane or temple, even without any building upon it,* whilst, on the other hand, no building was a temple, in their eyes, which had it not. The Etruscan lines both upon the ground and in the air were in this form \perp , and were named cardo or meridian, decumanus or horizon. The four regions marked out by these lines were called "cardines," and hence our word cardinal, and our denomination "cardinal points." Each region was again divided into four, so that the ground occupied by the building contained sixteen points, each giving its peculiar augury; of which the north-east was the most fortunate, and when the augur was consulted or officiated, he placed himself in the position of the gods, who were supposed to inhabit the North.†

When the augur consulted by lightning, which

* Niebuhr.

† Müller, iii.

was at once the most solemn, the most revered, and the most manageable way, the answer denoted different meanings in each point through which it passed. Lightning would in all cases testify as to success or defeat, would answer "Yes or No," and signify which god was to be honoured or appeased, each god having a separate point devoted to him: but lightning could not answer in numbers, as in the case of the Roman and Etruscan secula, unless the number were previously fixed, and then the god consulted upon it; which in these cases was not likely, because national pride would have taken a wider range than either twelve secula or ten. It is for this reason that we have supposed birds to have been the probable omen for the length of the Etruscan dominion, and lightning for the acceptance and blessing of the Etruscan temple. We find from Livy that the augur might name his own sign.*

After the dedication of the ground was completed† the foundations which were marked out for the temple were surrounded with fillets and crowns, and then the soldiers who had happy sounding names went in, and threw into the inclosed space branches of olive and other sacred trees. Then came the Vestals, and the children whose parents were alive, and they bathed the place with fountain and river water. Tarchun then sacrificed a bull, a sheep, and a pig, and laying the entrails upon the grass, he prayed to Tina, Talna, and M.n.r.fa, to bless the place. Then he touched the garlands in which the sacred corner

* Liv. i. 18.

† Tacitus, Hist. iii. 72, &c.

stone was bound, and raised it by a cord, whilst all the people shouted and helped him. They then threw in metals both worked and raw, of gold, silver, and copper, which were not dedicated to other gods, or rather to other attributes, and the ceremony was ended. There are ruins still remaining at Tarquinia,* which are either those of this temple, or of the fortress close to it; if of the latter they must of necessity be older, for the Rasena could not have kept their city without a fortress, whilst for their worship and augury they needed only consecrated ground.

To be sure that this ceremony, quoted from Tacitus, is rightly applied to Tarchun, we need only say, that it is prescribed by the same books, the "Libri Tagetici," which prescribed the ceremony of a city's foundation; and to be convinced how little priestly ceremonies, when once written down in letters or pictures, change, we need only compare the Romish ceremonies now, with those found in illuminated MSS. of the ninth century, A. D. Were the Jews at this moment to rebuild their temple, they would do it according to the records of the days of Solomon 2850 years since.

We have said that the Vestals were present when Tarchun consecrated his first temple. We believe that the Vestals were introduced by Tarchun; and the command of Tarquin the first of Rome, that if they broke their vows they should be buried alive, is a purely Etruscan punishment. We know of no Ves-

* Vide Tour to the Sepulchres of Etruria, chapter on Tarquinia.

tals in Italy before the times of the Rasena, but we know of them in Egypt, whence their origin is to be sought. Nofre-Ari, the Ethiopian queen of Amenoph the first, whom Rosellini places 1536 B. C., was the foundress of the vestal virgins, and was on that account ever after, held in peculiar honour by the Egyptians. Two of her daughters were Vestals, and none but women of the first rank, generally princesses, were ever admitted into this order either in Egypt or in Italy. The Egyptian Vestals are mentioned by Strabo,* who says they were the same as the Palladi, and dedicated for a term of years to Jupiter Ammon, and their names, titles, and dress of office, may be seen in Rosellini's plates of the paintings in the tombs of Egypt.

When, in after times, the Latin Vestals were driven from Rome, they took refuge and found welcome in the Etruscan city and state of Cere. The first Vestals in Italy were probably the sisters, or nearest female relations of Tarchun, and he introduced into European society that principle, which alone can give stability to civilisation, viz. the rendering of honour to women, and the making such an education for them necessary, as shall fit them to maintain that honour. Where women are educated, men must be manly, and society must be refined.

The Pontifex Maximus, i. e. the king, had always the charge over the Vestals, who were virgins expressly brought up to take charge of the sacred fire,

* L. xvii.

which was considered as an emblem of pure divinity. In Egypt, this fire burnt in the temples of Ammon; in Tyre, in those of Hercules; and in Etruria, in those of some other divinity, or perhaps in any temple. The priestesses served until they were thirty, and one was held to be the proper preceptress of another. They were dedicated from their birth in many cases, for they were bound to employ ten years in learning, ten in exercising, and ten in teaching their office; whilst they were entitled to marry after the age of thirty; and it is not unlikely that it was a dignity which belonged of right to the daughters of the reigning sovereign, who alone was capable of ordering any chastisement to be inflicted upon them. They were independent of all other authority, made their own wills, reprieved the criminals whom they might meet on their way to or from the temple, and had the fasces carried before them when they appeared in public. They had lands appropriated to them, and were given the chief place at all festive and sacred meetings, at the circus, and in the amphitheatre.

If the sacred fire, which these virgins were obliged to keep always burning, should by any accident be extinguished, it must be drawn from heaven again, which the Etruscans alone knew how to do when this fire was first lighted in Italy, and which was doubtless drawn from an Italian sun, as an additional consecration of the newly-acquired soil. Macrobius i. 12, tells us that a new fire was lit every year on the first of March, which was the first day of the civil year throughout the East. "The month Abib, the beginning of months."

To return to the great national Triune Temple of the Etruscans. The pillars in front and at the sides of it were of that order called T.R.S.N, or Tuscan, which name the order will bear in Europe to the end of time, because it was first introduced by the Tuscans; and for many centuries it was the only one used in our quarter of the globe; but the original of it is to be found in Egypt, dating centuries earlier, and may be seen in the tombs of Beni Hassan in Lower Egypt, some of which, according to Rosellini, are as old as 2200 B. C. We find these pillars, in the Etruscan and Egyptian tombs, generally square, without base, and with a fillet and abacus for the capital; but in the temple architecture they were probably round, as they are round in the Temple at Thebes. The round and square pillars seem to be of the same age; or, if there is any justness in the assertion that the idea of a pillar was taken from the trunk of a tree,* then the round pillar must be the older of the two. There are round Doric pillars in the vestibule of Nevoth.p.h.'s tomb at Beni Hassan,† and the Doric is presumed to be second, in order of time.‡ to the simpler Tuscan style. The columns which still remain in the excavations under Mount Zion in Palestine, which were built by Solomon, are of the Tuscan order, and are square. They are nearly two hundred years subsequent to Tarchun, but may

* Pausanias.

† Vide Rosellini.

‡ Vide Müller on Etruscan Architecture.

be seen now, and are specimens of the Phœnician architecture in Solomon's days.

We do not know the size of Tarchun's great temple, but only its proportions, its divinities, and its form. We think, however, that it was most likely of the same size with the Roman Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, because that was laid out by a Tarquinian sovereign, who would naturally copy the pattern of his own city, and to whom no ideas of a colossal grandeur are ascribed, but simply those of a good and wise sovereign in the spirit of his times. In like manner, we do not know how long Tarchun was in building his temple; but we suppose it to have been a work of peace, to which he could and would devote all his energies; and that it was built in honour of that supreme power who had given him possession of the land.

We think, then, that a very few years, perhaps five or seven, would be sufficient to complete the building, as Solomon was only seven and a half years* over his temple, which was the wonder of the world, and that of Jupiter Capitolinus only took four years† to rebuild by Vespasian. We presume that Tarchun dedicated his own temple; because had he not done so, it would have been reckoned a singular misfortune in his life, and would probably have been remembered in some legend. Also the great honour of the dedication, and the immemorial custom derived from Egypt,‡ of inscribing the dedicatory§

* Vide 1 Kings vi.

† Tacitus, Hist. iii.

‡ Rosel.

§ Plutarch in Public. and Tacitus.

name in front of the temple, would have preserved the name of his successor to posterity. It is only when all events proceed in their quiet and ordinary channel, that they excite no attention and generate no fables.

We suppose Tarchun, then, a few years after the grand ceremony of the foundation, once more, and perhaps for the last time, to have assembled his Lucumoes and people at the full moon,* in September, which was the beginning of the Etruscan sacred year. The civil year began in March, and the sacred year in September, which was also the custom of the Hebrews, the Egyptians, and most of the eastern nations. Tarchun, at that time, in presence of a great multitude, being the king, the high priest, and the augur of the Etruscans, took a large nail, many inches long, examples of which may be seen from Pompeii in the Naples Museum, and struck it into the side door-post of the temple, after saying a prayer and offering sacrifice. It was doubtless at this awful and exciting moment, the beginning of their æra, that Tarchun proclaimed to the Etruscans, that Tina had given them the land of the Umbri, in so far as they had conquered and colonised it. And it was doubtless then that he named that land Eture, or Etruria, after the old country of the Rasena, on the continent of Ludin, which we now call Asia.

From that day forward he, doubtless, appointed a periodical ceremony, to be held at Tarchunia

* Plut. in Public.

every Lustrum or five years, when the moon was full,* and when the people being assembled, the king, in their presence, would strike a new nail into the temple, to witness that another Lustrum or sacred year had passed.†

As amongst ourselves, the kalendar is calculated by the wise men and astronomers; and the results, without the labour, are made known to the people; so it was amongst the Etruscans. Their commonalty knew no better than our own, how their moons were reckoned, nor why their year consisted of 365, or any other number of days, or their Lustrums of five years; nor did they even know what a year meant. But they knew, whenever they were gathered together in the cities of Etruria, to witness this ceremony, that another Lustrum had elapsed; and they could count their sæcula by the nails, twenty-two of which made one sæculum.‡ This is an eastern custom, referred to in scripture as exercised only by rulers, and as denoting, besides the lapse of time, also the sign of things fixed and irrevocable.§ It was carried forward into Rome, and existed to a very late period in the Temple of Nortia|| at Bolsena. It is most likely that, in the beginning, whatever took place in Tarquinia, would be practised in every other city of the league,

* Livy, vii. 3.

† Plutarch in Publicol.

‡ Vide Niebuhr on the Sæculum.

§ Nail, see Eccles. xii. 11. Is. xxii. 23. Ezra, ix. 8. Müller, iv. 6.

|| Vide Müller and Livy, vii. 3.

though differences may have arisen from various causes in minor points afterwards.

The agreement between the sacred period of a lustrum, the Etruscan method of reckoning time, with the Greek sacred period of an olympiad, is very remarkable. The first ascertained olympiad begins 776 B. C., that is, in the eighty-second Etruscan lustrum, at the very time when Etruria first became generally known to all the Greek colonies of Sicily and southern Italy, and at the period when she carried on an active commerce with many parts of Græcia Proper.* With Cuma, and with some portions of Greece, especially Corinth and Argos, this commerce had existed for two centuries; and as Etruria, according to Plato, influenced the Greeks in many customs and religious ceremonies, we cannot help suspecting that this sacred celebration of the great year was one of the customs borrowed from them.†

We believe that the dedication of the Temple of Tina Tarquiniensis is the grand epoch from which we are to date the *sæcula* of the Rasena, viz. 1187 B. C., which would bring their close to about the year 666 of Rome, the time when the Etruscan Augur, as mentioned by Plutarch, proclaimed the approaching end of the national day. This was the solemn celebration of the new land being made their own by possession, occupation, and consecration; when Tages was their sole and divine law-giver, and Tarchun their sovereign and acknow-

* Vide Plato de Leg. v.

† Müller, vol. ii.

ledged head. It may well strike an unlearned person with wonder, how it comes to pass that, amongst the nations of antiquity, almost all of whom have a fabulous and incredible origin, the Etruscans alone should be so matter-of-fact and so unmarvellous as to proclaim a date so fixed and recent. All authors make them older, by nearly a century, than they make themselves. Their well-instructed Augurs proclaimed that they did *not* rule Turrhenia further back than 434 years before the foundation of Rome.* How is it that they have no imaginary kings, with unnational names, like the cities of Greece? No purposeless wanderings out of the land and into it again, like the fabled Pelasgi? No marriages with the gods? No miracles worked to produce their towns and populate their states? Simply because the Turseni were neither an imaginary nor an imaginative race. They had no kings and heroes before they had alphabets and numerals. They neither descended from the clouds nor sprang upwards from the dust; but they settled and dwelt in the land which they had conquered; and they had, from the very first, all the knowledge which was necessary to enable them to record their great events with accuracy and truth. Niebuhr speaks of the deep and extensive mathematical and astronomical knowledge of ancient Etruria, which he says was far more profound in her earlier than in her later days.

Of the fortresses we have only to say, that they were built close to the principal temple, and were

* Varro ap. Censorius, 17. Plut. Nieb.

strong and turreted, of the massive and compact Etruscan masonry, able to resist long sieges, and unassailable, probably for ages, to the tribes of Siculi, who, under different names, dwelt to the south and east of the Rasena, and but few of whom had any walls or fortifications. The walls, with their square towers, and parapets, and sentry walks, and often double gates, may be seen in many parts of Italy still. In the ruined Rusella, in the excavated Pompeii, and in the lonely Pæstum; which last, whether Etruscan or not, is built upon a purely Etruscan model. Such, according to the plates of Rosellini's great work, were almost all the cities of the continent of Ludin; such were all the great cities of Egypt; and such, according to the Scriptures, were all the royal residences in the land of Canaan. The Italian models, alike of armour and of military appointments, of battle array and of battle forts, were drawn from the countries of the East. Concerning the gates we shall merely observe, that they were both single and double, with a square fort on one or both sides; and that they usually consisted of one large entrance for carriages and waggons, and one smaller, at the side, for foot-passengers. They were of three forms; first, the arch, with its keystone, upon the principle of concentric stones, which, like Volterra and Perugia, seems to have been reserved for works of extraordinary splendour and solidity; secondly, the arch composed of stones approaching each other in courses, which was the less skilful and more ordinary form, and is that of

many of the Tuscan Emissarii, of the Pyramids in Egypt, and of Mycene in Greece; and thirdly, the enormous flat lintel stone, also an Egyptian form, and which may have been used where gates of the Pelasgi or Umbri had existed before, or where less labour than the arch was thought sufficient.

The houses, within the walls, must have been many stories high, to contain the population, which we know to have been included within given limits, as at Veii, where there were 100,000 souls when it was destroyed; and part of that space, which is well defined around a precipice of rocks, was, by their sacred laws, left unbuilt upon, as Pomærium. In the representations, which have been preserved to us in plates of the seventeenth and eighteenth Egyptian dynasties, before the days of Tarchun, we have fortresses three stories high. And, indeed, besides what we are told in profane history, of the many stories of the Tower of Babel, we should suppose, reasoning from analogy, that the first built houses after the flood would be three stories high; for the ark was built in three stories, and that must necessarily long have remained a model for houses, unless it was destroyed by miracle. When Canaan was invaded by the Israelites, the people lived in houses upon the wall, and these walls are described by the spies, who had seen the walls of Memphis, to be great and high, and reaching up to heaven.* The only one whose height we actually know, i. e. Tyre, was 150 feet in altitude; and the account of the quantity of men and cattle contained in the citadel

* Numbers.

of Carthage, at the time of its destruction, is almost incredible. Yet it goes to prove that the Asiatic colonists did dwell in stone houses many stories high, and that in this way immense multitudes were able to crowd into a comparatively small space. The walls of Carthage were thirty cubits high, with parapets and towers, each tower having four stories. The walls were arched and divided into two stories. They lodged 300 elephants, 4,000 horses, and 20,000 soldiers, and contained granaries of food for all. The population of Cathage, at the time of its destruction, was 700,000 men.* Nineveh† had 1,500 towers in the walls, each 200 feet high, and these walls were broad enough for three chariots to drive abreast. Diodorus Siculus‡ says, that the oldest houses in Thebes, in Egypt, were four and five stories high, and that they were large with thick walls. The usual height, however, of Egyptian houses was two stories.

The age of each city in Etruria was known from the yearly founders' feast, at which the age was proclaimed and commemorated. This feast continues at Rome still, to celebrate the founding of the city, by Etruscan rites, on the day of Pales, the ETRUSCAN god of shepherds, on the 21st§ of April, 753 B. C. Hence these feasts are called Pallilia.¶ Scaliger could trace the date of some cities in Umbria

* Ancient History.

† Diodorus Siculus, and Ancient History. ‡ Lib. i. c. 45.

§ Vide Ancient History, article Rome, and Plutarch.

¶ This festival must be known to many of our readers as the great feast of the artists in Rome.

founded in this manner by inscriptions, and especially that of Interamnia of the Tusci, and Ameria of the Umbri, which, according to Cato, were founded 964 before the war with Perseus, i. e. 381 before Rome, or 1134 B. C. Gruter gives the Interamnian inscription, and its epoch is that of the founding of Interamnia. Hence the founder's feasts and inscriptions served each state and city as marks of its own time, independently of the national kalendar; and Tarquinia would boast her "Annum Urbis Conditæ" 434 years earlier than Rome.*

The ruins of Santa Maria di Falleri, the ancient Fescennium or Fallerii, as described by Gell, in his work on the environs of Rome, are a very interesting specimen of an Etruscan town. About sixty towers are still remaining in the old walls, and they contained chambers above the walls, having doors which opened out upon the parapet, and admitted of an uninterrupted walk all round the battlements. Nine gates, all arched, opened from so many different roads; and the two principal were what are now called Porta di Leone, on the Sutri road, and Porta Puttana, or Di Bove, with an ox's head upon it, which probably conducted to the burying-ground. By this gate, the walls are still fifty feet high, and some of the stones six feet long by two broad. The principal street led from a gate in the centre of the east side to the Porta di Giove on the north. And here are the ruins of the theatre, and mounds supposed to cover the remains

* Pliny, iii. 14.

or mark the sites of the forum, basilica, and temples. The Porta di Giove is a solemn and imposing arch, and has the head of Jove remaining upon the keystone. Near the walls are many large tombs, some rock sepulchres, some pyramidal tumuli, and some excavations with arches and porticoes.

There was doubtless, in each city, a temple to the patron god; and the names of some of these patrons have been preserved to us. For instance, Pales, patron of Rome, an Etruscan minor god; Nortia, goddess of Fortune, the patroness of Vulsinia and Vulterra; Viridianus of Narni; and Valentia of Oriculum.* Without the city were placed the† temples of Venus or Aphrute, Mars or Maurs, and Vulcan or Sethlans, and Ceres. But it is probable, from this very circumstance, that these divinities, with the exception of Sethlans, were regarded as strange gods, patrons of the nations with whom they were in alliance, and not provided for by Tages, as his laws were delivered to the Lucumoes by Tarchun. Sethlans was a sort of guardian god of the boundaries; and, in the Etruscan altar in the British Museum, is associated with Terminus, in the prayer that he would ward off evil and fire. Others explain the circumstance of these temples being situated without the gates thus: that Venus was placed without, in order to show that licentiousness was not admitted; and Mars, in order to show that war was deprecated; Ceres, because the proper

* Vide Ancient History.

† Vitruvius, i. 7.

field for agriculture was in the open plain; and Vulcan, for the purpose of defending the boundaries both without and within.

It is scarcely necessary to debate whether the Rasena, at this early period, had or had not images. We think it very clear that they first introduced them into Italy from Ludin and Egypt, where image worship had for centuries been established, although the inhabitants, both of Ludin and Egypt, acknowledged only one supreme and almighty God. Colossal figures of the lion-headed or hawk-headed divinities of the land of Ham, long prior to the days of Tarchun, may be seen in almost every museum in Europe. Laban the Syrian, 1745 years B. C., had idols. The Israelites could not refrain from them when Moses brought them to Mount Sinai. The Moabites and Ammonites had them; and we know the form of Dagon, the maritime god of the Philistines. We have already said, that many of the traits of Virgil's Æneas were probably taken from the life of Tarchun; and Æneas is made to bring his Lares with him from Asia.

Doubtless the Rasena brought their Lares, perhaps an image of the father of each princely colonising family, and of the three national gods; and from these the larger temple images would afterwards be made. The Rasena must either have invented images, or have brought them; and as, though there were numerous false divinities, there do not appear to have been any images in Italy before their day, nor amongst the native tribes for six centuries

afterwards, we conclude, both that they introduced sculptured forms into Etruria, and that they did not propagate them beyond their own governments. In the Galassi tomb opened at Cere in 1837, which is regarded as the oldest sepulchre known in Italy, lines of small images were found, no doubt of ancestors and lares.

The Etruscan cities were laid out in straight and regular streets, ending in the gates, and running in lines parallel to each other, and every fifth street was a broad one. Many of these streets* may still be traced by the old common sewers, which are visible in several of the Italian towns, and which ran directly under them.

We will now suppose all these cities to be built and inhabited, and we will proceed to a more interesting ordinance of Tarchun, namely, the yearly meeting of the princes at the fane of Voltumna, in the state of Turchina.

* Müller on the Temple, vol. iii.

CHAPTER VIII.

VOLTUMNA.

THERE is in Etruria a valley, or rather an assemblage of valleys, now called "Castel d'Asso," in the state of Tarquinia, near the town of Viterbo, and near Norchia or Erkle.* These valleys formed the grand public cemetery of the Etruscan nation, for kings, and priests, and heroes; and there the names of many of them remain at this day, deeply engraved upon the front of their strange rock sepulchres. It reminds Egyptian travellers of "Biban El Mulk," the burying valley of the Theban kings. We do not know the age of any of these tombs, because sharp engraving upon hard stone, does not retain the trace of time, so as to give evidence of the work being more or less early; and the productions of

B. C.
CENT.
XII.

* Norchia was the ancient Etruscan "Erkle," as we learn from manuscripts in the Vatican. The name is spelt in Etruscan inscriptions ERKLE, and in the annals of the Archæological Society we have a letter written in the ninth century by Pope Leo the Fourth to the Bishop of "Urcle," now Norchia.

men, who died three thousand years ago, are often more finely polished, and more delicately touched, less rubbed in their edges, and less injured in their substance, than those of our own middle ages, or of the Roman lower empire. This is demonstrated by multitudes of Egyptian statues, obelisks, and pillars, some of which may be seen in every museum in Europe.

As the Etruscans would not require such a burying place, until their heroes became somewhat numerous, we shall suppose the earliest sepulchre to date about 200 years before Rome, and the latest perhaps 90 or 100 years *B. C.*, when the Etruscan nationality was destroyed by Sylla. These tombs are known to have belonged to warriors, because, when first opened, the sarcophagi found in them contained quantities of brazen armour; (see Gell;) and they are known not to have been used in later times, because no tomb has been found containing any Latin inscription; and after the union of Etruria with Rome, Latin became the court language, and is found of a very old date, in many of the sepulchres in the municipia elsewhere. It would, besides, have been a sort of profanation to bury the Latinized Etruscans in the holy ground of their old, independent, and triumphant warriors.

In this district, near these valleys, and either between Viterbo and Castel d'Asso, or, as many think, on the ground which Viterbo now occupies, Tarchun dedicated a temple and district to Voltumna—*F.L.T.M.N.*, or Baal Temuneh, as in some dialects

it would be pronounced, the goddess of National Union and Concord. There,* once every year, all the twelve sovereigns of the twelve dynasties, and the governors of each town, and whoever might be considered as the princes and heads of the Rasena, were solemnly bound to meet, in order to celebrate their common origin, and their bond of union under one common law. This was their high court of parliament, beyond which there was no appeal; and here all national questions were discussed, and all grave complaints settled. Their first act was to choose a high† priest to offer their common sacrifices for the common weal; and their next was to elect a head, an Imperator or "Embratur," or "Meddix Tuticus," (whence magistratus,) as it was called in the Oscan language, a dictator, or an absolute sovereign, for the time being; under whose sole command they marched forth in times of war.‡ In circumstances of great exigency this high officer, Lar of the Lares, seems to have kept his power for life, or until the purpose for which he was elected was accomplished. Tarchun had no equal during his existence, nor had Porsenna, from the time he comes before us, as espousing the cause of his countrymen, the Tarquins, in Rome, until he saw fit to abandon that cause, after Rome was prostrate. In other cases the office was probably annual, and may have gone by lot, or rotation, or seniority, amongst the twelve sovereigns.

* Vide Liv. iv. 25.

† Livy, v. 1.

‡ Dionys. iii.

It is also not unlikely that, in times of peace, the high priest may occasionally have been the augur as well as the sovereign for the year, because each Lucumo was eligible to all these offices; but such a case would seldom occur, because every free people is jealous of the accumulation of power in the same hand; and in all our accounts of the Etruscan kings, augurs, and priests, though they were invariably men of the same class, they were generally different persons. The king is either represented as summoning the augur, or the priest as commanding the king to sacrifice; yet, though this was the rule in offices for life, the annual Pontifex Maximus and the annual chief magistrate in each state was usually, if not invariably, the same. As soon as this pontifex king, or Lar of the Lares was chosen, each of the sovereign princes did him homage, and each presented him with a lictor, to form his body-guard, bearing the sceptre to rule and the rod to punish; both of which emblems, we find from Rosellini, were borne by the kings of Egypt, and which intimate the duties of a ruler, "to whom the sword is not committed that it should be worn in vain."

This meeting took place always in the spring, very probably in memory of the first spring,* when the Rasena landed in Tarquinia, and a great fair was held at the same time, which reminds us of the political annual meetings and fairs of the Hyksos kings in Avaris. It is supposed that merchants

* Liv. iv. 25.

from far distant shores,* even from Asia and Africa, were present at these fairs, where the northern and southern states of the only trading nation of Italy used to meet together. The Greeks originally were not there, because their vessels dared not appear in the Turrhene Seas, and many writers† suppose that Scylla and Charybdis, are merely figures to intimate the dread in which they held the Etruscans, and may be the names of some of the little images, used by that people on the prows of their vessels. Greek ships were regarded as interlopers on the west coast of Italy ages later, even so late as the time of the Phocian engagement in the year of Etruria 654, i. e. in the 220‡ of Rome, and the carrying trade before this period was confined to the vessels of the Tyrseni themselves, the Carthaginians, and the Egyptians.

The merchants probably lived in tents during the time of the meeting; and though there was no town at Vultumna, Niebuhr§ has proved that there must, at all the fanes, have been inns and places of refreshment. Multitudes of people flocked here, as they do to all fairs, to buy and sell and get gain; but the voices in the deliberative council were those of the princes only.||

Here and at this time, were made all common laws, here were remedied all common evils, and here were decided the grand questions of peace or

* Vide Müller on Etruscan commerce.

† Müller in Cuma, quotes Palaphates a Greek who asserts this.

‡ Fasti consulares.

§ Vide Niebuhr in Feronia.

|| Liv. vi. 2.

war. No dynasty, without permission from this council,* could make a separate peace, or carry on a separate feud, and each member of the League had here a right to demand assistance from the whole. One state might be required to defend alone its own quarrel, the council not thinking that its cause justified the embroiling of the others, or one province might, for particular reasons, be excused, whilst all the others were bound to act together in an enterprise. Thus, upon one occasion, Livy† says, "All the people of Etruria took up arms except the Arretini;" and thus Veii, when she asked assistance against Rome, was, from a mistaken policy, refused.

There can be little doubt, that the twelve bound up fasces of the lictors represented this league, so strong in union, and that the fable of the man, who broke each separate stick of the bundle before his sons, when he had loosened the cord which bound them, was suggested by this very polity. Rome adopted and retained the twelve rods without any regard to the meaning of them, each one representing a tribe. They remind us of the twelve rods, each conveying the same meaning, that is, each representing a tribe, which, three centuries earlier, the Hebrew‡ princes had by God's command laid up in the tabernacle. The grand council of Voltumna could ordain, that a state should defend itself, or could command the assistance of so many of the others, or of the whole

* Liv. v. 17.

† ix. 32.

‡ Numb. xvii.

body to be given to it; and every separate town in Etruria of a certain importance, could, when it pleased, call a meeting of this council. This we find from Veii and Falisci at different times exercising the right.*

The parties required to be present at these meetings were only the princes of Etruria, the Augurs, the Aruspices, and the Feciales, each of whose offices we shall presently explain; but the parties whose presence was permitted were, whoever desired to celebrate the feast, or to attend the fair. Deputies from the allies of Etruria were doubtless expected, and representatives from the states of their own blood in the north and south, after those states had an existence. But North and South Etruria, though equally governed by the laws of Tages, never formed one polity with Etruria Proper, and never were incorporated in her government. They acknowledged their origin, and looked up to their mother with reverence, gratitude, and pride, but they were not subjects, they were not even fellow-citizens, and when they joined in battle, or in an enterprise, with those from whose houses they had sprung, they did so as equals and allies, we had almost said, as foreigners. That the Italian allies were at this meeting we know, because Livy† names the Samnites, and because the Gubbio tables acknowledge the common sacrifices of the Umbri and the Etruscans.

This meeting of course became a model to the

* Livy, iv. 23.

† x. 16.

native Italians, when they, in the lapse of years, held friendly communication with their polished neighbours, whose institutions they wisely imitated, and who appear to have stamped with order and refinement every mark of their footsteps in Italy. Hence we have the "Fanum Feroniæ" of the Latins, and the "Fanum Artenæ" of the Vulsci, and the "Fanum Lucinæ" of the Sabines, all upon the same system, and all (because called *Fanes*) attributed by the ancient history to the Etruscans.* Our word "Fane" is derived from the same source, and means the same thing, i. e. "a sacred spot;" and inscriptions in some of the larger and finer of the Etruscan tombs at Tarquinia and Chiusi, inform us that many of the distinguished sepulchres were also fanes.

As the place of meeting in the plain of Viterbo was called "Fanum Voltumnae," and not either "the Temple," or "the City" of Voltumna, and as Feronia and Artena, had neither of them grand temples, so we imagine the holy fane to have been an inconsiderable square building, containing a small symbolical statue; and some large hall supported upon Tuscan pillars, might possibly be near it, as the seat of council, where the princes deliberated upon state matters, apart from the people, and far from the bustle of the merchants and the gathering of the multitude. The valley of Castel d'Asso, called by the Romans "Castellum Axia,"† was protected by a strong fort, and as the valley leads onwards, it comes to a small shrine now dedicated to "San Giovanni di

* An. Hist. vol. xvi.

† Vide Cicero.

Bieda," where there is an annual fair. The habits of the Italians make it probable, that this fair is but the continuation of one, which has been held in the same spot, from time immemorial, and that the shrine of S. Giovanni, has only succeeded some other shrine, once in heathen times held sacred. It is thus possible, though we lay no weight upon the idea, that we may still discover and mark the spot, where Tarchun, the man who introduced augury into Italy, first retired at this solemn meeting, to inquire by lightning what was the will of the gods with regard to the League of the Etruscans, and by what means he could best promote their present security, and cement their future union.

Doubtless this meeting was commanded by the laws of Tages, or it would not have lasted so long, for Müller* thinks it was never dissolved, until those laws were superseded by Christianity. That able historian deduces the idea from various Italian inscriptions, which he transcribes, found at Perugia, Arretium, Bolsena, and other places, some of them dated in the reigns of the later Cæsars in the third and fourth centuries, A.D., in which the "Praetores Hetruriae XV. Populorum, and the Praetores Umbriae XV. Populorum, are mentioned with reference to the "Sacra Etruriæ." Thus showing that the Umbri were probably, in three tribes, joined with the Etruscans. These tribes may have been Sarsinati, Piceni, and one other. Some Italian antiquaries, as Reinesius, have wished to alter the number XV.,

* B. ii. 1—6.

fancying that it must be an error for XII., but if these inscriptions relate to the common sacrifices of the two people, their united numbers must have exceeded XII., and we are surprised to find them so limited as XV., considering how small the separate governments of the Italians usually were. We see in these inscriptions the justness of Cato's description, that Umbria was "*Pars Tusciæ*." At this meeting the augur in all cases settled disputes and confirmed judgments, by declaring the will of the gods upon the matter in debate—a tremendous power in the hands of an artful man.


Livy says that the festival was kept with music and games,* and upon the election of the common monarch, especially when that monarch was to head the League as their Dictator in war, he was dignified with the ensigns of sovereignty, which, as Tarchun introduced them into Italy, so he must have brought them with him from the country of his birth. The Etruscans, according to Diodorus Siculus, v., gave their king a throne of ivory,† and a purple toga which was worked in gold stars and palm leaves:‡ also a golden bulla filled with perfumes to keep off

* Liv. v. 1.

† This was certainly obtained from or through Africa, and confirms our belief in the intercourse of the Etruscans with that continent. It was from thence that Solomon procured his ivory.

‡ Rosellini, vol. iv., says that the palm was a common ornament of the Egyptians upon their dress and furniture during the reign of the 18th dynasty, and that it signified Lower Egypt, which was so long in possession of the Assyrians.

infection and evil influences. He had a golden crown upon his head, and a sceptre in his hand, with twelve lictors, who stood behind him and bore each an axe and a bundle of rods. The sceptre was in time surmounted by an eagle, and in Tarchun's days it probably had a vulture, the Egyptian symbol of victory. The crown was probably the corona Etrusca of oak leaves. Thus, no doubt, was Tarchun dressed, and thus was he seated and guarded when he took his place at Voltumna as the leader, lawgiver, sovereign, and head of the Etruscan people.

Near this peculiarly sacred ground, there existed very lately, and perhaps may exist still, the two finest specimens known of Etruscan temple architecture. They are at Norchia, the ancient Erkle, and are façades hewn upon rock temples, or fane tombs. They have four square pillars in front, with an entablature and triglyph ornaments, over which is a pediment in the usual form , filled with figures, but too much defaced for the subject to be traceable. Plates of them may be seen in Inghirami's Etruscan Antiquities, and they are interesting and curious specimens of Etruscan taste, though we do not refer them to the early period of this people in Italy; and even as a testimony to the sacredness of Voltumna, they have no reference to the times of Tarchun.*

* The authorities for this account of Voltumna are: Livy, ii. 44; iv. 23; v. 17 &c.; vi. 2; x. 16. Dionys. iii. 61. Diod. v. 40. Proved from Müller, B. ii. 1. See Müller on Pomp. Diod. Sic. v. Festus, Pliny, and Dionys.

CHAPTER IX.

TARCHUN AND HIS INSTITUTIONS.

Augur—Aruspex—Lucumo and Noble—King—Senate—Clans
—Feciales—Boundaries—Women.

B. C.
CENT.
XII. WE will now proceed to give some account of the powers of king, augur, and priest, which were necessarily exercised by Tarchun in his own person, although generally divided in those of his successors; of the Feciales, the Lucumoes, the clients, and the several classes of the Etruscan people.

The first and highest power in Etruria, as afterwards in Rome, was that of the Augur, who in the case of Tarchun, Romulus, and many other founders of states, was the same with the king, though ostensibly his power related to sacred things only. If Tarchun introduced augury, then all the Italian augurs and all the earliest augural institutions must derive from him, and hence we refer to him the facts relating to their office, which are preserved to us in the narratives of others. The Augur was, in plain

words, the representative of the Divinity upon earth, the absolute and despotic declarer of the divine will, whom it was blasphemy to contradict, and rebellion to disobey. The Divine Being, however, whom he represented, and in whose character he must act, was pictured as the constant father and protector of his people, with his eyes ever upon their actions, his heart ever alive to their interests, and his ears ever open to their prayers. He cared for the least of his children as much as for the greatest, punishing equally their crimes, rewarding equally their virtues, and rendering it obligatory upon them all, from the sovereign to the peasant, to walk by one law, and to observe one rule. The augur expounded the will of the gods, consulted it himself according to a written code, and declared it to the people. Without him there could be no election to any office, and in Etruria every office was elective, though many were for life. Without the augur there was no king, no dictator, no pontifex, no ruler, no vestal, no fecial, no priest. The Etruscan maxim was, that "there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God," and therefore alike in the meanest, and in the grandest and most important, of their deliberations concerning the public weal, the *will* of the gods was consulted.

The person of the Augur was sacred, and his office endured for life, in order to raise him above fear in the discharge of his duty; and he was supported at the public expense, that he might have no temptation to bribery. He was always a Lucumo, no man of low

caste being eligible, and he must have been possessed of a competent knowledge of military affairs, for no general could cross a river, or a frontier of any kind, or fight, or divide among his soldiers the conquered land, without the augur's permission. There could be no marriage, nor adoption in the lucumonal houses, and no meeting, either of themselves or their vassals, without him. There could be no public function without auspices, and the auspices must not be consulted if the augur forbade. He could dissolve any assembly, and nullify any election, by declaring, however untruly, that he heard thunder; and the only bounds to his power, or check to his subtilty, was in the equal power of the other augurs his co-partners. Such a multitude of affairs would necessitate, at the very least, one augur in every great city, and there were probably three or four, according to the population, and the extent of labour which devolved upon them. Romulus appointed an augur to each tribe, to interpret dreams, oracles, and prodigies, and to tell whether the thing decided upon, by them or for them, should be fortunate or not. In Rome, Romulus elected three besides himself, and it is not unlikely that Tarchun may have set the example, and have left it as a rule, that each tribe in every state and city should have one augur.

When this great officer died, his place was filled up by the remaining augurs, either with or without the Lucumoes. Tarchun established colleges for these men, and in the early days of Rome, the patri-

cians filled the vacancy if one died, by electing another in concert with the actual augurs, who might reject the person chosen by vote, if they pleased. Should an augur, touched with human passion, pronounce a decree which was evidently self-willed, and injurious to the public interests, another augur might oppose him, and by lightning revoke his decree; otherwise it must stand. As not above three instances of this kind occur in history, we gather from it, that the augurs were always men, diligently educated, to understand their science, and to govern themselves, and that they were carefully chosen from amongst their equals, as the persons who were supposed to understand best the public interests, and to care most for them.

This institution maintained its influence in Italy for many hundred years, whence we presume that there was much reality connected with its foundation, that its members had a real belief in divine guidance, and that they were usually upright and skilful in the exercise of their office.*

Augury, as the science, or rather as the art of divination, is rife at this day in India. The word, as we have said, in Hindoostanee, means a temple, and in Latin "augurium" has reference to the augur as officiating. Both Müller and Niebuhr agree, that the whole of the ceremonies used in Italian augury, were Etrus-

* Authorities for Augur. Cicero de Repub. ii. 9; De Nat. Deo. ii. 3, 9; ad Fam. vii. 16. Plin. viii. 28; xxviii. 4. Liv. x. 6—9; iii. 32. Dionys. ii. 22; ii. 6. Varro R. R. iii. Servius.

can, and that the distinctive mark by which the Etruscan faith might be recognised and separated from every aboriginal religious rite, was the necessity of consulting the divine will in a temple, i. e. on holy ground. It was the augur's office to see into the future, to keep up discipline, i. e. the authority of present laws, and to decide every state dispute. He could never be disgraced or degraded, and disobedience to him was death. There was a college of augurs at Tyre, and an ancient author mentions that Pygmalion, the priest of Hercules, was not one of the augurs; meaning by this observation, that it was the common practice for the ruling prince in Tyre to be an augur also.

The Haruspex was a different person from the Augur, and very inferior to him in dignity, though of the same class; for he also must be a Lucumo, or at least noble. The word is supposed to be derived from *ara specto, aris aspiciendis*,* to look at the altar, or to inquire by it. But, if it is, as we believe, an Etruscan term, this is not its derivation, though it may be a good explanation of its meaning. In general the haruspex offered up the victim, and then consulted the entrails, to tell, by their appearance, the answer which the gods made to the sacrifices. At other times, the priest offered up the sacrifice, whilst the haruspex inquired by lightning, or told the meaning of thunder, earthquake, the flight of birds, the fall of meteors; or of any other sign that might have happened. Every magistrate

* Vide Cicero de Div.

was an aruspex in virtue of his office, but not an augur; nor dared he to take the auspices, if the augur forbade.* In Rome, and probably everywhere else in Italy, the aruspices lived in colleges, under one head or master; and Cicero tells us,† that they were instituted by Tages, and that the Romans used to send their children into Etruria,‡ to be instructed in their discipline. Wherever, therefore, we find, in Italian history, mention made of Augurs or Aruspices, there we trace the influence of Etruria, to whatever nation the men might belong, or whatever slight diversity there might be, in the signs they used, or in their national feelings. Just as whenever we meet the Roman Catholic, we see the influence and the headship of Rome, though the man himself may be a Briton, an American, or a Chinese, and though they may differ from each other in many points of ritual and ceremony. It was a proverb amongst the Romans, "Haruspex, Tuscus semper,"—not that the man was always Tuscan, for the Roman magistrates were usually Latin, but that the office was. Women§ of rank exercised this art as well as men, for Tanaquil, the wife of Tarquin, interpreted the signs for her husband; Bygoë|| wrote a book upon the *Ars fulguritorum*, which became one of the statute books of Etruria, and Plautus speaks of the Haruspicae, or Lady Haruspices.¶ This science had fixed principles, or it could

* Cic. de Leg. iii. 3. † Div. iii. 23. ‡ Div. i. 41.

§ Livy, i. 34, 39. Dionys. iii. 47.

|| Servius apud Æn. vii.

¶ Müller, b. iii.

not have continued so many ages, and under such altered circumstances, to command respect, and to influence the minds of men: whatever these principles might be, they seem to have remained as a treasure and mystery in the hands of the Etruscan princes; and, like the almanac, to have been communicated in their *results* only to other nations, and not in their elements; otherwise we should not find the Romans constantly sending for Haruspices and Diviners into Etruria, rather than into Sabina or any other part of Italy.

The cradle of this science is doubtless to be sought in Egypt and Assyria; the latter country alone using augury by the flight of birds, which the Hebrews were forbidden to study, and by lightning, which does not exist in Egypt, though some learned persons imagine that electricity and magnetism were much practised by the Egyptian priests, and even believe that in some of the temple scenes, found depicted at Thebes, one man is producing sparks from the body of another. Not to enter into this discussion, we have scripture authority for the extraordinary knowledge of natural phenomena, possessed by the philosophers, both of Egypt and Assyria, throughout a succession of ages, under the name of magic and divination, practised by "magi and diviners, or wise men." The king of Egypt, in the days of Joseph, was an Assyrian, and his philosophers were probably learned men, both of Assyria and of Egypt; whilst the Pharaoh of the time of Moses, with his wonder-working literati, were all Egyp-

tians, and possessed of knowledge which enabled them to exercise powers not as yet attained by us. On the other hand, Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar, with their learned council, were all Assyrians. From the honourable position of these men, and from Moses, the adopted son of the Egyptian princess, among the one people, and Daniel, the young Hebrew prince, among the other, receiving their style of education, as being the best and the highest that could be bestowed upon them, and from the Scriptures mentioning it as praiseworthy and honourable, that they were skilled in all this wisdom, we gather that the magi of the east, like the Augurs and Aruspices of the Rasena, belonged to the class of the nobility, according to the continental idea of that term. As they were often called upon to interpret only, whilst the priest sacrificed, we learn that they did not supersede the priests, and were not, like so many of them, the hereditary servants of any particular divinity.*

We have intimated that the Augurs and Aruspices were all noble, though they might not be equal in rank to the Lucumoes. Now, upon the continent of Europe, we have, in a great measure, the same divisions of classes which existed in Egypt, in Ludin and in Etruria, in the days of Tarchun. We have the sovereign hereditary, or, as it lately was in Poland and Germany, and is now in the Papal States, elective; and we have, next to him, the greater and

* Livy, v. 22.

lesser hereditary nobility, by whom alone it is fitting that all the court offices, and highest magistracies in the realm, should be filled. This nobility comprises the whole gentry of the country; all of them, and them only. Upon the Continent there cannot properly be said to exist such an institution as the British peerage, or such a class as that to which we English are accustomed to limit the term noble. In foreign kingdoms there can be no sons of dukes who are accounted commoners, and no grandsons of dukes who, as with us, sink undistinguished into the body of the people. On the contrary, they continue to be marked with the family titles, *ad infinitum*, and although multiplied by tens and hundreds, all the branches of a foreign house are as noble as the head: noble merely meaning a man of gentle blood, entitled to wear the family arms, and descended at some period more or less remote, from an ancestor whom the sovereign had raised to the ruling class, or on whom he had conferred a title. On the Continent, this descent or title is common to all a man's posterity, and in virtue of it they are eligible, if educated, and not in other respects unfit, to all places of trust and power, to all situations in the court, and to all posts in the army.*

* To compare the British gentry with the continental nobility may seem foreign to a history of the Etruscans, and may require some apology as a digression. Yet we cannot help remarking, that while the primogeniture which keeps titles, estates, and lustre in the elder branch, is doubtless a most beneficial institu-

The Etruscans had these Nobles, including the knights and gentry, and besides them they had, like ourselves, a peerage called "Lucumoes," who formed, as our peers do, the standing council of the sovereign, and the hereditary senate of the state. Their eldest sons, and the other branches of their families, were not their equals as long as they lived, and until they became Lucumoes, were not eligible to the sovereign power, neither were any foreigners, however high their rank or great their consideration, capable of bearing magisterial offices in Etruria,

tion to the nation, the more remote branches of titled families and the ancient gentry who never have enjoyed titles, are unmindful of their proper place, when they allow the immediate scions of the peerage to monopolize the name of nobility in its continental sense. Mr. Howard of Corby, an English commoner, is, according to continental judgment, as noble as his chief, the Duke of Norfolk; and "Mr. Dundas of that ilk," a Scottish commoner, is, in like manner, as noble as his cadets the Earl of Zetland, Viscount Melville, and Lord Amesbury. And yet both, unless they possessed more acquaintance with the subject than most Englishmen do, would be in danger, on the Continent, of being confounded with the *Bourgeoisie*, because both are commoners, though the one is a cadet of a great ducal house, and the other has enjoyed the rank of gentleman since the Heptarchy, with various peers for his younger branches. From not understanding the meaning of the word "noble," in the mouth of a foreigner, the wife of an Edmonstone, whose family twice in the 14th century, matched directly with royal princesses, would now very likely give place to the wife of a new made Bavarian baron. There is as much folly in losing one's rank, as in assuming too high a tone, and our countrymen on the continent are often unfortunate in falling into both errors.

unless they were first created Lucumoes. From the continuance of this order in numbers even to the latest dates in the sepulchres, there can be no doubt that the king or Lar, possessed the power of filling up vacancies in his Senate, occasioned by the extinction, in process of time, of the original great houses.

The Lucumo, or peer, was in Rome called Senator; though it may admit of a question, whether the term Lucumo was common to all the peers, or belonged only to the chief and captain of the peers. He may possibly have been the Decurion of his Curia, or we believe at all events, that there were distinctions among the men of lucumonal rank, as there are grades in the British peerage. There were many privileges and offices which no Etruscan could enjoy who had not this rank, whilst all who had it, possessed amongst themselves a perfect equality of civil rights.

This was the state of the world at the time of Tarchun's birth, and he did not change it. He is said himself, to have been the son of a king of Ludin. But this king was probably only a Lucumo, having some greater authority over him, for Tarchun did not, as the son of a despotic monarch probably would have done, establish despotism and hereditary power. We have examples in Etruscan history of one great family, as the Tins in Perugia, and the Cecinas in Volterra, by preponderance of influence in its own senate, maintaining the rule in one state; and Tarchun's children, if he had any,

would doubtless have been selected by the voice of common gratitude to succeed him in Tarquinia. But the constitution of his government was the absolute dominion of law over all, and, consequently, the superiority of office united to the equality of men. The king was supreme, and for life; but the king must be elected by the Lucumoes, and from amongst them. The augur was the highest of earthly powers, yet the augur must be elected by his brethren.

All the princes of Etruria were Lucumoes. They were the chief landholders; and in them, as a body, consisting of one head and many members, resided the whole power of the state. The younger branches of a Lucumo's family were Aruns, and the head lucumo or king was "Lar," declined by Larth and Larthia, &c. &c. Lar is probably derived from the Hebrew *רֹדֵף*, Sar, a prince or chief. Livy latinizes all these ranks as principes, whilst Plutarch continually gives the term "Lucumo," without understanding its meaning.

Tarchun, in the name of Tages, commanded that all the kings of Etruria Proper should be elected by the Lucumoes of the several states for life; each king being pontifex maximus in his own dominions, and absolute whenever not restrained by law. When he died, his son might be elected to succeed him; but he had no more right to the succession than the heir of any other family of his tribe. A plurality of votes decided; but if the senators could not agree, as to

who should be their head, each chief *lucumo* reigned a certain number of days, until the succession was determined. Livy says, each senator reigned five days. Plutarch in Numa says, only twenty-four hours, whilst Niebuhr thinks that each reigned during ten days, or perhaps longer, by rotation. The king originated every new law, and proposed it to the senate, who approved or rejected, amended or advised upon it, but could originate nothing. At the same time the king could establish no law without the senate's consent. The king was the sole and absolute judge, to absolve or to punish, in civil and criminal causes; he appointed all the great officers of state; was head of the nobles, father of the people, protector of the kingdom, general of the army, and sole declarer of peace and war. The king, says Niebuhr,* was inaugurated by consulting the gods, and all the tribes must agree upon his election. He was probably examined by the pontifices, as to his fitness for office, because he was himself to be *pontifex maximus*; and it is in imitation of this Assyrian custom of uniting king and high priest in one person, that we find the kings of Israel so frequently presuming to take upon themselves the high priest's office.†

The king fined and punished; and was absolute without the city and in war; but within the city there lay an appeal against his sentence from every

* ii. 352.

† 1 Sam. xiii. 9. 2 Chron. xxvi. 16.

citizen, or, at least, from every *Lucumo*, to his peers. The king* had lands appropriated to his dignity, called *demesne* lands, and a determinate portion of the spoil and conquered territory† in war, consisting of one-third. He could assemble the senate or the people, or the senate and people together, whenever he chose; he had the care of all the public money;‡ and it was his duty, every ninth day, i. e. the day following every eighth day, to give audience, and to show himself to his people in the gate, or in the forum, in order to hear their complaints, to decide quarrels, to redress grievances, to receive their salutations,§ and to announce to them the feasts for the following week, and the changes of the moon, which regulated their *kalendar*. Those who know the Scriptures, are well aware that this custom of sitting in the gate|| to give judgment is eastern; and it implies that those who hold the sovereign power should be careful publicly to acknowledge the sovereign's duties. The prince was hereby reminded that he was to rule for the benefit of his subjects; and that it was his province to maintain the peace, to prevent robbery, and redress wrong. Whilst the people acknowledged that the prince was their constituted protector as well as ruler, first in justice as first in power; and they became acquainted with his person, not only as the representative of law, but as their father, and the object

* Arnold from Cicero.

† Cic. de Repub. v. 3.

‡ Dion. i. 84, 85, 87.

§ Macrob. Saturnal. i. 15.

|| 2 Sam. xix. 8. Jerem xxxviii. 7. Prov. xxxi. 23.

of their obedience and affection. Macrobius* says, that every week the Etruscans greeted their king, and asked after his health, at these patriarchal meetings.

The king was elected by the senate. This senate Tarchun caused to consist in each separate state, of Lucumoes or peers only; and, being once introduced by him, on a principle of government agreeable to the genius of the Italians, the senates were gradually adopted in every little capital of every petty tribe in communication with the Rasena, until, at the time when Rome was founded, Niebuhr asserts that there was no city on the Mediterranean without them. Livy chiefly mentions the senates of Etruria, as, for example, Arretium and Perugia, Falerii or Falisci, and Veii. Zonaras and Appian name Volsinia; and we shall find the senates of the various Latin, Greek, Umbrian and Samnite towns occasionally quoted from ancient authors, in the progress of this work.† The senate consisted of all the Lucumoes or peers, and with them, as with our own House of Lords, their rank was hereditary, their class the same, their political privileges equal, but their degrees of rank were different, the first ten being higher than the others, and probably having a right to the curule chair, which appertained either to high rank or office. We read of curule Ediles in Rome; and we find, in the Etruscan sepulchres, curule chairs of different materials, on which images

* Saturnal. i. 15.

† See Livy, ix. 6; v. 27.

of departed greatness have been seated, both male and female. The female we must suppose to have been the wife of the sovereign only. But the male, being sometimes of stone, sometimes of marble, and sometimes of wood, we think, may denote Senators of merely different degrees of rank, or wealth. One of these chairs is to be seen in the Corsini palace in Rome.*

Each Lucumo was equally eligible to become the prince of his people, or head of the whole league. Each was a sovereign in his own house, and master of his own dependants; and each had a check upon the acts of his king or Lar by the power of the auspices, which each was competent to consult, and by the appeal which every chief might make to his own peers. Each might declare that what his prince proposed was unlawful, and could hold an assembly of his equals to try the question, as we learn from Attus Nævius, who opposed Tarquin. Not only every Lucumo, but every Etruscan citizen, might change his place of residence as often as he pleased, and become the denizen of any other state or city; but the great families never did change their localities, except by banishment. They had large tracts of land allotted to them, in perpetuity, like the Highland clans, which always remained in the same house, as we learn from the many generations found in the same sepulchres, and from the rivers and districts which they have called by their names, and upon which, if we may

* Vide Niebuhr.

judge from similarity of nomenclature, a descendant here and there is supposed to linger still.

Tarchun's first colony consisted of these men and of their families, i. e. of the לחם L.ch.mes or chiefs, the princes of whom were eleven in number, and himself the twelfth and the one supreme head; and along with them, of their followers, called vassals, or clients, or clansmen. These followers, the country being once settled, consisted not merely of the original Rasena, who came with their lords from the opposite shores of the Mediterranean, but of all, of every description, who chose to live under their protection; whether from having been the former proprietors, as Umbri and Pelasgi, they chose to remain as tenants upon the soil which they had once called their own; or whether emigrating from foreign tribes, they desired to establish themselves upon the property, and join the vassalage of some powerful chief in Turrhenia.

This species of social government was not only fairly represented by the Highland clans in Scotland, but it was probably called by the very same name, the word "clan," susceptible of this explanation, being found in the Etruscan sepulchres,* and being afterwards Latinized into clientes or clients. Wherever Italy was civilized, subsequent to this period, there we find the government of Houses; and the government of Houses is no other than that of Clans. In Rome each man took the name of his chief, as in

* Vide *Archæologia Romana* for 1837. Orioli in Tifone, vol. vii.

Scotland, and formed a Gens; the name being possibly derived from CLNs. In Etruria, each man kept his own name, but formed, quite as inalienably, part of a particular Clan. The bond between clansman and chief was the strictest that can be conceived between man and man; the Lucumo everywhere representing his people, and being considered as their protector and head.

The Lucumo, as we learn from Dionysius, was bound to help his vassals in time of need, to do and obtain for them justice, and to give them a right in all the land or spoil which conquest, by their aid, might bestow upon him. From Dionysius* and Livy† we learn that it was his province to arm them, and to call them forth to war when required. The clansman who deserted his lord, and the lord who broke faith with his clansman, were equally devoted to the infernal gods. The chief could adopt into the Clan as many strangers as he pleased; but only those of the same blood could share the same grave.‡

Varro tells us, that when the Romans required help from the Tuscans, they applied to the Lucumoes. Plutarch says, that the Lucumo and his men helped Romulus; and Servius, that the twelve states of Etruria were each governed by a Lucumo, (i. e. Lar,) of whom one was chief. Virgil, a Mantuan by birth, confirms to us that the Lucumo was the usual name of all the chief peers, and not of the sovereign

* ix.

† ix.

‡ Cicero de Leg. 22, 55.

only; for he says that Mantua was divided in twelve *Curiae*, with a *Lucumo* over each.*

The *Lucumo*, as we gather from Livy, was the governor, judge, priest, and general of the people.† The clansmen, on the other hand, were the members who supported the chief; they laboured for him, traded for him, and fought for him. The glory of his house was their glory, and the misfortunes of his family were their misfortunes.‡ They paid his debts if poor, ransomed him, if prisoner, and followed him into banishment, if exiled. This we know from the fate of Tarquin and others. They found their well-being in him, and he found his well-being in them. The connexion between them, like that of every primitive people, was patriarchal; and they had even their share in the government of their country, by voting on his side.

Men who despise, as slavish or degrading, the relation of patron and client, should visit, with eyes and ears open, the mountains of Scotland. There they may still witness the hardy independence and intrepid daring, the warm affections and the generous impulses which grow up as the fruits of such a system. It is consoling to know that romance, when it exhibits and works up the noblest feelings of our nature, has its elements founded in truth. It is gratifying and delightful to our better minds, though it may be humbling to our pride and selfishness, to see amongst the poor Highlanders, the contempt for

* Servius, *Æn.* x. 202. † Livy, x. 13; ix 3. ‡ Dion.

all that is mercenary, the value for all that is elevated, the refined tone of feelings which marks the poorest cottage, and the spirit of self-sacrifice and sublime magnanimity, which will display itself in word and action, the moment that chord is touched, which lies deep in the Highland heart, of the connexion between the clansman and his chief. This spirit is not yet quite extinct; and oh! that it never might be! There are still districts in which the old bond has not been broken; where poverty can walk erect, and be warmly welcomed in the houses of the great, if it bear but on its front the ancient badge of integrity, fidelity, and courage. Throughout the British empire, and, indeed, throughout Europe, we can find men who will give, and proudly give their heart's blood for the man or the principle they love. But in the Highlands we find the poor and uneducated, who will give it from depth of filial sentiment, without faction, without bigotry, without self-interest, and who have not learned, and never will learn, to sell either their minds or bodies for the price of gold.

This spirit of lofty honour and profound affection, though doubtless, in some respects, the result of peculiarities in the Highland temperament, yet, from having been so general, proves itself also to have been the effect of the Highland institutions; and where the cord has been loosed, or the tie dissolved, it has in no instance, been on the side of the people, but on that of the alienated chief, who has been brought

up for himself, with foreign feelings in a foreign land.*

In the beautiful words of the *Edinburgh Review*, No. 152,—“The social affections, if concentrated within a well-defined circle, possess an intensity and endurance unrivalled by those passions of which self is the immediate object. The emotions with which the Spartan and the Jew have yearned over the land of their fathers, are emotions stronger than appetite, vanity, ambition, avarice, or death.” And these are the emotions which the Rasena felt for the country of their adoption, the original princes of their blood, and the sacred institutions of Tages.

The reasoning Lowland Scotchman, and the calm phlegmatic Englishman, who consider all these feelings as visionary, will no more believe that they existed of old throughout the land of Etruria, than that they are to be found in the Highlands now. Because they find no such devotion in themselves to their highest or first of kin, they cannot credit it in others, not considering that their state of society is differently ordered, and that their institutions do not call such emotions forth. Where

* We know of one mighty potentate, who, but for the devotedness of his clan in former times, would now have been the insignificant laird of a little tower; and who, of late years, when asked what was to become of the poor cotters whose black turf cabins he was destroying, replied, with a sneer, “Lochdhu is deep enough for them all.” Towards such chiefs the Highlander’s heart is cold, and the throb of his pulse is low.

the head boasts of caring nothing for the body, as in England, the body, in return, will care nothing for the head; but in Etruria no man lived for himself, he lived for his country and his kindred. And this is as free and as happy a state as the bulk of a nation can ever know; for amongst the Clans any continuance of domestic tyranny was impossible, the good will of the people towards the chief being even more necessary than the good will of the chief towards his people; and there can be no doubt that, if a tyrant did arise in Etruria, he was put away for the next of kin more worthy, even as has occurred in various instances amongst the clans in Scotland.* We shall find examples, as we proceed in this history, which show that the Etruscans, though patient, peaceable, and orderly, were no more enduring of unjust wrong, than brave men have been in any other climate, or under any other form of social life.

We have dwelt upon this matter, perhaps somewhat long, and somewhat wide of the purpose, yet it was impossible to describe the Lucumoes without also describing the clients, through whose adhesion and numbers they became Lucumoes, at least in the first instance; and no doubt every chief at Voltumna had also with him chosen followers of his own Clan—followers whom he treated neither as servants nor as slaves.

We have said that, besides the King, the Augur, the Aruspex, the Lucumo, and their vassals, the

* See Stuart’s Highlands.

presence of the *Feciales* was requisite at the council of *Voltumna*. The *Fecial* was a very remarkable Etruscan institution. He was an officer to watch over and preserve the public peace, to take away the reasons for war, and to repress the spirit of vengeance. *Servius* (viii.) tells us, the order was derived to Rome from *Falisci* or *Ardea*, and it shows us that the *Rasena*, though brave, armed, and disciplined, were a people who had no delight in battle or in blood. *Tarchun* founded colleges of these men; they were all noble, and their office sacred; and hence, whilst officiating, their persons were inviolable. There were several of them in each state, and their character was something between an ambassador and a herald. Like all the *Lucumoes*, they were priests, and could take auspices; but they were not hereditary. If one tribe offended another, the *Feciales* were sent in a dress of ceremony, and crowned with *vervain*,* to the Senate of the state against which complaint was made. Doubtless they rode in chariots, each drawn by two horses, richly caparisoned, as we see represented in the sepulchres, and attended by a small guard of armed and resolute men. Arrived and admitted into the senate, where state causes were heard, the *Feciales* named the grievance of which they complained, and demanded redress within thirty days, or, as some authors say,† within

* A plant sacred to the Phœnician god of citadels.—A. His. xvii. p. 225.

† Niebuhr.

ten days, repeating the demand thrice, so as to give three truces to the offenders, of ten days each, or thirty days in all. At the end of this time, if their representations were not attended to, they took *Tina* and the other gods to witness, that they had performed their duty, and that it was now for their country to decide upon the event. On their return home, they announced to their senate that war was now lawful; and, if it was resolved upon, they returned to the limits of the hostile state, and there, casting a spear across the frontiers into the enemies' territory, called the gods to witness against the want of justice in that people, and their obstinacy in refusing reparation.

The confederation of the social war is represented on the *Samite* coins, by a *Fecial* clothed in a tunic, sacrificing a pig,* this being the prayer of imprecation: "May *Jove* strike the breaker as the *Fecial* strikes this pig."† *Virgil* (viii.) represents this ceremony as consecrating every warlike alliance, and it is a common subject upon ancient gems. The *Fecial* must equally sanction by his presence every treaty of peace, and alliance of friendship, and on very solemn occasions the head of his college, called by the *Latins* "*Pater Patratus*," was himself obliged to attend.‡ It is conjectured that the chief reason why no man could be head *Fecial* who had not both

* Varro. Cicero.

† Livy. ix. It is remarkable that this sacrifice and prayer are to be found unaltered amongst the gypsies.—See *Borrow's Gypsies in Spain*.

‡ Livy i. 24.

a father and a son living, was that these ties might bind him in the strongest manner, to wish for peace and to deprecate war with its certain evils and uncertain successes.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus places the *Feciales* amongst the earliest institutions of Italy, and calls them by the name of *Spondophorai*, a Greek heraldic office, no doubt imitated from them. The *Feciales*, like most other Etruscan institutions, gradually found place amongst their neighbours, and give us a most interesting view, of the moderation and sobriety which marked the indelibly eastern character of the *Rasena*.

After *Turrhenia* was conquered, and her boundaries fixed, *Tarchun* established the *Feciales*, and encroached upon his neighbours no more. It was in his time, and probably is still, a fixed notion among the people of the East, that God has given a certain portion of land to each nation, either for perpetuity, or for a certain number of centuries. That during this time he will help them to defend their land, and will render them victorious over those who attack them; but that he will not give them the land of others, nor bless them in any attempt to usurp foreign rights and properties.* We have the most convincing evidence of these ideas in many parts of the Scriptures. St. Paul tells us, speaking to the Greeks at Athens, that God who made the world and all things therein, hath made of one blood

* Deut. ii. 5, 19, whole chapter very strong; Josh. xxiv. 4; Judges xi. 24.

all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitations.* And Moses says that when the Most High divided to the nations their inheritance, when he separated the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the people, according to the number of the children of Israel. In the Book of Numbers, the Israelites are encouraged to fall upon their enemies, because "their defence" (that is, the protection of God during their day) is departed from them. We cannot say that the Israelites had *Feciales*, but between Egypt and Canaan we find them once, twice, and even thrice, sending some of their nobles as ambassadors of peace to the kings of the countries they passed through, to Moab and Ammon, Edom, and the Amorites; and every war and every peace amongst them was always solemnized with sacrifice.

The institution of the *Feciales* proves to us that might with the *Rasena* was not held to be right, and that their great gods were considered as the foes and punishers of unjust war. In consequence of which maxims, the Etruscans conquered far, and colonized, and allied themselves, and diffused their influence still further. Yet they never considered the twelve dynasties of Etruria Proper to extend beyond the bounds originally fixed by *Tarchun*, i. e. from the Po to the Tiber, and they looked upon war as so great an evil, that even when just and necessary, it required an excuse, and time to

* Acts xvii. 26; Num. xiv. 9; Deut. xxxii. 8; Judges xi. 12.

be given, both to the offending and offended, for passion to cool and reason to resume her sway. The *Feciales* were a college appointed to watch over the public peace,* and their ceremonies were called in Rome the *Jus Feciale*.

Besides these magnates, whose presence was indispensable at *Voltumna*, there must have been other classes whom we shall notice afterwards, such as naturalized strangers, merchants, and slaves. Probably there were no women of the upper classes at these meetings, for the Etruscan women, though much honoured and carefully instructed, and eligible even more than the English women, to offices of responsibility, but seldom came forward in public life. They were doubtless educated in the bosom of their own families; they ruled in their own houses, for they kept all the keys, excepting those of the cellar;† they headed their husband's tables, as we see in the representations of feasts in the tombs at Chiusi and Tarquinia. They rode in chariots, had places of honour in the public games, and were admitted both to the throne and to the priesthood. It is even possible that they occasionally fought in the army, from Virgil's episode of Camilla, queen of the Volsci; as Virgil would not have put into his poem anything that would have revolted the common opinions or traditions of his countrymen, as to the state

* Authorities for *Feciales*:—Müller; Niebuhr in *Loco*; Cicero; Varro; Livy i. 24, ix.; Plut. in *Numa*; Dionys. i.; Serv. vii.; Virg. *Æn.* x. 14; vii.; viii. 641; ix. 53.

† Dempster, de Etru. Reg.

of women in the early days of Italy. But whether they ever fought or not, they never voted in the senate, nor had any voice in making the laws, nor any influence in the general elections, and they never came forward as a public body. One superior female mind may be found in every large society at all times, equally fit for self-government, and the government of others. There are few men of extensive acquaintance who could not name, and perhaps even agree upon one such woman, in whom they could repose confidence, and to whom they could render admiration. But an assembly of such women, firm in character and wise in council, a democracy, or an aristocracy, or even an oligarchy of such women, is a phenomenon which the world has yet to witness, and which has never been fabled even amongst the Amazons, nor tried even amongst the Radicals.

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CHAPTER X.

TARCHUN AND HIS INSTITUTIONS.

Division of the Land, and Classes of the People.

B. C.
CENT.
XII. "THE laws of Tages, promulgated by Tarchun,* treated of the division of the people into tribes—Curiae and Decuriae, the apportionment of the land, and the constitution of the army." It is surely interesting to have some clear idea of the form of government which Tarchun established over Etruria, and of the manner in which he settled the twelve tribes of his people in their new land, along with its former possessors, and this prompts us to ask, by what rule, or if by any, he divided amongst them the conquered country? We shall say upon this point, and upon all other subjects of civil polity, as much as we think necessary for the perfect comprehension of the subsequent history, and no more; as each article must be treated of in detail, when we come to the chapter upon the manners and customs of the Etruscans.

"The Rasena were divided into tribes," and a tribe in all cases of colonizing amongst the later

* Cicero de Div.

Italians was represented by one thousand men, this thousand being again represented in the Senate by a hundred. The number of the tribes when the Rasena landed, was probably twelve. But as on their location in Etruria, each of these twelve occupied only one state, and we know that the Senate in each state consisted of more than one tribe, and that the Etruscans incorporated with themselves the Umbri, the Pelasgi, and in some places the Siculi also; so in each state, the senate probably was composed, as we find it afterwards in Rome, Fidene, Mantua, and in other places, of the hundred families of the Rasena, who represented the thousands of their tribe, and of an equal number of Umbri, Pelasgi, or whatever other nation they associated with themselves. Each body of senators was again represented by ten chiefs—the Lch.mes or Lucumoes of the Etruscans, and the Decuriones of the Latins; and the tribes composing the senate were so far not equal, that the votes of the first in order, were always taken first, and those of the second next, and the majority of votes decided; so that, when these two agreed in opinion, the acquiescence of the third was of no consequence, and excepting for form's sake, their votes need not have been asked. This, however, was not the case upon the election of a king, when all the tribes must be agreed. Every city of the Rasena, established by Tarchun, or between his time and that of Romulus, when submitted to criticism,* has been found to consist of three different elements, viz. (1)

* See the remarks of Müller, Niebuhr, Arnold, Gell, and

Etruscan, (2) Umbrian, or Sabine, and (3) Pelasgic, Latin, or Sikelian, i. e. of any other native tribe of Italy; and as the Romans took their laws and religion,* (which we shall afterwards more fully prove,) their forms and ceremonies from the Etruscans, so we must suppose what we find in Rome of later days, to have been only a copy of that which previously, and from the beginning, was practised in Etruria. If Tages gave rules for tribes, then the tribes were an ordinance of Tarchun, and indeed that they were so, is further proved, because all the land throughout civilized Italy was divided with a special reference to the tribes, and all authors and critics are agreed, that the Italian division of land was derived from Etruria. The senate, composed of three tribes, agrees with all the ordinances and superstitions of the Etruscans, and with the three great gods, the three holy gates, the three classes of priests, warriors, and people, with masters, vassals, and slaves, and even with chiefs, clans, and strangers, which made up the whole population.

In each Tarchunian city, the tribe was represented in the senate by one hundred peers: each peer standing for ten registered houses, of which he was captain, or *לחם*, L.ch.m. These captains were again divided into ten each, forming a curia, and over every curia was a prince, called in Latin a Decurion, commanding one hundred warriors. Hence the ten Decurions of the chief tribe were the princes Micali, upon any of the towns in the vicinity of Rome with which Romulus and Tullus Hostilius were at war.

* See Dionysius, Livy, Festus, Servius.

of the Senate, whose votes were upon all occasions taken first, and it is not unlikely, that as each of these princes voted, so the nine under them would consider themselves bound to vote, and as the sovereign would probably belong to them, and vote with them, and the majority of votes decided, if ever a senate consisted of two tribes only, these ten first would virtually rule. All throughout Italian history, we find these "first ten," these princes of the Senate, distinguished beyond their co-senators.* It is also very likely that, provided the Decurion or great Lucumo was in his place, the presence of the other members of the curia might not be thought indispensable, and their absence might be little regarded. This is probable, because the senators voted in curia, and therefore every ten counted only one vote, and was represented by the Decurion, though the majority decided the sense of the whole.

We presume then that each nation which submitted itself to the constitutions of Tages, was really represented in the senate by ten of its chiefs or Decurions, though the actual number of men was one hundred, and the proportion of influence which each bore in the original government would be like the proportion between Normans, Saxons, and Celts, under William the Conqueror. One hundred and twenty Etruscan Lucumoes in twelve different Senates, might possibly represent one hundred and twenty thousand, or any lesser number of souls, whilst a hundred and twenty Umbrian or Pelasgic chiefs would represent many millions. The votes of the Umbri would not

* Niebuhr on ten Princes of Italian Senates.

be taken until after those of the Tuscans, and those of the third class, that of the Pelasgi or Sikeli, would have little chance of any weight, excepting when the other two disagreed, or when the caprice and favour of the king, for which there was small room, raised to undue influence some chosen individual. The justice and equality of the Etruscan rule, whatever it might be, are demonstrated by the perpetual fidelity of the Umbri, whilst, nevertheless, Tuscany did not become a part of Umbria, but Umbria, says Cato, "*pars Tusciæ*." And the inferior weight of the Pelasgi to either of the others is demonstrated, in that we know of no chief and no laws bearing their name, nor indeed of anything relating to them, excepting that their descendants continued to dwell undisturbed and contented in several towns of the Umbri and Turrheni down to the days of Augustus.

Our ideas of this composition of the Senate are derived partly from the reasonings of Niebuhr upon the Latin states; but chiefly because all the senates of which we have any detailed accounts were actually so composed. That of Ardea consisted of Latins, Siculi, and Tuscans; that of Cere of Tuscans, Pelasgi, and Siculi; that of Tusculum, of Tuscans, Latins, and Siculi; that of Fidene, of Tuscans, Sabines, and Latins, and so on. We may doubt whether in the towns which the Umbri had previously conquered from the Pelasgi, this last race retained any shadow of rule or not, but it is most consonant with Etruscan policy that they should have done so, and we therefore believe the

senates of Perugia, Cortona, Pisa, Falleria,* &c. to have consisted, like the others, of three tribes. The word tribe everywhere throughout Italian history, denotes a nation, or the distinct people of some small district. A tribe was represented in towns by congeries of tens, and in the Senate by *curiæ* and *decuriæ*. In the state, i. e. throughout the country, these tribes were divided into centuries or hundreds, the names denoting things rather than numbers, even as our land division in England of a hundred has long ceased to signify a numerical district or relation.

That reckonings in round numbers were of this loose sort amongst the easterns, we may learn from observing, first, that the men of a certain age only were reckoned, not including women, children, or followers; and, secondly, from many examples in the Scriptures. For instance, in numbering the children of Israel in *Exod. xii. 37*, 600,000 are put for 603,000, and in *Exod. xxxviii. 26*, and again in *Numb. i.* where this enumeration is repeated, it is expressly said not to include the Levites, who, with their male children, amounted to 22,000 more, (*Numb. iii. 39*.) doubtless leaving out odd numbers. In *Exodus* and *Galatians* the sojourning of the children of Israel in Egypt is said to have continued 430 years, (*Exod. xii. 40*, *Galat. iii.*); and in *Gen. xv.* and in *Acts vii.* it is called 400 years; and so we find of almost all the symbolical and round numbers when subjected to criticism. Thousands and centuries, therefore,

* The senate and curia are described by Plut. and Dion. Hal.

amongst the Etruscans, were conventional, and not real numbers.

The centuries were districts of land which were divided between the chiefs, the clients, and the Plebs or natives, this last being an order of which we have not yet spoken, and of which we do not know the Etruscan name. The Plebs were natives, or subjects, either so born, or so made by agreement or by conquest, who were amenable to the laws, and claimed the protection of the state, but none of whom were peers, and consequently none of whom, of whatever rank, had any share in the public offices, nor any seat in the senate of the country. Müller* says that patron, client, and plebs, tribe and curia, were all Etruscan institutions, and that either the names or the things or both, were derived from Etruria to Rome. King Servius the Etruscan, separated the Roman centuries into tribes, i. e. into the different nations of which they were composed, and it is probable that he only introduced into his new kingdom, the customs long established in his native land. The centuries had votes as well as the curiæ, but of immeasurably less weight, and the proportion between them was most aptly expressed by the body of the child to the head of the man, at the same time that the possession of even a portion of a vote, satisfied with some notion of dignity, the Umbrian or Sabine noble, numbered amongst the Plebs, who submitted to the Etruscans. The centuries chose the magistrates, had a voice in questions of war, and confirmed the laws which were accepted by the Senate, and proposed by the king.†

* Müller ii. on Vulci.

† Ancient Hist. vol. xi.

According to Niebuhr,* every government by houses or chiefs of clans must necessarily have Plebs, that is, free and native subjects, who are not within the pale of the chiefs and their prescriptive rights. They served in war, inherited lands, had their own privileges and rights, and took part in the common laws; but they could never sit in the Senate, excepting by adoption into one of the original houses, or by the gift of a peerage from the king: a right, the exercise of which was always viewed with the utmost jealousy, and which in later times was probably never exercised.

Each peer, or senator, or member of a curia, had of course his house and establishment in the metropolis of the state, and Dionysius† tells us that (according to the laws of Tages) each curia had one hundred portions of land allotted to it, each man's portion being two jugera‡ or four vorsì, which he was bound to cultivate; one jugera for corn, and one for orchard, besides the common pasture. Hence each curia possessed four hundred vorsì of land, called its "Fundus," and each Senator was answerable for the cultivation of the forty vorsì, and for the conduct of the ten soldiers' houses which he represented. In the country centuries, each soldier's portion was reckoned by the same measure, and half this portion was given to the plebeians. Müller calls the curiæ by the admirable name of town parishes, so that we may say each city tribe was divided into ten parishes, or Curia, and each parish into ten magis-

* Nieb. vol. i. 442, ii. 506. † Dion. ii. 7, p. 82. ‡ Plut. in Rom.

tracies, or senators' jurisdictions, and every magistrate was bound to furnish ten men to the militia or national guard of his country.*

Each Curia or parish had its own priest and temple, and most probably this office appertained to the Decurion who was priest amongst his brethren, for his and their retainers; and when the house of any Decurion became extinct, another house would be elected to take the priority in its place. In this view, the ten princes of a tribe would also be the ten priests, to take auspices and offer sacrifices, to register births, deaths, and marriages, to see that military discipline was preserved, and to exercise inspection over the conduct of the others.† Many of the curule magistrates, perhaps most of them, had large possessions in the country, besides their senatorial property in the towns, and they might be chiefs of the centuries, as well as holding, under a light tax, a large portion of the common land, which they gradually came to consider as their own. The country proprietors and the peasantry first located in the centurial districts, may have consisted of one

* All this will be found admirably explained in Arnold's history of early Rome, from Livy, Varro, and Cicero; and we need only to bear in mind that not only the first Roman, but the first *Italian* institutions, were all Etruscan. Dionysius, who wrote the Etruscan history, now lost, is the author who gives us the fullest account of the tribes, curiæ, and centuries, though they had ceased to exist in Rome two hundred years before he wrote, and he says that they were all Etruscan in their origin.

† Müller says the Decurion was priest, captain, and magistrate of the curia.

hundred families, or of an unlimited number of families under one hundred names, upon one hundred portions of that district; the portions being determined by varying circumstances, as in the case of the Latins afterwards, whose land was divided according to the limits of their conquests, and therefore in some districts the portions would be much larger than in others.* This land, once inscribed in the Agrimensoral books as "a century," continued ever after to constitute it in the eye of the law, and some of these old Etruscan, and perhaps Tarchunian, centurial fundi, can be recognised at this day. Niebuhr† names two close to Ferentinum, "Roiana and Ceponia," now called "La Roana, and La Cipollara."‡ No doubt, Italians themselves are acquainted with many more. These districts are ascertained from old records, old inscriptions, and the Pandects. The land of the centuries might be sold or bequeathed; but however often it might change hands, the proprietor was always reckoned as belonging to the same century with the land. §

The century, in its original, certainly referred to persons, as one hundred families, or one hundred soldiers, with their kindred; and the measured portion of land assigned to each century was called

* Niebuhr.

† vol. ii. p. 708.

‡ Lands took the names of the tribes. (Plin. xviii. 3.)

§ All this account of the centuries is taken from Niebuhr. The centuries, according to Livy, were patricians, clients, and plebs, altogether. They had ceased, long before his day, in Latium.

"Fundus." The curia or hundred warriors' houses, in the town, doubtless imaged the century or hundred warriors' houses in the country; and in counting a house, it is possible that the establishments, or the cabins of one man's father and grandfather, and of another man's seven sons, may have been reckoned as one only, he being the effective head, and therefore standing in the militia roll for one house.

For an instance of how families and households were calculated in eastern reckonings, see Joshua vii. 17, where Achan is drawn by lot from the tribe of Judah, compared with 1 Chron. ii. "Joshua brought the *family* of Judah, and the Lord took the family of the Zarhites: and he brought the family of the Zarhites, man by man: and Zabdi was taken. And he brought his household, man by man: and Achan, the son of Carmi, the son of Zabdi, the son of Zerah, of the tribe of Judah, was taken." Achan is made the grandson of Zabdi, and Zabdi the grandson of Judah. Four generations are given as the result of 470 years, for Judah himself was an elderly man, when he went down into Egypt. The tribe of Judah at this time, numbered 76,500 fighting men in round numbers, all above the age of twenty, and these in Chronicles, where we have the numbers most in detail, are ranged in three branches, under *sixteen households*. Again, we have an example of households in Josh. xxii. 13 and 14, when the two and a half tribes send Phineas the prince of Levi, and ten princes with him, as a sort of Feciales to their brethren, "of each chief house a prince, each one, head

of a *house*, among the thousands of Israel;" or, as we might say, "each one a Sar and L.ch.m among the hundreds of thousands, of the children of Jacob.

When new laws were made, the Senators announced these laws to the people assembled in centuries, and these centuries were entitled to meet every ninth or market-day,* though, in fact, they probably only met when desired to do so, or when it was important for them to know the great feasts or periods which occurred in the month, such as the time to reap, or to sow; or the new ordinances agreed upon after some council at Voltumna. The clansmen (clients or gens) could only vote in curia, that is, as belonging to the city parishes of their patrons. Besides the portion of each citizen senator, for vine and corn land, each city had a district assigned to it upon its foundation, called "Agger," which was never afterwards enlarged, and in which were built the suburbs. All the measured land beyond, was pasturage, and belonged to the Senators only, for the use of them and of their clans. This land was limited, and its boundaries were carefully marked, and placed under the perpetual care of twelve nobles, representing the twelve Etruscan tribes, all Aruspices, and called Arvales, or by the Latins "Fratres Arvales," when the same establishment was introduced into the Latin cities.

The Arvales were men who placed the boundary stones which were held sacred, and it was their duty,

* Müller.

once every year, to keep a feast, with hymns and processions, pacing round the boundaries, to see that they were preserved uninjured. The word "Arvales" is probably Etruscan from its great likeness to "urvare or arvare," which Festus and Varro tell us was the Tuscan for "surround, inclose." The processions of the Arvales were called Arvalia and Ambarvalia, (ab ambiendis arvis,) and the sacrifices offered at them were a pig, a sheep and a bull, all purely Etruscan. The brethren walked three times round the boundaries, crowned with oak, the "corona Etrusca." These men decided all controversies with respect to boundaries and divisions of land; they held their dignity for life, and they took care of all public funerals, and of the monuments to illustrious patriots. As Romulus* was one of this order, we presume that the prince of the people was often, if not always, at their head; and as they are by some authors called Augurs, it is likely that the Augurs also, by right, belonged to their body; but Latin authors so constantly confuse together Augurs and Haruspices, that we cannot trust their use of the word, without collateral evidence. Pliny† tells us that the Arvales were crowned with corn in honour of Ceres, which cannot refer to processions round the agger, since it was wholly pastoral; but to Ambarvalia in the agricultural centuries, throughout Etruria and those parts of Italy which adopted Etruscan civilization. As Rome introduced the Arvales from Laurentum, the Latin states are proved

* Plut.

† Plin. lib. xviii. 2.

to have adopted them before Romulus; and as the first Arvalian funeral honours in Rome were performed for Tatius, the Sabine king, the Sabines are proved to have adopted them also. The first Sodales in Rome, i. e. Arvales in a funeral capacity, were the "Sodales Titii." *

Terminus was the god of boundaries, and therefore we cannot but suppose that sacrifices were offered to him, and that hymns were sung in his praise, as well as in that of the patron saint, which last would vary in each place. The Roman Carmen Arvale which has come down to us in honour of Mars, seems strangely incongruous for a procession of peace, and so does the Sabine Carmen, mentioned in Latin authors in honour of Ceres, were it ever used, to celebrate the limits of what was strictly reserved for pasture land. None but the Senate had any right in this land; and therefore no stranger, however noble, and no merchant, however rich, though both might be naturalized, could have any portion in it. It was the state or government property, and therefore no man could have any share in it unless he formed part of the government.†

The great Niebuhr‡ says that the Agrimensores or land measurers, under whatever name we may find them, or with whatever dignity their office might be combined, were undoubtedly as to origin, Etruscan, and that by this, we may trace the Etrus-

* Authorities for Arvales: Virg. Geor. i. v. 339, 345; Tib. 2, el. i. v. 19; Cato de R. R. c. 141; Varro de L. L. 4.

† See Niebuhr on Agger.

‡ Ib. ii. p. 698.

can settlements throughout Italy. Indeed he, Sir Wm. Gell, and other modern writers, have in this manner of late years discovered the introduction of Etruscan institutions into the Greek colonies in Campania and South Italy, where it had not before been even suspected. "The agrimensoral or arvalian measurement," says Niebuhr,* "was older than the foundation of Rome, and it survived the empire for five hundred years. The elements of it were Etruscan mathematics, applied to Etruscan astronomy." Its grand work was the templum of square measurement, with cardo and decumanus, and we need no more repeat that wherever we find the templum, there we trace the Etruscan augury, and that the first Etruscan Augur was the Ludin Prince "Tarchun of the Rasena." He commanded the division of the land according to the tribes of the people, as part of the laws of Tages, and we learn the sacred nature of the landmarks from a fragment of the Lib. Vegojæ,† now in the Vatican, and from the refusal of Terminus to move his bounds even for Tina, when the multitude desired to extend beyond them his metropolitan temple.‡

As the Etruscan land, in the first instance, was all conquered, and, in the second, all colonized, so we must believe it to have followed the laws which Tages laid down for conquered lands and colonies in general: whether his people originated these laws by their example, or whether in their conduct,

* ii. p. 697.

† Ap. rei agr. p. 258.

‡ Plut. in Pub.

only they acted according to previously known and written precepts.

By the law of conquest in Etruria Proper, the whole of the land belonged to the conquerors, so that all dwelling upon it were reckoned Etruscans henceforward, whatever they might have been before, and one-third of this land was restored to its old possessors, subject to a tax of one-tenth of the produce, to government.* The remainder was again divided into three, of which one part was apportioned to the army, one to the priesthood, i. e. was reserved for religious and public purposes, and one-third was for the crown or senatorial government, but it does not appear that these divisions were equal. The land for the army was portioned off in centuries, each taking the name of the Centurial chief, and the allotment was two jugera per man for the Etruscan or Curial soldier, and one for the Plebian or non-curial soldier.

An Etruscan lot in the century, according to Niebuhr,† whether in Etrurian Umbria, or in the colonies of Campania and of North Italy, measured ten rods of ten feet each, making one vorsus, and one of these lots was the legal award of each independent or Plebeian soldier, four of them being the due of each Patrician. Each vorsus, therefore, contained one hundred square feet, and each full‡ century ten thousand, being one hundred feet every way.

* Niebuhr.

† ii. p. 705.

‡ We have already stated that many of the centuries were not full measure.

All the centuries, whether in town or country, were limited, that is, were measured off by the Augurs in this manner \perp , and within the *cardo* and *decumanus*, auguries might be taken. This land was as sacred to the century, whether patrician or military, as the gates and walls were to the city. The limits were drawn round it by the plough, according to the old Phœnician custom recorded of Carthage, with ridges; and the corners were marked by boundary stones, which were numbered with the letters of the old Ogham alphabet, i. e. with Etruscan numerals. Cicero says,* when a colony had once been settled in this manner, its lands throughout Italy were holy, and could never be resumed, neither could any other colony ever be settled in its place. As the Arvales divided the land, and appear to have consecrated it, which last was the office of the Augur alone, we infer that the Augurs or some of them, necessarily formed a part of the Arvalian College.

The Latin measurement of these portions was larger than the Etruscan, being one hundred and twenty feet square,† instead of one hundred; hence we learn that the size of the lot was decided by some consideration external to it, such as a difference of sacred numbers amongst the people, or certain numbers being sacred to certain gods. Niebuhr says that twelve Etruscan rods made ten Roman. The Roman portion in the century, therefore, was measured like the Etruscan, ten rods square, and the difference of size would result from the rod of the one being longer than

* See Nieb. p. 701.

† Varro de R. R. i. 10.

the rod of the other, whilst both were supposed to represent one measure. As, for instance, the Scotch pint is double the English, but an Englishman giving a receipt to a Scotchman, and not aware of this, would cause him to use wrong proportions. A Scotch acre is larger than an English, which would cause a mistake to Englishmen in the sale and value of lands; and if Scotland adopted as a military rule from England, that each soldier's portion should be one acre, the Scotchman's portion would be larger than the Englishman's, though both were supposed to express the same, and though the former nation took its rule from the latter.*

Our knowledge of the exact sizes of these allotments enables us in Italy to trace, concerning certain centuries or aggers, whether they were laid off by Romans or Etruscans. Müller names some tables lately found at Heraclea in Calabria, which give the

* The pound Scot also differs from the pound English, the former reckoning 20*d.* and the latter 20*s.* Ignorance of this difference, by English lawyers, once occasioned a curious piece of good fortune to a Scotch family. James VI. owed a sum, say 5,000 pounds Scots, to a man of the name of Callender, which being unpaid when he ascended the English throne, the man sued for it in London; the king accordingly ordered his debt to be paid, and the Exchequer delivered to him £5,000 English, with which he bought the estate of Craig Forth, now enjoyed by his family. It is evident that 20 weights, in its origin, represented a lb., and the lb. Scot being much heavier than the English, consisting frequently of 20 oz., it is likely that 20 copper pieces in the one country were equivalent to the same nominal weight with the 20 silver in the other, and were imagined to be the same thing.

division of the temple land after the Etruscan fashion. The cardines are called Automai, and show that Etruscan fashions were also adopted by the Greeks according to the testimony of Plato de legibus, v.

The profound Niebuhr* says that the Sabellian sacred number is four, and the Latin, three and ten; and that twelve in Rome, expresses the union of three multiplied by four, i. e. of the Latin and Sabine tribes. The Etruscan number, he says, is ten, which, if it means to limit Etruscan sacredness to that number, we can by no means understand, since it is certain that three and twelve were equally sacred in the Etruscan kalender. Three great gods, three holy gates, three classes of people; twelve tribes, twelve fascies, twelve lictors, &c. &c., twelve, and three, and four, in their numismatic system, as well as ten in the number of their seculæ, and in the division of their people. We are, therefore, inclined to attribute the introduction of all these numbers amongst the native Italians to the Rasena, even as we must attribute to them the numeral characters by which they are noted. The fact of each of these different numbers being sacred, united with the fundamental rule of Etruscan theology, "to take away the worship of no native god," would admit of a diversity of measures amongst the different tribes, though all might be governed by one and the same grand ruling principle. We know, from the history of the Jews, the Egyptians, and the Hindoos, that these numbers of four and twelve, three and ten,

* Nieb. vol. ii. p. 95.

were prevalent and sacred in that part of the world which was the centre of primitive civilization;* therefore we are again inclined to trace back even the holy numbers of the Etruscans to an Assyrian origin.

Need we here allude to the Eastern origin of landmarks? to their necessity in Egypt, where all the land was every year overflowed, and where without landmarks, no man could have reclaimed his own when the waters retired, or to the many laws and precepts concerning them scattered throughout the Scriptures? Need we mention the measure of the Hebrew pontifical agger of two thousand cubits,† which is prescribed to the priestly cities in Israel, or the reference which is made to it, as a universal custom of Ludin in the days of ancient Job? "Some remove the landmarks, (from the pastoral lands, perhaps a patrician agger,) and they violently take away the flocks." The Etruscan Curial agger with its landmarks, was pastoral, whilst all the rural centuries were agricultural, being measured out for corn, which was cultivated in Italy before all history, and found there by the Rasena, and for the vine, which their first king is said to have introduced, as we shall see hereafter.

* The twelve tribes of the Hebrews, from the time of Moses down to the Babylonish captivity, were divided into tens, and fifties, and hundreds, and thousands.

The ancient Hindus were divided into governments of one town, ten towns, twenty towns, one hundred towns, and one thousand towns.—See Sir W. Jones.

† Numb. xxxv.

Moses, the Egyptian Hebrew, who came out of the Avaris, the Assyrian part of Egypt, either supposes that land-measuring and landmarks were customs that must have obtained amongst all civilized nations, or he knew that it was the order of the country throughout the wealthy and populous Palestine. In Deut. xix. 14, he says to the Israelites, giving them laws for their future settlement, "Thou shalt not remove thy neighbour's landmark, which *they of old time* have set." (The old time is mentioned before the new time had commenced. Moses quotes antiquity!) "Which *thou* shalt inherit in the land that the Lord thy God giveth thee, to possess it." The landmarks amongst the Hebrews were sacred; and as if the Arvalian College of twelve men had also been an institution of Egypt, or of the patriarchal times, with some significant meaning, Moses commands that one prince out of every tribe should divide the land by inheritance.*

Both with the Hebrews and the Rasena, the land of the tribe and of the century was divided by lot;† because the extent of a single portion was the same, whether the land were good or bad, and the person to whom the lot fell, in both cases, referred the event to his god. Amongst the Etruscans, all was referred to Tina, or to Nortia, the Goddess of Fortune, or to the patron saint, they being sought by sacrifice; and amongst the Hebrews we all remember the wise

* Num. xxxiv. 18.

† Lots: Numb. xxvi. 55; xxxiii. 54; xxxiv. 13; Josh. xv.

king's sentence, "The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposing thereof is from the Lord."*

When the century was measured off and divided into one hundred parts, these were numbered, and one hundred tickets,‡ also numbered, were put into an urn. As each man drew out his number, his name was inscribed against it, in the public land register, and it became his possession. The remainder of the land was common or crown land, and a large portion was sometimes bestowed upon individuals for eminent services, but more commonly, it was given only for life. Limited, i. e. measured-off portions were let to the people for pasturage, and the unlimited belonged to the Lucumoes, subject to a tax of one-tenth, until reclaimed by the state at the death of an individual, and then given away upon the same terms to his heir. The pasture lands were relet every five years, i. e. every lustrum. This constitution had for ages obtained all over Asia and Egypt,‡ and being once introduced by the Rasena, it became common to every people in Italy. Will any man say that the Rasena from Ludin learnt this system from the barbarous Italians, or semi-barbarous Pelasgi? If they did not originate it, from whom did they adopt it, and how came the elements of it in Italy to be always theirs?

The conquered people who did not belong to the

* Prov. xvi. 33. See further on this subject, Levit. xxv. 10, 23, 25; Prov. xxii. 28, xxiii. 10.

† Niebuhr.

‡ See Josephus; Herod. ii. 168; Nieb. ii. p. 152; Gen. xlvii.

chiefs, with seats in the senate, and land in the agger, were, as we have said, called plebs, or plebeians, such, at least, is the word in a Latin form, which, according to Müller, represents a caste amongst the Etruscans. The plebs* comprehended all, whether noble or simple, whether great or small, who were neither senators, nor the clansmen of senators; they were conquered subjects and naturalized strangers, only connected with the senatorial houses politically. They had property and votes in the centuries, municipal rights, commercial liberty, state protection, and domestic privileges; they shared the public burdens, paid taxes, and fought in the army, but they could not marry with the senators' houses, and hence the misalliance of a Lucumo's daughter with the Greek chief, Demaratus; they belonged to no city tribe, or curia; they had no Etruscan peerage, and therefore they could have no share in the government, nor in the state property.† So devoted were the Rasena to order and discipline amongst all classes of the people, that in the cities, the non-noble of this class, were divided into corporate trades and colleges of art. Niebuhr conceives the nine corporations of Servius to have been Plebeian.

* The Plebs ought never to be confounded with the *populus* or people of which they were only a class.

† The land was allotted to the plebs in centuries, and the plebeian soldier had half the share of his officer. In all divisions, limits were kept for the highways. Each tribe, or separate people in centuries, had its chief and temple, its arable and its common or pasture land, and the pasture alone of the plebeians was taxed. Niebuhr; Müller; Plin. xxiii.

When new lands were conquered and the natives received one-third back as their own, they were subjected to a tribute of what Niebuhr calls the Etruscan sacred number, of one-tenth to government; and if they were allowed to retain their own lands altogether upon submission, (which, beyond the bounds of Etruria Proper, seems always to have been the case during the dominion of the Rasena,) then they held them in use only; the state being, as in many European countries, perpetual lord paramount of the soil, and in legal fiction entitled to resume it, or portion it out for colonies, whenever it chose. The pasture land at all times paid the sacred tax to government, i. e. the tithe, of the young, of wool, and of cheese. This tithe was doubtless a sacred tribute with the early patriarchs, and amongst all the first great Asiatic nations, for Jacob* vows the tenth of his substance to the Almighty. Abraham gives Melchisedec† the tenth of his spoils, and the curse of heaven was said to have fallen upon the Phœnician tribes when they were obliged to wander, because they withheld the tenths from their gods.

That part of the lands which belonged to the government, or which, in the case of conquest, was neither appropriated to colonists, nor yet returned to the old possessors, was let out to the senators, and cultivated by their clansmen. Honours were conferred upon the clever husbandman, and a lazy cultivator was considered a defrauder of the state, and disgraced by his name being struck off the land

* Gen. xxvi. 22; B. C. 1760. † Gen. xiv. 20; B. C. 1913.

roll, so that he lost his place, and all his landed rights in the tribe of his fathers.* All these lands paid tithes, therefore if not fully and properly managed, the state received less than was fairly due; and as these tithes in kind were often commuted for a sum of money, the state was clearly defrauded when they were sold at so much per modus of produce. The rent of the agger, wholly patrician and lucumonal, the Romans called "fructus," and this fructus was always sold every year at a very low valuation.

In the portion of land, appropriated to religious purposes and public buildings, the Vestals, the Augurs, and the Colleges, had all fixed allotments assigned to them, the fruits of which they might sell for a lustrum, or for a longer period, and which were paid at a fixed rate, termed "Vectigal." Vectigales have therefore a religious import.†

* Dionys. ix.

† Niebuhr, ii. 311.

CHAPTER XI.

TARCHUN AND HIS INSTITUTIONS.

Army—Seculum—Political Relations.

WE now come to the relation which the subjects, of which we have just been treating, viz. the division of the land, the arrangement of the various classes in the cities, and the decimating of the whole population, bore to the army. Tarchun's colony must by necessity have all been military, and the chiefs were evidently warrior, priest, and magistrate all in one. Their followers, the clansmen, were, and in every country must be, soldiers, and the Rasena only differed from other clansmen in this, that they were well armed and regularly disciplined, when they first accompanied their lords from the east into Ausonia. It is almost superfluous to repeat, that the discipline and military tactics of Egypt and Assyria, (or Ludin,) consequently showed themselves forth in them, and in all their warlike arrangements; so much land being bound to arm and to furnish so many men.

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We learn from Plutarch that Rome was founded upon the ritual of Etruria, according to the code of Tages; and these laws limited the *pomærium*, as well as the enclosed city, by the plough. In the *pomærium*, two jugera, or a double measure, was allotted to each soldier-citizen, one for vines, and one for corn, each jugera containing two *vorsi*, and each curia had one hundred of these allotments, forming the patrician century enclosed in Etruscan limits.* Every house of each curia gave one man to the legion, i. e. one hundred per curia, and each curia gave ten men to the cavalry, or one man per *decuria*. Every member of the curia, dying without heirs, left his estate to the curia in general, for the land being sacred as a patrician century, would never be alienated, and each curia was always obliged to furnish the same number of men to serve the state, and to be obedient to the officers of the state, besides the private forces of the clients, which each chief might raise according to his pleasure. All the land, in Tarchun's days, throughout Etruria, and afterwards throughout the nations of Italy, was held by feudal tenure and military service.

The first legion of Rome answered to the city tribe of ten *curiæ*, and consisted of one thousand foot and one hundred horse, and such must have been the Etruscan legion, because Tarchun's whole colony was divided into companies of tens, one thousand of which, according to early eastern nations, was considered the band of a *L.ch.m.* or *Lucumo*. This we find from

* Varro, i. 10.

the Hebrews upon their quitting Egypt;* and in tracing out the constitutions of Etruria, we are justified in quoting examples from Rome, tested by the practices of the Phœnician and Egyptian colonies or tribes, because it is the testimony of ancient authors, corroborated by the criticisms of Müller and Niebuhr, that the Roman and all the primeval Italian military discipline was derived from the Etruscans. This division into tens, was observed by Moses, the ancient Egyptian general, as long as he held the command of the Hebrews. His officers were over tens, and hundreds, and thousands,† nor were they ever reckoned after any other order; and we have a curious proof of this being the genuine Egyptian discipline, from a tomb of the 18th or 19th dynasty, visited by Rosellini at Gurnah, where in one chamber, nine men are following their corporal, and in another, nine are enrolling themselves with their captain or prefect. It was also the division in the land of Canaan. In 1 Sam. xxix. 2, the lords of the Philistines make their men pass on by hundreds and by thousands; in xvii. 18, David is sent to the captain of his brother's thousand; and xviii. 13, David is himself made captain over a thousand by Saul.

The Etruscan infantry was divided into three ranks, which have come down to us as "*Principes*"‡ or first men, "*Hastati*," or spear bearers, "*Triarii*," or third rank, and which were differently armed.

* Numb. x. 4.

† Deut. i. 15.

‡ Liv. viii. 8.

The first row, Müller says, was too few in number to consist of clients, and too many to be composed of nobles, therefore he judges them to have been the burgers or free peasants, and all paid. Every one of these men gained new land or booty upon victory over external foes. Besides these three ranks they had the Velites, a body of light armed troops, so called by the Latins, because their first regiment of these men came from Velites, a town in Etruria. The light iron spear which distinguished them, the "Hasta Velitaris," was called by the Greeks an Etruscan invention, because derived from "Velites,"* or "Veles," an Etruscan city.

The Etruscans we believe also to have had Celeres, or the body-guard of the prince, i. e. the cavalry raised in the metropolis, which was afterwards called "Celeres" in Rome, because the first captain was† "Celer the Tuscan."‡ We cannot now decide whether these Latin names were Etruscan also, as the English militia is Latin, or whether they were only Roman denominations for Etruscan things; but the three ranks,§ with the velites and the cavalry, make five classes of troops, which is the number Livy attributes to Servius the Etruscan, who introduced his own military discipline into Rome. The cavalry was divided into

* Müller on Army. Origen, xviii. 54. Isidorus. † Plut.

‡ Ancient Hist. vol. xi. says, that the Celeres were the king's body guard, all horesmen, and that each curia gave ten.

§ Liv. i. 43.

bands or *turmæ*, ten in each row; and as every senatorial tribe must contribute an equal number of men, the legions of the Rasena would probably consist of three thousand foot, and three hundred horse, for every ruling city which reckoned three tribes; and the same number would be imposed upon every corresponding district in the country; i. e. every rustic century answering to the curia, would be bound to contribute one hundred men to the infantry, and ten to the cavalry, when called out. Each ally must furnish the same proportion; and for this reason, when Rome took the place of Etruria in her dominion over Italy, whenever her citizen force was three thousand, her allies, supposing they were ten in number, would be obliged to support her with thirty thousand, and theirs would be the loss and the brunt of the battle. From the Roman history we conceive one hundred of these men (in Latin a *Manipulus*) to have been under a captain, and one thousand under a prince, or chief, or *L.ch.m.* Each regiment had its own standard, and each manipulus the same repeated, as we see in Rosellini's pictures of Egyptian warfare, and as we find in the description of the encampment and marchings of the children of Israel under Moses.*

It is probable that the whole arrangement of the Roman armies, previous to the time of Camillus, was derived from the Etruscan, because it was settled by Etruscan sovereigns. Mastarna divided the Roman conquered country into tribes, and all the tribes

* Numb. ii.

were plebs only. A tribe in this sense was a town and its district, such as Crustumerium, &c., which did not admit a Roman colony. Each of these tribes furnished only one man to each division of the legion, which occasioned the numbers in a division to vary much and often. When Rome had thirty plebeian tribes, each division of the legion contained thirty men; and when she had only twenty tribes, as after the war with Porsenna, each division of the legion had only twenty men. No doubt this was the regulation of the Etruscans with regard to their plebs, and it must have occasioned a permanent diminution of their army, after the fall of Veii.* A freed slave might become a citizen, but never a member of one of these tribes. Varro says that both the plebs and the libertini were Etruscan constitutions.

The cavalry usually was stationed on the wings of the infantry, and the whole army consisted of centuries of horse and foot in legions, the numbers in which, varied with different epochs, but always according to some fixed rule; and the phalanx was the whole body in compact order ready for battle.† The century of horse or foot means the number which was furnished by a century, and does not express a hundred men, but the men which each hundred was bound to furnish. The model of the phalanx, i. e. compact bodies of serried warriors

* Niebuhr on Army.

† Phalanx Etruscan, Nicias ap. Athen. Deip. vi. Dempster iii. c. 44.

marching in battle array, may be seen in Rosellini's Egyptian plates of the 18th dynasty, where we may find all the Italian forms of armour; the helmet and cuirass, shield and spear, sword and battle-axe, bow and arrow, javelin and sling.* The difference which strikes us is, that the cavalry of the Rasena answer to the chariots of the Egyptians, a change which was forced upon them by the necessities of things, for they could command horses before they could have time to make chariots, and horses would be infinitely more convenient than chariots, in their first warfare through the roadless and mountainous Italy. The Tuscan cavalry were all noble, and answered to the decuriæ, and each trooper had a mounted slave provided by the state to attend upon him. The idea doubtless was derived from the notion that each cavalier represented the Egyptian or Assyrian noble driving his chariot, where every man must be accompanied by his charioteer.

The infantry was attended by the light-armed soldiers called the velites, a body of reserve, a band of carpenters who were held in high esteem, a baggage

* See Dempster de E. R. The Galen, Cassis, Plumes, and gemmed armour, were all taken by the Romans from the Etruscans, or as Dempster terms it, were "invented" by them, i. e. were introduced by them into Italy. Livy names as theirs the brass aspis, shield, and scutum. Dionys. ix. 19, ascribes to them the Roman lances, short spears, arrows and slings. The velites, and the back ranks of the phalanx, Livy says, used sickles and "gaesa," and these and most other arms were made in Arezzo. Livy xxviii. ap. Müller. All these arms were likewise used by the Syrians and the Israelites. Vide 2 Chron. xxvi. 14.

train, and a number of musicians; and these, with the cavalry, composed the legion, which Niebuhr says, was an order and institution purely Italian, and in no ways derived from the Greeks.

The original of the Roman phalanx, all authors attribute to Etruria, and the phalanx consisted of the legions drawn up for battle.* The soldiers, even in the first instance, when Tarchun had to defend himself against the Umbri, and much more when he had settled his people, and given them the Tagetic laws, were not *all* the men of his colony, but only a certain proportion. When the Hebrews left Egypt, no man was reckoned fit for war, or counted in the numbering of the people, who was under twenty years of age;† and amongst the Rasena no one was counted under seventeen complete, i. e. having entered his eighteenth year, nor was he obliged to go out to war beyond the age of 45.‡ This through the Umbri passed as a law to the Latins, and then to the whole of Italy.

Upon this point, Tarchun delivered to the Lucumoes several precepts of the laws of Tages, concerning the limits of human life, and the various duties allotted to its several ages. He taught that the life of man, as originally bestowed by Tina, lasted for 120 years. Surely this is the patriarchal tradition, as we find it in Genesis, and it points to a time when men were already declining from that

* Athen. Deip. vi.; Isidorus 18; Dempster iii. 44. Ant. Hist. xvi. 60.

† See Numb. i. 3.

‡ Müller and Niebuhr.

giant vigour which distinguished the early fathers of the human race. "Now," says Tages, "in these degenerate days, fate has abridged man's life to three periods of thirty years each, (i. e. to the sacred numbers three and ten of the Rasena,) which fortune is continually making less. The half of the first thirty, or fifteen, is the period of childhood, when the noble youth shall wear the Bulla against the evil eye, because he cannot defend himself, and the prætexta shall be his distinctive dress. Upon entering his sixteenth year, (i. e. at fifteen complete,)* let him assume the toga, and begin to practise military exercises, which he shall follow for two full years. At seventeen, he shall be eligible for the army, and to vote at elections; and at twenty-five, but not earlier, he shall be capable of magistracies and offices of trust. Until the half has run of his second period, or until forty-five, he is bound to go forth with the host, when they fight against an enemy, and until his second period is closed, he must bear arms in the service of the state; but the latter half of his second period, i. e. from forty-five to sixty, let him stay and fight within the city, and defend his own frontiers and his father's home."

Ulpian tells us that for twenty-eight years of life, the state laid claim to the military service, and to the mental and corporeal powers of all its members; but at forty-five, the citizen was rated as "senior," and was liable to bear arms, only in defence of his

* In the laws of Menu, childhood always ceases at fifteen years complete, and the property of an orphan until that age, was under the guardianship of the king.

own town or territory, but not to go forth to war. At sixty, he became "senex," and during his last triad, all his cares and duties were supposed to cease, excepting in the case of princes and commanders, and of the equestrian order in general, who were never held to be past the service of their country.*

From this it appears that the regular armies were composed of young men between seventeen and forty-five for the field, and between forty-five and sixty for home service and garrison duty. The foot soldiers were chosen first, out of the whole body of liable men in each Century, and the arms which they used in the legion may be seen in the pictures, vases, and bronzes of Italian museums, or in the Etruscan tombs. They wore magnificent helmets of different shapes, cuirasses, greaves, bucklers of many various forms, bows and arrows, spears, javelins, long broadswords, short swords, and daggers; (specimens of these will be given hereafter;) and Arretium was the state most famed for their manufacture.† According to Müller, the Tuscan Mastarna introduced these military laws into Latium, which lasted till the time of Camillus, and he formed the Roman ranks from his own. The rich and well-armed were placed in front, and the poorer and less armed formed the second and third ranks, and strengthened the first. Athenodorus‡ says that the Romans (that is, the Italians) learnt from the Tuscans

* Niebuhr, Ulpian, Ser. ad Æn. iv. 653; Liv. xliii. 14, Müller on Army, Athenodorus vi. 273.

† Müller. Pliny.

‡ vi. 273.

to fight with lances in closed ranks. Diodorus, in a fragment, tells us that the Romans at first had four-cornered shields, but when they saw the Tuscans with brass aspides, they adopted them. The Aspis is the Clypeus of Servius's first class.* Balteus, the girdle, Varro tells us, is a Tuscan word, so also is Cassis, the helmet, so are the Scuta and the Galea, spoken of by Livy, and so also are Phaleræ,† a horse ornament, and Tuba, the military trumpet. This last is ascribed by Pliny and Dionysius to the Etruscans, as a most useful invention, though, in fact, it had been used in many a well-fought field, by the troops of all the Menephthahs, and of all the Ramseses, ages before Tarchun was born. Brazen and silver trumpets for the host, were in use also among the Israelites under Moses.

The helmet with its ostrich plume, the thigh pieces, the coats of mail, and the scale armour introduced by the Rasena into Etruria, may all be seen in the Egyptian paintings or sculptures of the wars between the Egyptians and the people of Ludin, three centuries earlier than the æra of the Etruscans.

The soldiers, during the time they were in the field, or on service in garrison, always received pay, and this was provided for by a regular tax, to which all orders of citizens were subject. The lands which belonged to the government were let out; and they paid, when arable, one-tenth of the corn, and two-tenths of the wine and oil, for the army: and every man from seventeen to sixty, paid a poll-tax. The widows

* Livy, i. 43.

† Festus, 1, 5.

and heiresses made up the knights' pay of their own Century or Curia, at so much per head, and not more, the deficiency being supplied by the state. The pasture lands everywhere paid one-tenth, and the *Ærarii* or fundholders throughout the country, made up whatever more might be wanting for the payment of the troops.

The heavy-armed soldiers were taken from among the rich, and as they received more booty than the others, so they were expected to be at more expense, and were required to arm themselves, receiving however pay, whilst on service; and as the taxes would be levied upon the centuries, and not upon individuals, so Niebuhr conjectures, that many poor persons would join together to pay one soldier.

Plutarch says that Romulus introduced the poll-tax into Rome, and made both rich and poor pay the same sum. Müller says that Etruscan Servius reformed this mistaken law according to the rules of his own host, and limited the tax to men of a certain amount of property, whilst Niebuhr* adds, that the second Tarquin regulated the proportions of pay between the horse and foot soldiers, his model being taken from his own land of Tarchunia. The first class of Servius was always fully armed, and composed half the legion. The common soldier received 100 asses per month; the trooper 200 per month, and a knight with his own horse 300 per month; the generals received also 300 per month, and the booty was divided amongst them exactly in this proportion of one, two

* ii. 97, iii. 76.

and three, the last representing the *spolia opima*, which, as we may learn from the Egyptian plates of Rosellini, and from the Scriptures, it was the Eastern custom for conquerors to offer to their gods. We find in Rosellini, the Thutmeses, and Menephthahs and Amenophis and Ramseses of Egypt, bringing their prisoners and their booty to Amon-Re; and we find the Philistines* hanging up the armour of Saul, as a dedicated trophy, in the house of Ashtaroth their god.

The taxes for the army were therefore of three kinds. First, a poll-tax upon all ranks of the people;† secondly, a tenth of the state lands; and, thirdly, an imposition upon widows, heiresses, and *Ærarii*. Besides this, the army on active service had a right to the booty, in the proportions of one, two and three, for chiefs, officers and soldiers, and to new centuries of land in the conquered country. The government had always at their command for the payment of their servants, a fund called *Manubiæ*, which consisted of the sale of booty, the profit of lands, and the rent received from individuals for the *Usufruct*. The same arguments which have satisfied Niebuhr and Müller that the troops of Celes Vibenna and of Porsena must needs have been paid men, will apply with tenfold force to Tarchun, who must long have maintained regular garrisons in all his fortified towns, and who derived the custom from Janias and Archles, the Ludin kings, who reigned in Lower Egypt, and who used to visit the Avaris yearly, for the purpose of paying their troops.†

* 1 Sam. xxxi. 10.

† Plut. in Rom.

From the warlike array of Rome being a counterpart of that of Etruria until the time of Camillus, we conclude the knights to have been an order of rank from birth, and not from office; and though they usually served on horseback, even like our own young nobility, and first-class commoners, yet they were occasionally found on foot; as, for instance, L. Tarquiti^{us}, a knight, who served on foot at the siege of Veii. Tarquiti^{us},* Müllert† says, is the Tuscan name "Tarchise," also translated "Tarquin." The knights were the same as the continental noble class of the Cavallieri, and all their children had the same rank as themselves. A knight's horse was different from a common trooper's, and valued in Rome at 10,000 asses, or from £80 to £100, including in the valuation, the knight's slave, and the slave's horse; but this must also have been the same in Etruscan valuation, for Rome was so close to Etruria, that any difference of price would have been immediately equalized, and as the Etruscans were famous for their horses, and very particular in their breeds, in all probability, the best of the Roman cavalry would be brought from them. The government frequently rewarded merit by the present to a gallant soldier of a knight's horse, and this was neither heritable nor saleable.‡

After describing the composition of the legion,

* Authorities for Army : Nieb. ii. 97, iii. 76, ii. 498 ; Polyb. vi. 39 ; Festus ; Plut.

† Tarquiti^{us}, a noble, who served on foot, was made master of the horse by the Dictator Cincinnatus. Vide Livy, lib. iii. 27.

‡ Nieb. vol. i. p. 459.

and the laws for forming, recruiting, and maintaining the army, we must mention the camp of Tarchun, and the rules he prescribed for its construction, rules of which we have practical examples still remaining, in many parts of our own island, because they were afterwards observed and adopted by the Romans.

The first spot that Tarchun occupied must have been a camp; and some notion of its probably strong fortifications and military form, we may derive from Rosellini's Egyptian Plates. Some idea we may also deduce, from the regular squares observed in the Hebrew encampments under Moses.* We find, accordingly, that in all camps, the Augur, and in this instance Tarchun, the original Augur, marked out first, the holy temple ground 200 feet square, in the centre of which was planted the standard; and divided it by *Cardo* and *Decumanus*. The *Cardo* was the Latin "*Via principalis*," and the *Decumanus* was the broad street which crossed it at right angles. The *Templum* was the sacred *Prætorium*, within which stood the tribunal for judgment, and the altar for divination and sacrifice. Around this, the ground was measured off on every side in squares, according to the divisions of the people, and afterwards of the troops. The *Prætorian* gate was upon the eastern side, the quarter whence favourable answers to prayer were given; and the *Porta Decumana* was on the western, or unpropitious side; the dwelling of the *Dii Manes* and infernal gods, through which gate the criminals and the dead were

* Numb. ii.

led out or carried forth. On one side of the Prætorium was the commissariat, and on the other side, the forum or market-place. Thus the camp was only the mimic and temporary representation of the Tarchunian cities, the first of which was Tarquinia; as in both the dwelling of the Lar, the fortress, the temple, the seat of judgment, and the forum, were all close together. The Etruscan camp was the model of the Roman, always of a square, or at least of a quadrangular form, inclosed in ridges two or three deep, and was considered holy ground.

There is a verse of Propertius which preserves a tradition of the Romans :

"Prima galeritus posuit prætoria Lucumo,"

or, in other words, the Lucumo who helped Romulus, was the first who taught the Romans how to form a Prætorium. The whole of this is taken from Müller.*

The Augur who was with the host, must either choose the ground for encampment, or he must approve of and sanction it; as the Prætorium, the heart of the camp, could have no existence without him. If therefore, at any time, an Augur had chosen ineligible ground, any other Augur with a better military head, could change it, by declaring that he had received stronger auguries, which marked out for it some better position. Thus the credit of augury itself was kept up, as far as the faculties of men could devise for its support, by an endeavour at all times, to unite the highest power with the largest

* Vide Müller, vol. ii. p. 150.

capacity; and by instilling the warmest patriotism into the breasts of a class of men, whose first and longest lesson it was to govern themselves, and to live in constant obedience to laws, which had been imposed upon them, by powers above themselves, just and upright, pure and holy, immutable, impeccable and eternal. The divine Fallibilities of Greece and Rome were, in Tarchun's days, "things undreamt of and unknown."

When the camp was raised, and the army withdrawn from a hostile neighbour, because of a truce or treaty of peace which had been entered into, such truce or treaty was only understood to last during the lifetime of the princes between whom it was made; and the death of either set the other free, unless the agreement were renewed; even though a term of years had been previously specified. We find constant traces of this oriental practice in the Jewish history; also of the ten-month year, as the time for military service; for the Hebrews as well as the Etruscans, kept the field only from March to the end of December; and we find the regular cessation of hostilities and recommencing of operations, marked in the Scriptures by the expression, "At the time when the kings went out to war."*

We may be accused, in many parts of this account, of giving the Roman military constitution, and calling it Etruscan, and of quoting Polybius, Festus, and Plutarch, and calling their descriptions the laws of Tages, which we refer back to the days of

* 2 Sam. xi. 1, &c. 1 Chron. xx., &c.

Tarchun. To this we answer, did not Tarchun deliver the laws of Tages? Did not the laws of Tages, according to Cicero and Festus, treat of the constitution of the army? And is there anything in their great antiquity which presents a valid impediment to their being known to us through the works of later writers? May we not, from a Scotch statute law book of A. D. 1840, gather the principles of Roman law, as compiled by Justinian? May we not, from a child's catechism, published in 1842, supposing all our Bibles were burnt, know what were the words spoken by the mouth, and engraved by the finger of Deity 3300 years ago, upon two tables of stone, and delivered to Moses at Mount Sinai? It is not high antiquity which can ever present a bar to our knowing what has happened in past ages, upon this young planet of ours; but rather, it is a childish credulity in the progressive advancement of the human intellect, which we have no facts to establish, and an unreasonable estimation of the originality of great minds in various ages; attributing to them, as inventions, things which were merely combinations, or improvements of objects already long familiar. It is this, combined with an ignorance of Scripture, which makes us consider the maxim of Solomon as an old wife's fancy, when he tells us in the words of inspiration, "The thing that is, and the thing that shall be," is only that which "hath been, and there is nothing new under the sun."*

* Eccles. i. 9.

The most acute, and the most profound of modern critics, have determined, that the Roman kings introduced amongst their soldiers nothing more than the military rules, pay and discipline, which had prevailed in Italy before their day, and that they introduced them from Etruria; and again, when we come to inquire who invented these rules in Etruria, we find them referred back to Tages, or Thoth, as altered and modified by the great leader of the Etruscans, the Ludin Prince Tarchun.

Besides the nobles, with their Clans, and the Plebs, there were three classes who paid taxes to the state and served in the army, known to us as *Ærarii*, *Municipia*, and *Isopolites*; all fully described in Niebuhr's Roman History.

The *Ærarii* were not landholders, and therefore *Ærarii* were not members of centuries or tribes, and had none of the rights or consequence which are attached in every country to land. They were free, and might be the richest subjects of the government, rich burghers, merchants, peasants, and strangers, but they were not *Rasena*, nor proprietors of the soil. They paid taxes to the army, and served in the field, but they had no share in the booty or common land, and no benefit from war. They swelled the ranks, in return for the protection afforded them by the state, in their commerce and in security of life and goods. All the guilds were *Ærarii*, and so was every man, however illustrious, who was not enrolled in a land tribe or century. For this cause, one of the severest punishments to a lazy client, or an offensive

citizen, or a turbulent noble, was to erase his name from his tribe, as it immediately deprived him of his personal weight and interest in the country. The *Ærarii* were enrolled in the census, and reckoned citizens, and had votes, but only in common with the multitude.

Isopolites.

The Isopolites were the foreign neighbours or allies, with whom Tarchun made such treaties of peace, as were in his day the common fashion of the Eastern nations. Isopolity* meant, a community between independent states, of all things divine and human, so long as the subjects of either, dwelt in the towns of the other; and as they conceded to each other this right of interchanging countries, the mere act of residence constituted them burghers, preserving, in their new homes, the same rank which they had held at home.† They might enter the Senate to attend the debates, and be seated there in the place of honour; they might inherit or purchase land, join in the national sacrifices and feasts, marry with the people on an equal footing, claim a native's exemption from toll and excise, fill offices of dignity and trust, (head the army, for instance, as Coriolanus headed the Volsci,) bring causes for judgment in their own name, and enjoy every legal and civil right; but they could not be Senators. There was an impassable gulf between them and the peers of the realm, and they could never share in the govern-

* Dionys. iv. 225; viii. 538, 542, 544. Nieb. ii. 71; ii. 56, 57, 84.

† Nieb. ii. 72.

ment of that country in which they were Isopolites. This will at once explain to us the situation of Demaratus, the father of Tarquinius Priscus; as well as many other difficult passages in the Italian history. Isopolity was an inter-national law and privilege between free and independent states, and constituted "the Italian right of exile," by which a man, when banished from his own country, had yet several others to which he might retire; and he might consider himself the lawful subject and citizen of whatever state he chose to settle in, which stood in this interchange of common rights with his own.

A foreigner, who was not an Isopolite, that is, who came from any country not thus united to Etruria by treaty, though the mere act of settlement made him a citizen, and placed him in the condition of an *Ærarian*, must choose a patron, with whom he became as it were incorporated, and through whom alone he could bring any cause for judgment.

With the Isopolites, the state itself was patron, and if they were not its children, they were its honored guests. Little was required from them; and, excepting the peerage and its inalienable rights, all was permitted. They were welcome to serve in the army, but not obliged.

The Municipium was a state of alliance instituted by Tarchun, and the condition of Municipia was peculiarly according to the genius of the Tagetic faith, which desired each people to preserve its own gods. The Municipia are exemplified by the treaty which the Rasena made with the Umbrians and the Pelasgi.

Municipia.

They had the Isopolity and the right of exile; but, more than this, whilst subject to Etruscan dominion, as the Scotch and Irish are to the English, each municipal people kept its own laws, being simply bound to serve in the army, and to pay the pasture and crown land tithes. The Municipia had their allotted numbers as regiments, and their equal share in the booty, and in the right of colonization; and they had a court of justice of their own, in or near the Forum, where causes were tried by their own officers, and according to their own laws. As the natives of the Municipia could not be peers of the realm, they also had no vote in the Senate, no share in making the laws, and no right to the supreme dignity.

This condition of the Municipia was called, in Rome, the "Jus Ceriti," sufficiently denoting whence it was derived to the Latin colony of Romulus.* Native citizens, who were degraded from their own class and lost their right of voting, were enrolled in Rome, and probably all over Italy, with the allied Municipia.

Colo-
nies.

The law of colonies was also an Etruscan institution, derived from the immemorial customs of the East, and, we are inclined to think, originating in the first great Assyrian dispersion of mankind, when the bond of kindred was so severed by the confusion of tongues, that each family or tribe was forced to take up its own ground entirely inde-

* The *Ærarii*, *Isopolites*, and *Municipia*, are from Müller and Niebuhr.

pendent of all home recollections and former ties. Modern colonies are considered as parts of ourselves, and are subject to the mother country as children to a parent; but, with the ancients, a colony once gone forth, acknowledged subjection to its parent no more. It became self-existent, with no previous history, but it was the stock of its adopted country, and the origin of its own new race. Such as the *Rasena* were, from the moment of their settlement in Italy, such was every colony that proceeded from them; and such, taught by their laws and customs, became every after colony of the Italians. Whether sent out by a Sacred Spring, and the Augur going with them, or whether violently settled in their new quarters, as the reward of military valour, the offset had no connexion, from that moment, with the parent stem. The colony was everywhere free and independent, making peace and war where it pleased, and ordering, without reference to any superior, its own internal government. An open commerce between the old and new states, seems to have been regarded as the only bond of union which remained between them, as a matter of course; and in the case of colonies by conquest, Dionysius* tells us, that only the third part of the lands was assigned to the colonizers, which implies that a large portion was always left for the ancient inhabitants, as we mentioned on the founding of the Etruscan cities. Niebuhr thinks that the colonizers did not allow of *Connubium* and *Commercium* be-

* Dionys. ii. 103.

tween themselves and the natives until later times.* When they joined the mother state in war, they supplied their own quota of troops; and, like all other allies, they shared in the booty, and in the new lands set apart for fresh military colonization, exactly according to the proportion they had furnished.

We have now enumerated the component parts of Tarchun's government, and the chief classes of his subjects: his Lucumoes, with their Senates and Clans; the Plebs, who lived amongst them and with them; the *Ærarii*, or landless, amongst that denomination; the allied *Municipia*, the *Isopolites*, and the Colonies.

Slaves. But there was another class of beings, not enumerated amongst any of these, and yet attached to them all—the slaves. These unfortunate men, who were not few in number, had no protection from mutual interest or public law, no representation in the government, no recognised position in society, no rank or rights to gain, and no character to lose. They found their safety in being the slaves of an Eastern, and not of a Northern people, who, under every form of government, excepting that of the Clans, seem to have had their hearts frozen, in proportion as their heads grew clear. In the East, domestic slavery is compatible with every enjoyment excepting the consciousness of liberty; and it is the loss of freedom, rather than the obligation to labour, or the endurance of suffering. Niebuhr

* See Niebuhr on Colonies, where all the Latin authorities are quoted.

does, indeed, refer all the great and lasting monuments of Etruria to her slaves; but we think we have shown that this opinion is not tenable, and derives not a shadow of support from history or tradition.

Whilst the Pyramids of Egypt were to her people the object of groans and execrations, and the memory of their founders was loaded with opprobrium, the walls and drains of Etruria were ever her glory and her pride, and were referred to the might and wisdom of her greatest hero, acting under the inspiration of her demi-god. The nations whom she supplanted and subdued, the Umbri and Pelasgi, are numbered by succeeding historians, Greek and Roman, amongst the children of her people, and not a whisper has come down to us, that her wondrous tunnels were sacrifices to Manto, or that her gigantic walls were cemented by the blood of men. The same works, carried forward into Rome, and accomplished with the same instruments, when she was under Etruscan dominion, have not branded the memory of the first Tarquin, nor tarnished the fame of the good king Servius, nor diminished, even by the shadow of a stain, the reverence and affection with which the poor and oppressed ever regarded him, as their friend and protector. Indeed Niebuhr himself proves that the Etruscan kings and Etruscan laws, obliged the rich to contribute their full share to every monument of national strength and glory.

After the very first victory, near the heights of

Corneto, the Etruscans must have had slaves, and Strabo (v.) says, that one of the reasons of their fighting was to obtain them; and in all cases, the slaves consisted either of captives taken in war, or of men who were sold for debt, either from amongst their own peasantry, or from the neighbouring states. The slaves became domestic servants in the great families, who vied with each other in having them handsome in person, richly dressed, delicately fed, and trained to graceful and athletic exercises.*

The slaves were incapable of entering the army, which, for that very reason, was more honoured and respected in the eyes of the soldiery and people. They were degraded as a caste, but might be freed and placed amongst the clients, in which case they could vote in the census, and serve in their lord's own regiment, and exercise all the rights of a clansman. The first-made slave, whether captive by war, or captive by debt, might also be ransomed, and then he resumed his original rank. But, *as slaves*, Tarchun could not, and did not, legislate for them. He left them to public opinion and common custom, and to that humanity which is engendered by clanship, when every man is educated to extend his affections and sympathies over so wide a field of ideal connexion, that he naturally cares for all, whatever their rank and condition, who in any way belong to him, and seeks their welfare from daily unconscious habit, as long as they dwell within his sphere.

* Posidonius. Diod. v. 40. Athenæus, iv. 153.

The slaves had often much education, especially ^{Peasants.} in what was ornamental, but the Etruscan peasantry were uneducated; for Tages had somewhat of the spirit of the English government, and would not so far abridge the liberty of his subjects, as to command that his peasants should read and write. These accomplishments were by no means forbidden; they were merely left to their own good sense and discretion; and the peasantry of happy Etruria, like the peasantry of happy England, saved themselves the trouble, having, unlike our peasantry, the means of gaining a great deal of instruction without any mental exertion or intellectual fatigue.

Tages fixed the sacred times of his people, which ^{Kalendar.} Lar, Lucumo, and Velthur, every prince, governor, and magistrate, was obliged to learn; and which on each market day he must proclaim to those who assembled at the place of meeting.* Tages instituted one great year, which he called a *secle*; hence our word "cycle;"† and it was to consist of one hundred and ten minor years, divided into twenty-two *Lustrums*, or twenty-two periods of five solar years each. A *Lustrum* was the period for which the state lands were let. The minor years were either civil or sacred. The civil began in March, and consisted of 365 days, divided into ten months and two intercalaries; and the sacred began in September, according to the manner of the Egyptians and the nations of *Ludin*; and it also consisted of ten months only. The ten months of these years were divided

* See Müller on the Kalendar. † Nieb. on the Cycle.

into thirty-four weeks, each week containing eight days, which, like the Jewish days, were probably named in numerical order.

The Jewish week used to be counted "One of the Sabbath," "Two of the Sabbath," &c. ;* and the Tuscans probably called theirs "One of the Feast," "Two of the Feast," &c. ; at least, such is the idea we gather from Varro† and Macrobius.‡ Three of their names have been preserved to us, as Ides, Nones, and Kalends. "Ides" is an Etruscan word, meaning to divide. It was the full moon, and marked each grand lunar division of the year, dividing the month into half. The other two words are just as likely to be Etruscan, and to have been adopted by the Latins. "Nones," means each ninth day, counting from the Ides, "Kalends" was the division of the month, after which it was counted backwards, to the full moon again. This ten-month year was the term of mourning for near relations, of paying portions left by will, of credit for debt, of sale on yearly profits, of all money transactions and interest upon capital, and of all truces, treaties, and engagements relating to war or military affairs.

As this ten-month year was adopted by the Latins, we have traces of it in our kalendar now ; for we call our final months September, October, November, and December, because the Romans called theirs so, after the example of the Etruscans, 2500 years ago.

* See Horne on Jewish Time. † v. 52, 53. ‡ i. 15.

The peasantry of Etruria kept themselves in ignorance and subjection, because the uneducated do not seek for education, and do not desire a knowledge which implies trouble, and the value of which they are unable to appreciate.

CHAPTER XII.

TARCHUN AND HIS INSTITUTIONS.

Written laws—Religious basis—Fate—Education of the Lucumoes—Castes—Coins and Monetary System—Commerce—Roads—Hydraulic operations.

B. C.
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IN contradistinction to the peasantry, and their liberty of non-instruction, come the Lucumoes and the whole class of the nobles, who were obliged to a strict and a highly scientific education. Tages was resolved, that if the body of his people should represent a child, the rulers of his people should have the heads of men. Accordingly, as they were the princes, and senators, the generals and judges, the augurs and haruspices, the land measurers and astronomical calculators of their day, they were forced, not only to know the laws of Tages intimately themselves, and to teach them to their children, but they were obliged to acquire all that knowledge, and to pursue all those studies which were needful to make the laws practical and effectual. In this respect, indeed, Tages was as much opposed to

the genius of England as in the case of the peasantry he had been like-minded.

Amongst his nobles, no one was permitted to administer the laws, who did not understand them; and no one might presume to teach who had not himself first learned. He who could not obey might not command; and he who had no religion was regarded as a monster unfit for power. Idle, undisciplined, useless nobles; and chattering, self-conceited, ignorant senators, are phenomena which can never have been seen, nor even thought credible, (though but merely in speculation,) during the first ages of Etruria. The young Lucumoes were educated in colleges, the names of some of which we occasionally read in history; and they were not only obliged to read, write, and cypher, but to possess some competent knowledge of astronomy and mathematics, some tolerable acquaintance with agriculture and hydraulics, some settled state principles, and some instruction in political economy. They were also required to be so thoroughly masters of their religion as to know the laws of Tages by heart, or, in the words of scripture, "to write them in their memories, and to engrave them upon the palms* of their hands."†

The most sceptical of modern inquirers will not maintain that the command from Deuteronomy, just

* Deut. vi. 8.

† Festus and Censorinus say, that the Lucumoes kept and taught the discipline of Etruria, and that the laws of Tages were transcribed by them. See Müller and Dempster de Etrur. Reg.

quoted, was given to the children of Israel, because they could not read or write. They had all been taught to do so, ages earlier than the days of Tarchun; and in the same sense as Moses commanded the chiefs of his people, so Tarchun commanded his Lucumoes, to teach diligently their children, and their children's children.

Niebuhr hints that the laws of Tages, as delivered by Tarchun, were probably not written in his day, but only sung and committed to oral tradition. But as the minds and memories of men are in all ages the same, we cannot admit of such a theory. How, if this had been the case, could they have been known and preserved in purity throughout all the cities of Etruria? So far from a unity of discipline amongst the twelve states, we should have had different versions of these laws, and curious additions to them in various places. In some they would have remained a mere tradition, destitute of all observance; and in others, the most opposite customs would have been founded upon the same ideal commands.

But nothing of this sort ever happened. The laws of Tages were uniform wherever the religion of Tages prevailed; and this could only have followed upon their being written, and upon the writing having been held as sacred. They must have been read as well as written, studied as well as read, known to all the rulers, received by all the people, and believed to be divine, and therefore unalterable. The Etruscans had, in the course of time, other books and

other laws. Pontifical ordinances, kingly institutions, historical records, the sweet songs of the princess Camese, and the holy maxims of the priestess Bygöe. But none of these were ever held in equal reverence, or ever placed upon a level in antiquity or sanctity, with the books of Tages. And why? Because the laws of Tages were written by him who framed and promulgated them. They were a standard and engraved code, which could be known and referred to by all parties, and they were what Müller calls them, the same as their sacred predecessors and cotemporaries amongst the other races of Ludin, the same as the Vedas to the Hindus, and Leviticus to the Jews. It would be a monstrous absurdity to believe that the Rasena alone, of all the civilized nations of the East, carefully educated their nobles, and yet had no written laws.

All the ancient legislators rested their systems upon a religious sanction, and strove to found the institutions of time upon the basis of eternity. Hence they inculcated all the natural and civil obligations of social life as emanations of the divine will; and as such they held to be every sentiment of patriotism, and every exhibition of public courage. The state ritual taught each man his rights and duties, and the prescribed line of his public and private conduct, as that which was pointed out for him by the gods. No one was suffered by Tages to separate the interests of his country, the inspirations of human genius, or the purposes of human rectitude, from the divine guidance or divine will.

No one was allowed to consider this world as the ultimate object of his hopes and desires; and far less was he permitted to regard the applause of his fellow creatures, or his own self-interest, as the measure of his actions or the ruling principle of his understanding.

The will of the gods was, from early education, everything to the Lucumo, and ever present to his imagination.* He consulted that will by sacrifice, when first he took his seat in the senate, and when he delivered his opinion there; when he married, when he went forth to battle, when he put out to sea, when he sowed and when he reaped, when he planted and when he gathered in, when he increased his estate and when he diminished it. He sacrificed, when he desired to atone for his offences, or to satiate his vengeance, to endure manfully loss and disappointments, or to triumph over his foes. He sacrificed and took auspices as a bounden duty, to moderate his exultation in prosperity, to alleviate his sufferings in adversity, to guide his active career, and to cheer his dissolution. The Etruscan noble not only consulted this will upon all occasions, but he met it, when he knew it to be adverse, most singularly, for a child of the East. He met it, not as a fatalist, but as a man. His, was a persevering and unimagined temperament, tenacious of all which custom had rendered familiar to him, whether from without or from within. His courage was indomitable, his fortitude enduring, his hope

* See Müller on the Religion of the Etruscans.

unquenchable; and yet we regard with surprise, the grasp of his solid understanding, and wonder to see Oriental beings so manly in their sentiments, and so sober-minded in their views. The Etruscan believed in the decrees of heaven concerning human affairs, and that they were predetermined before they came to pass: and his faith taught him that it was vain for man to resist those decrees, when they had once gone forth. Yet he also held that it was sinful to give way to despair and apathy, and that enlightened submission, virtuous, persevering conduct, and continued prayer, might delay, and even sometimes avert, the purposes of fate. He reminds us of the patriarchal faith exhibited by Abraham, when God revealed to him the doom of Sodom. Abraham heard the decree, and he knew by whom it was pronounced, and yet he says, "*If* there shall be found mitigating circumstances, (fifty righteous, or ten righteous,) wilt thou not reverse the sentence of destruction? And the Lord answered Abraham, *If* these mitigations be found, I will. "If there be found ten righteous, I will spare all the city for their sakes."†

The nobles alone of Etruria were compulsorily educated, because to them alone belonged all the political authority in church and state. The Augurs and Haruspices, who declared the will of the gods,

* See Müller on the Haruspex.

† It is almost equally remarkable that the Augurs taught the impossibility of prolonging human life, after man's last hour was decreed.

must needs have known how to ascertain that will. The Generals who commanded the army, must have understood the maxims of war. The Senators who were to maintain the existing laws, must have been acquainted with their theory; and they who were assembled to oppose or to support such alterations or improvements as the king wished to introduce, according to the spirit of the times, must necessarily have interested themselves in the state of their country. The calculators of the new moons and feasts, the keepers of the annals, the regulators of the kalendar, and the measurers of land, must necessarily have been versed in astronomy and numbers; and Niebuhr, no mean judge, esteems their early knowledge to have been much more deep and profound than that of their later days.

We have said that, amongst the Senators, each Decurial Lucumo was the Priest of his Curia; and as the Lucumo was an hereditary rank, so would be the Decurion, and so also the priesthood attached to that dignity. The priests were not a separate class, though the service of particular gods was hereditary in particular families. As, for instance, the priesthood of Talna or Juno* at Veii, and that which was handed down in the families of the Potizii and Pinarii in Latium,† who boasted a right to administer the sacrifices of Hercules, the Turrhenean god.

The priestly Lucumoes remind us of the Brahmin caste in India, because they were in no way distinguished from their noble fellow-countrymen, ex-

* Livy.

† Micali, Italia, a. d. R.

cepting by an hereditary priesthood; and when the Assyrians first entered Hindostan, their social relations would appear to have been the same with those of the Rasena. They also probably consisted of "the man's head and the child's body;" of one class, educated, whose privilege it was to command and to protect, and of the other, uneducated, whose duty it was to defend and to obey. They all reckoned themselves the children of one and the same parent; the priestly warrior, and the warrior who was not a priest, being each required to read and write, to sacrifice and to give alms. It is evident that the Hindoo priest would neither have obtained nor have preserved the influence of caste, which for so many ages, distinguished him amongst his fellows,* had not his dignity first arisen from some such office as that of Decurion of his Curia, the holiest and the wisest of the warriors. And it is owing to a difference in the temper and surrounding circumstances of the brother tribes of Ludin, dwelling in Italy and in India, that both did not, in the same manner, divide themselves into castes, distinguished by impassable bounds, which became, through the corruptions of time, and the influence of imagination, the case in Hindostan.

Those who are best versed in Eastern history, are most aware that every reformer amongst the Hindoos has endeavoured to abolish the distinction of castes, and to prove, from their oldest records and most ancient statutes, that all the educated were

* Vide Sir William Jones.

equal to each other. In all countries where the priests have not been also military, the army has held a higher rank than the church, and the union of both offices, in the Rasena, and in the Assyrian Hindoos, is simply a continuation of the patriarchal polity, which had for its cradle the land of Shinar.

The four castes of the early Hindoos are thus classified by Sir W. Jones:—

1. The priests, all noble, and capable of every employment and occupation. Necessitated to read, write, and teach. They also measured land, and regulated the calendar; being possessed of very deep and curious mathematical knowledge, the results of which only are known to their successors. These men might exercise both tillage and traffic.

2. The military; who were not priests, but all noble; and who must all read, and be able to sacrifice and to fight.

3. The merchants; who traded, lent at interest, were fundholders, and had herds and flocks.

4. The people; who were the vassals of the two first classes, and might serve the third.

The Rasena, though not distributed into castes so strictly marked, because they had amongst them more of the spirit of liberty, and less imagination, to raise every slight difference into an important distinction, may thus be paralleled with them.

1. The highest class of Lucumoes or Decurions, warrior priests; all noble, all capable of any employment; obliged to extensive general knowledge, and allowed tillage and traffic.

2. Their brethren of the Curia; who were also all noble, and all military; and all educated, and all capable of offering sacrifices.

3. The fundholders and merchants; whether *Ærarii*, *Plebs*, *Municipiales*, or *Isopolites*.

4. The vassals and followers of the noble houses.

The *Lar* in Etruria, we have already said, was *Pontifex Maximus* in each state, a dignity which was hereditary to the office, and not to the man. It was his duty to take charge of the public annals, which were not history, but an enumeration of the leading events in each year, written in the fewest words and in the driest manner possible, upon a whited table, which always* remained in his palace, and whence calculations were made, and the annals and histories of the country compiled. This custom the Etruscans of course introduced into Rome, and all Livy's tenth book is written from one of these historical tables, which were not the less authentic, for being exceedingly brief. The Romans never used them after the days of the Gracchi; and the Etruscans doubtless abandoned them after the fated period, the day which Tina had given them, had been shown by these monuments to have run its course.

The most extraordinary invention which Tarchun Coin-
left to his people, and the most useful and im-^{age.}portant which can be left to any people, was the art of coining, of which the Etruscans possessed a peculiar method in reference to weights and measures,

* Cicero de Leg. i. 2.

and to the value of articles of exchange. The Etruscan copper coinage is the oldest in Europe, and the only one of which we have any knowledge, prior to the foundation of Rome. The Jesuits' Museum in that city has examples of no less than forty different mints used by the Italian nations, before the days of Romulus, each one stamped with the head of their patron deity, or with whatever other device they conceived to be the most characteristic. This coinage is, in its origin, Etruscan, and is altogether peculiar to that people, and to those with whom they trafficked, whether amongst their own colonies and the Italian tribes, from the Rhoetian Alps to the straits of Sicily; or whether amongst their more distant allies in Sicily and Greece, and amongst the various colonies of Egypt and of Carthage. Throughout the peninsula, and in every different state, this coinage is marked with Etruscan letters, and is of the same value. Its measure is the bronze *As* or *Æs*; the pound *Turrhenoi*, or as we now pronounce it, the pound *Troy*, which still preserves its old division into twelve ounces, as delivered to us by the Romans, and by which we measure those things which they most valued, viz, wine and strengthening liquors, healing medicines, and the precious metals. The oldest device upon the *As*, as far as we can ascertain, is the double head of Janus upon one side, and the prow of a ship upon the other, both types of the Etruscan people. The prow denotes a maritime and commercial nation, and it was with peculiar propriety assumed by the Etruscans, who, Pliny says, invented

the prow; that is to say, they were the first who used it in Italy, having crossed the Mediterranean sea in vessels of burden, that bore most probably, some image or ornament upon their prows, as we see on the Egyptian vessels of Sethos, in the plates of Rosellini, and as we know to have been the Carthaginian custom with their *Pataeci*, in imitation of the Tyrians. The largest vessels of the Pharaohs were always stationed in the Mediterranean, and it is not unlikely that the *Avaris-Rasena* had usually composed the best part of their crews.

In any view, the prow was a most appropriate emblem of the *Rasena*, but in conjunction with the head of Janus, it becomes an historical record, and it is very likely that in this hieroglyphical but most significant form, it first took a place in Tarchun's pontifical tables. It expresses that the coin so stamped is the authorized medium of exchange among the children of Janus, who have come to Italy in prow-built ships. Ovid* says, that the head of Janus on the one side, is in memory of the first civilizer of the Italians, and the prow on the other side, is in memory of the Tuscan vessel in which he landed. Janus, or Janias, the Assyrian shepherd king, we believe to have been the antitype of this coin. He was a double-headed hero, that is, he not only ruled over but he united two people; being the Assyrian monarch of Lower Egypt, and afterwards a demi-god of the *Rasena*, whose spirit and deeds reappeared in Tarchun, and in whose form he

* Fast. i. 228, &c.

was again the double-headed, uniting the Assyrians and the Italians. Janus of the Rasena was double, in that he looked forward to the dominion of his tribe in their new land, and backward to the times of his government in the land from which they had departed. Janus was an ever-present remembrance to the Rasena, of how completely man's existence is divided between the past and the future.

"Il presente è un baleno
Che cadde da nulla in seno
Onde la vita è appunto
Una memorià, una speranza, un Punto!"

The king who succeeded Janus in Egypt was As or Assith,* and the connexion between Janus and As, gives us the idea of a coin bearing the king's name, as a Jacobus, a Carolus, a Napoleon, or a Louis. If not too ridiculous, we might instance the Scotch bawbee, so called from the baby King James VI., under whom it was introduced. †

"As" may have been the king who first struck the coin, and stamped it with the head of his predecessor "Janus," or this may be a later thought of Tarchun's. And though we do not know that this coin was ever used in Egypt or in the Avaris, we have no reason to imagine that it may not have been, and we are moreover sure that the double head is the idea of an eastern people. The Etruscan coinage must have been known in Egypt, through a long suc-

* Coins: see Pliny, xviii. 3; xxxiii. 3. Varro de Re Rus. ii. 1.

† Eusebius, Africanus, and Manetho.

cession of ages, during the time that Etruria carried on an active commerce with the ports of Lybia and of the Delta; and therefore we can prove nothing from the absence of such coins in the Egyptian remains.

Coins of various metals and various devices were used in Egypt many ages before Tarchun, and therefore we cannot doubt that he introduced into Italy, in imitation of Egypt, that indispensable method of exchange, to which he had always been accustomed, whatever devices he may at first have assumed; though anything more appropriate than the head of Janus, the hero of his race, and of the prow by which the subjects of Janus's successors were brought into their new country, cannot be conceived.

In one of the painted tombs at Beni Hassan, of the age of Osortasen the Second, that of Menoth.p.h, Rosellini* has found different weights of coin, expressed by different stamps. These are an ox, a gazelle, and a frog, in the proportions of one, two, and three to each other; and these stamps and proportions, he has found repeated in other paintings, without any variation. In this same tomb



gold and silver are weighed in the balances, which are represented of this form, and gold is in small round lumps of equal size, like buttons, neither wrought nor stamped. The objects marked for coin in Menoth.p.h's tomb are rings of silver and gold, but there must also have been a lower coinage of copper, or clay, or of some inferior substance, for the

* Vol. iv. p. 287.

use of the common people, and for the every-day purposes of life. Now if the Egyptians had a coinage so early as 1700 B.C., their neighbours, the Lybians, Nubians, Phœnicians, Assyrians, and all the nations of Ludin, who traded with them, must have had it also, and we have the express testimony of Scripture, that money, "even current money of the merchant," in small pieces of marked and ascertained weight, was used in the land of Canaan in the time of Abraham. When this patriarch bought the cave of Macpelah,* he did not cut off so much of a wedge of gold or silver, but he paid "four hundred pieces of money current with the merchants." When Jacob arrived at Shalem of the Hivites, he paid for his field "one hundred pieces of money," supposed to have been stamped with a lamb. When Joseph's brethren sold him, it was for twenty pieces of silver, paid by the Midianites, who were then on their way to trade in Egypt, and who would doubtless carry with them, the coin that was exchangeable in that country.

Every man who reflects, must acknowledge the necessity which exists, the moment nations begin to trade with each other, of some common medium of exchange, in a small and ascertained weight, coined in those metals which do not lose, in passing from hand to hand. The possessor of a wedge of gold might require to cut it into twenty pieces, and the acquirer of each of these twenty pieces might be obliged to divide them into fifty, in order to procure what he wished to purchase, and then the

* Gen. xxiii.

filings must have been lost, and the awkwardness and the difficulty of such an exchange is too apparent to require any argument. Indeed, the testimony of Scripture, the evidence of the Beni Hassan tombs, and the corroborating circumstance of the laws of Menu, which treat of coin, of debt, and of the rate of interest, render argument quite superfluous. The Egyptians used stamped rings for coin, and so did probably all the eastern people, and all the Phœnician tribes in their earliest days; for when Cæsar landed in Britain he found that the Druids had introduced into our island, rings of brass and iron for money.* The Britons had also small round coins of gold and silver, with strange rude devices upon them, whence it appears that they knew both the flat and the annular forms of money. Both must have been known in Egypt, and both were probably used in Etruria, gold and silver rings being exchanged for things of great price, and the copper or bronze As, with the head of Janus, or with the Egyptian ox, hence called "Pecunia," being current for the common purposes of life. It is very evident that the man who could invent the stamped ring, could also invent the flat small coin; and though we trace back the original idea of coinage from Etruria to Egypt and Ludin, we are not surprised to see a different expression of the thought given to it by the colony of Tarchun, from what it presented in the climes of the East.

In every colony which settles at a distance from

* Bel. Gal. v. 12.

the mother country, we must expect to find, not only the civilization it brings along with it, but also its own peculiar development, and the modifying influence which every man receives, when he is placed in an entirely new sphere. As the Madeira grape has a different flavour in Madeira, at the Cape of Good Hope, and at Bourdeaux, so the child of Assyria will exhibit a different development in his father land, in Hindustan, and in Etruria. The Ludin colony of Tarchun were distinguished for their veneration and their love of truth. Their hearts ever yearned upon their gods, their ancestors, and their kings; and hence we see that the coin of their own devising, bore upon it the heads of Janus and Archles, two of their former kings, of Jupiter and Minerva, the Egyptian male and female Ammon, and of Mercury, who was the same with Thoth,* the messenger of the gods, their Tages or the genius of Etruria.

The coinage of Tarchun, like every other eastern coinage, expressed weight, and the As or pound Turrhenoi was divided into six parts, each marked with as many dots as expressed its division, and translated by the Latins, as one-half, one-third, one-fourth, one sixth, and one ounce,—Semis, Tertiens, Quadrans, Sextans, and Uncia. We do not know the Etruscan names, but this is their meaning. The shekel and the talent of the Jews, though coins, were also weights.

Jupiter or *Tina*, which we believe to be a corrup-

* Vide Rosellini.

tion of Atina, or Adonai, the Hebrew for lord, was the same Being with the Egyptian Ammon, and Ammon was the Amen of the Hebrew people, and the one true God common to the Egyptians, the Arabians, the Canaanites, and all the shepherd tribes until the death of Joseph. The great Amen, corrupted into Ammon, the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, was equally known in those days, to the Pharaoh of the land of Ham, to the Assyrian Laban, the Arabian Job, the Philistine Abimelech, and probably to the Hindostanee Menu. Egyptian scholars are well aware that this Ammon, in Hebrew "Amen," was the one supreme and eternal God, worshipped in Egypt throughout all generations, even from the days of Abraham, when the Lord visited the Pharaoh in visions of the night, to the days of St. Paul, when the Almighty had given them up to their own inventions, and when they had forgotten that all other gods were merely names for his attributes.

The only modern idea with which Tarchun impressed his coins was the prow, in commemoration of the means by which he gained a footing in Italy; if, indeed the prow was a new idea, and if it be not highly probable that even in Egypt, the Rasena may have been the first to use it. It must, however, strike every considerate person as very extraordinary, that neither Tarchun their leader, nor Tages their lawgiver, should in their own proper forms, have ever been impressed upon the coins. And this is one reason why we assign the choice of the emblems to Tarchun himself, and not to any of his successors; because all the forms were older than his day, and

being once fixed and settled, could not be altered in order to do him honour, after he and Tages were numbered among the demi-gods. Herodotus* says that the Lydians were the first people who coined, and if, as is most likely, he means the Ludin, what he says is highly probable. Homer values Glaucus's armour at one hundred oxen, and Diomed's at ten, meaning apparently the golden ox, the ring coin of Egypt; and scholars still doubt whether this ox or the double-headed Janus was the first stamp of Italy. The learned in general ascribe the first stamped money to Egina, because Strabo† says that gold was stamped there in the reign of Phædon, king of Argos, and that he invented weights and measures. What change or improvement could be meant by this so called "invention," so long after weights and measures must have been introduced into Greece, both by Danaus and Cadmus, and so very many ages after they had been common to every nation of Asia, we shall not pretend to determine. But money may have been first stamped at Egina in the reign of Phædon, 895 B. C., if the word stamped is used in opposition to "cast or fused;" for the money of Etruria, and probably of Egypt, was all cast, and received its impression in a state of fusion. It is almost needless to add, that the coinage of the Rasena was quickly adopted by all the tribes of Italy, and that no other was known, until the year 480 of Rome, when, according to Pliny, in imitation of the southern Greeks, the Romans began to coin silver.

* i. 94.

† viii. p. 376.

No act performed by Tarchun, which proclaims the wise and educated man, ought to excite astonishment in our minds, when we remember the race from which he sprang, and the land in which he was brought up. Yet, though we read without any amazement of Moses, three hundred years earlier, giving rules to the Israelites, concerning the weights and measures, the money and the interest of money, with which they had been conversant in Egypt, we cannot prevent a feeling of incredulity stealing over us, when we read of similar wise financial measures on the part of Tarchun. That he fixed the circulating medium of his country, its die, and its value; and not only this, but that he divided his standard into twelve parts, with reference to his twelve states, and determined the rate of interest at which it might be lent, in that proportion which it continues to bear at this day, throughout the whole civilized world, viz. at from five to ten per cent. per annum. This has been most ably proved by Niebuhr,* and will be detailed when we come to the last part of this work. It staggers our belief, only because we cannot comprehend that man in all ages, has been the same creature, with the same powers of mind, the same mathematical abilities, the same acuteness, the same wants and the same resources. "The thing that hath been, is that which shall be, and the thing which shall be, is that which hath been, and there is no new thing under the sun,"—So says inspiration, and so echoes

* Vide Niebuhr on the Uncialzinsfuss.

the voice of antiquity, and so repeats the page of history, but man will not believe.

We need not apologise for attributing to Tarchun many things, concerning the epoch of which, the records of Etruria are silent. Those records have long since perished in the flames kindled by Sylla. But we have this evidence, that the Etruscan coinage was used all over Italy before the foundation of Rome, and must have been invented or introduced, by some native of the Etruscan race. We, therefore, only increase the wonder, if we refer it to any successor of Tarchun, who had no models to work from. The least extraordinary, and the most reasonable and probable origin which we can give to the coinage, is to refer it to the early hero Tarchun; for the educated man who founds and settles a colony from a civilized country, will in all cases, be the one, to establish its letters and numerals, its weights and its measures, its kalendar and its financial system.

We have slightly to notice three other most important institutions characteristic of civilization, introduced by Tarchun into Italy, before we bid adieu to him and his wonder-working life. We allude to the external commerce, the internal communications, and the extraordinary hydraulic works of ancient Etruria.

Com-
merce.

We have no date for the commencement of the commerce of the Etruscans, but we find them in the time of Homer, masters of the Italian seas, which were known to other nations only by their name, and which were occupied only by their ships:

the trade of the Pelasgi, and of every other people, being carried on by their sufferance, and, if not in their vessels, at least under their flag. We must therefore carry back this trade to its only probable commencement, the days of Tarchun, when the Mediterranean had been crossed* and explored by him for his new home, when his whole colony were maritime, when the ports of Egypt and of Lybia were familiarly known to his people, and when, by means of the widely spread, and not much differing dialects of Ludin, he could make himself understood, wherever colonies from the north of Egypt, or the west of Asia, had made a settlement.

Tarchun had, doubtless, no knowledge of Greece, and no communication with it; the earliest settlement of the Greeks in Italy being more than one hundred years after the time of his death. Cuma is the oldest Greek colony; and, according to Niebuhr, it was settled by some natives of Chalcis, about 1060 B. C., and for a long time, was a small obscure place without any trade. Thucydides says, that the first colonies of the Greeks cannot be traced earlier than eighty years after the Trojan war; and Diod. Sic. affirms that they were little known to the Italians before the time of Xerxes. Tarchun's commerce must have been with the Phœnician colonies of Africa; and his successors would renew their intercourse with Egypt; whence the ships of Tarchun or Tyrsen, not improbably sometimes confounded with those of Tarshish, would sail in Company to Argos

* Herodotus i. 94.

and to the Ionian Seas, and thus they would begin that trade which they afterwards carried on so briskly with Corinth. It is an extraordinary fact, that we have no tradition of any trade at any period, between Etruria and Phœnicia, but with Egypt and Carthage and with all their colonies, which we look upon as a certain proof that the Etruscans under Tarchun, came from the south, and not from the east of the Mediterranean. The Etruscans were, from time immemorial, a commercial nation; and, for many ages, they were the only commercial and maritime people amongst the Italians. Virgil, in the *Æneid*, represents them as having an active navy at their command, immediately after the fall of Troy, and seems to intimate that, in their early days, their communication by sea was easier and readier than travelling by land; as he brings the troops of Clusium and other inland states in ships, to join the hosts of Tarchun. The foreign articles in which they traded will be treated of hereafter.

Roads. We must not, however, omit to notice the internal communication which Tarchun established throughout the land of Etruria. He who laid out his camps, his cities, and his temples, by the rule of straight lines; he who could measure off and enclose ground to build and plant, who could have a variety of gates to all his towns, and streets of various but fixed breadths, leading from one urban barrier to the other; he who was acquainted with the highways,* the canals, and,

* That highways were general over the East, we learn from the journeyings of the children of Israel, when they asked per-

it may be, even with the railroads* of Egypt; he who could render practicable a yearly meeting, from every state of his dominions, to be held at the Fane of Voltumna,—such a man could not possibly be at any loss to construct roads fit for his horses and his chariots, his waggons and his caravans, to travel upon, and which should lead in whatever direction he was pleased to appoint. The hilly nature of the ground in Italy could present no difficulties to him, for he knew how to tunnel through hills, to quarry stones of every size, to turn rivers, and to drain lakes.

Wherever there are no roads, the land has little commerce, the people know nothing of each other; and this want of intercourse soon converts them, as in the case of the old Highland clans, and the modern Arabian desert tribes, into strangers, and from strangers, into enemies. But Tarchun studiously avoided the interruption of brotherhood amongst his people, and strove to make them not only well known to each other, by constant markets, fairs and meetings, but to the nations in their vicinity, who were welcomed to their feasts. The tribes of Italy, learned road-making, as they did all other civilized arts, from the Rasena; and the Rasena imported it from the still more anciently civilized continent of Ludin. It was possibly to necessitate

mission to pass through Moab, &c., and promised to keep the highways. Numb. xx. 17; xxi. 22. Deut. ii. 27.

* Many writers assert that Sesostris began a railroad from the Nile to the Red Sea.

inland travelling, that Tarchun fixed upon the very heart of his territory, as the place of his annual meeting; where it was unapproachable by water, and most difficult of access to the inland states of Clusium, Perugia, Cortona, and Arretium. His roads were all paved, and many specimens of them remain; the most generally accessible to tourists, being the Via Sacra at Rome, and the streets of Pompei. These are doubtless of much later date than Tarchun, but they were made after his models, and may as fairly be given as specimens of his style, as any of the Roman roads in England may be given to exemplify the style of Julius Cæsar.

The oldest method of making roads was to dig them two feet deep, and then to lay a quantity of silaria, or a composition of earth and stone, ground to paste, upon beams of burnt wood. Over this was placed a layer of basalt, and the road was completed. This is the construction of the Via Sacra.

Another method was to make a furrow two feet deep, on each side of the line intended, and then to lay upon it, a nucleus of terra cotta and broken stones; over this, a quantity of rough stones; and lastly, a layer of hewn stone, smooth and durable.* Probably the government made and kept up the roads by military labour, as in some parts of the continent, at this present time.

Hydrau-
lic ope-
rations.

The last work of Tarchun's, which we shall enumerate, is the extraordinary drains, tunnels and chan-

* Both these accounts are from the *Archæological Lectures* of Dr. Meyer in 1838.

nels for irrigation, which he spread from one end of Etruria to the other; and which, coeval with the Etruscan influence, extended themselves over Italy. Before the land was drained by the Etruscans, we are told by geologists, that the plains of Italy were little better than so many vast swamps, the heights upon which the Rasena built, alone being healthy and fit for habitation. But Tina gave the land to those who knew how to redeem it, and to whom deluges of water presented no idea but that of fertility, and of an incentive to industry and watchfulness. The Rasena had seen the Nile every year, spread itself above their grounds, and had hailed and blessed the overflow. In Italy they introduced that system of irrigation to which they had long been accustomed, and which enabled them to defy alike, the evils of a scorching sun and of an arid soil. And when they found that Italy, unlike Egypt, had abundance of rain, and a superabundance of desolating rivers and overflowing lakes, they cut tunnels through the rocky mountains, to make drains for the water, even as they built cloacæ in all their towns, to make drains for the land, and to provide for the health and cleanliness of the dense populations. Many of these cloacæ may still be seen; the models of the Cloaca Maxima in Rome, and the imitation, in all probability, of the same, on a greater scale, at Memphis, Ramses, and Zoan. It was the tradition in Etruria, that these mountain tunnels were first cut, to purify the air, or, in other words, to drain the marshes: and where they have been neglected, the malaria now depopu-

lates the country, and has done so for a long succession of ages—even ever since wars and desolations caused those labours to cease, and the science which guided them, to be neglected and discouraged.

As drainers of the ground, and as managers of the power of water, the Etruscans excelled every other people in the world, excepting only the Egyptians, or Assyrian Egyptians, who were their masters.* They carried off the water where it was superfluous, and increased it by irrigation, where the natural supply fell short. They regulated the quantity as a marketable article, exactly according to their necessities, and managed it in a manner that never would have entered into the minds of men, upon whom it had not been forced by a previous necessity; even by such a one as the annual overflowings of the Nile in Egypt amongst the ancients, or, as the annual threatenings of the ocean in Holland, amongst the moderns. From Bochart† and, from the Ancient History, we learn that the Tigris, upon which R.S.N. was situated, annually overflowed its banks, and had to be regulated in a way, not unlike to that which was observed upon the Nile. The Rasena, therefore, if, as we believe, they came from Resen, would continue to carry on in the Delta, the same water operations to which they had always been accustomed in the land of their origin, and would naturally again transplant their habits of scientific

* Ancient Hist. vol. ii., from Plut. and Diod., says that *Hercules*, i. e. Assyrian, skill and strength drained the waters of Egypt.

† In loco.

and productive industry from the Delta, into their new country. They knew how water could be managed so as to increase the riches and value of their possessions, and how also it could be so employed as to fertilize that land, which before them, no man had ever cultivated. They knew how to multiply the product of what had already been made arable; as well as how to convert the pestilent lurking places of reptiles, into the garden and granary of North and Central Italy.

We do not think that the Rasena first commenced executing these great hydraulic operations, after they settled in Italy, but, on the contrary, that a very high degree of refinement, and long established and uninterrupted habits of previous industry were requisite, in order to make them sensible of the utility of such works anywhere. We are persuaded of this, from considering both the apathy of those who preceded, and of those who followed them; and also because such wonderful operations have ever been, in other lands, the fruit of dire necessity, and not the spontaneous effort of human will, to improve the scanty bounties of nature. Had the Rasena of Tarchun's days not known how to drain and how to tunnel, before they came into Italy, they would have conquered more land, to supply themselves with food and pasture, rather than have laboriously redeemed the marshy swamps of Western Umbria.

In Italy, though prudence and foresight recommend such works; which skill and science alone can execute, and though health and plenty reward

them, yet no absolute *necessity* there, compels man to their exercise. Accordingly, we find that ever since Etruria sunk under the Roman dominion, and ceased to be cultivated by her native lords, the industrious policy of Tages has fled from her councils; and these plains, with their villages, vineyards and corn fields, have been suffered to fall into neglect, becoming in their desolate extent and poisonous atmosphere, a pest, where they once were a blessing.

Besides the purifying of all the towns and the draining of all the marshes, there are few lakes in Etruria, or in the states bordering upon it, which have not had their waters lowered; and few rivers which have not had their channels deepened, straightened, and regulated, by this extraordinary people. Though the only two grand works extensively known, are the Cloaca Maxima at Rome, and the Emissarium, through the Hill of Albano, Italians are constantly finding them in places where they have never before been suspected; and engineers, who alone are capable of appreciating their merits and their difficulties, may trace them now towards Chiusi, at Fiesole, and in the Lakes of Nemi, and Galano. The Lake of Nemi has two emissarj, which have only lately come to light; and a very magnificent one was discovered at Galano, in 1838, by Prince Borghese, in an attempt to drain that sheet of water. Niebuhr was the first who investigated the old under-ground channels at Fiesole, in 1820.

He* says, that the site of Florence was formerly

* Niebuhr, i. 138.

a lake, and that the land on each side the Arno was a marsh, frequently deluged and flooded, because the Gonfalina rock shut up the valley and impeded the flow of the river. The Tuscans cut it through, and the water kept within its banks. At L'ancisa is another tunnel, which formerly conducted water into the Clanis, and diminished the volume of the Tiber. The brook Clanis, the Tuscans turned into a river, draining into it the marshes of the Chiana. In the state of Perugia, and in other parts of Tuscany, many emissarj still remain, by which land was formerly gained, and which continue to do their office at this day, owing to the consummate skill with which they have been constructed, though for ages, they have been utterly neglected.

We need scarcely observe, that the people who ^{Mines.} could tunnel, could also work in mines, and, accordingly, it is probable that the mines of Italy were first opened under Tarchun, as their rich ores certainly first became an article of commerce in the hands of the early Rasena. They were wrought by the government; probably by forced, if not by slave labour, and when let, they paid a royalty to the state of one-tenth.

Tarchun is said to have been the first who ^{Vine.} introduced the vine, and he had learnt the cultivation of it in Egypt; for notwithstanding what Herodotus and Plutarch say, that there was no wine in Lower Egypt, wine always constituted part of the sacred offerings. The Pharaoh who lived at Memphis, in the days of Joseph, had an officer appointed to press the grapes into his cup, and the tombs of Beni Has-

san give us the whole process of the culture of the vine, according to that method which was afterwards followed in Etruria.

Diodorus Siculus (i.) tells us, that Hermes, i. e. Thoth, in Egypt, *invented* the use of the olive, i. e. improved its culture. We are therefore authorized to ascribe to Tages, or Tarchun, the extensive planting and cultivation of the olive in Italy.

CHAPTER XIII.

TARCHUN'S DEATH—HERCULES—SATURN—JANUS.

TARCHUN may well be considered as one of the greatest heroes whom this world has ever seen, and as one of the most wonderful instruments of moral and social improvement, who ever emigrated from one clime to another. Through him, the civilization of Asia, and the arts and sciences of the eastern world flowed easily and naturally into Europe. To him, ancient Italy owed her commerce, her coinage, her weights and measures, the rules of her architecture, her skill in naval science, and the discipline of her army; her roads, the improvement of her agriculture, the introduction of the vine, the working of her mines, the instruction in literature and science, of all her upper classes, the doctrines of her faith, and the gorgeous ceremonials of her religious worship.

He brought his Assyrian-Egyptian colony from the Delta, or from Libya, into Umbria, and settling them there, partly by conquest and partly by treaty, he left them as models, to all the tribes around;—"that little but active leaven which leaveneth the whole lump." He consecrated their great temple, 1187 B. C., and divided them into XII. states,

XII.
CENT.
B. C.

each one, like the States of America, independent within itself, but yet bound to the other, as part of an indissoluble whole. The interests of each yielded in subservience to those of the great body, whilst the body, on the other hand, was bound to consider and protect the separate interests of each individual member.

Tarchun's people had one common place of annual meeting at Voltumna, where they sacrificed one common sacrifice under one great high priest. They were obliged to obey in common, all the laws of that solemn council; they had one faith in Tina, Talna, and Minerfa, and they were bound to make war under one common general. They had one language and literature, and they were united together by one peculiar and national law. Tarchun, though a successful warrior, had no love for war, and conferred upon his people, as his highest boon, the wise constitutions of Tages; being more anxious that the Rasena should cultivate the healing and beneficent arts of peace, than that they should be known to posterity, as the blood stained conquerors, and haughty exterminators of the hitherto barbarous Europeans. To him we must ascribe the first triumph ever celebrated in Italy, for Appian says, that the king of the Tuscans triumphed one thousand years before the Romans, which means that their first king was the first Italian who observed this pomp. We may therefore imagine Tarchun, after his great, and inviolably kept treaty with the Umbri, going up to the temple of Tina Tarquiniensis in his robes of state,

himself dedicating the first *Spolia Opima*, and making the first rich offerings to his patron gods, in the new land now placed under their protection.

He from that time ruled in peace, and civilized the country between the Gulf of Spezzia and the Tiber, making covenants with the former inhabitants of the land; with the Umbri, and with the Pelasgi their subjects, according to the fashion of all the eastern nations. He called them to his sacrifices and sacred feasts, and he went to theirs. He did not break their altars, nor cut down their groves; but he took their daughters for his sons, and he gave his sons to their daughters; and it is this style of covenant which the Israelites would naturally have made with the Phœnician nations three hundred years before Tarchun's days, if they had not been expressly forbidden by Moses.* The Rasena once settled, made one people with the old inhabitants of the land, and merely maintained themselves as the dominant race.

Tarchun foretold for his people, one day of rule in Etruria to consist of 1100 years, which period, according to historians, was actually granted to them, and after he had so ordered and settled his affairs as to establish his nation in tranquil security, he went down to the tomb in the ripeness of his glory, hallowed in their affections and shrined in their hearts. We presume him to have been at least five and twenty years old, when he landed in Italy, because he was an augur, and his own laws forbade any man to assume the office of augur before that age. It is probable that he died old and full of days, and that

* Ex. xxxiv. 12.

he was gathered to his grave in peace; for had he been cut off in his prime, or had any remarkable circumstances attended his death, we should have had some legend of the tale, and probably some yearly commemoration of so great a national misfortune. Memo-
rial. Etruria, which kept so strictly and with such lavish honours, the feasts and commemorations of the dead, would have had sacred elegies for Tarchun, and a public mourning, like the weeping for Thammuz, by the women of Syria and Egypt. He must have died so naturally as to have created no national shock, and to have occasioned no national confusion, and his death would undoubtedly be attended by that honour and regret, which in every age and country, follow to their last resting place, the great and the good of the human race.

To us, who are accustomed to Greek myths, and Roman legends, in sickening abundance, it seems passing strange, that Tarchun in his *own name*, should never have been deified, and that we do not find his acts, or his wars, or his original institutions, either painted upon the vases, or sculptured on the tombs. But the Etruscans behaved towards their great founder, as the Egyptians acted towards Joseph, their preserver, and as the Hebrews, towards Moses their leader and their prince. "They taught their children to rise up and call him blessed, and they let his own works praise him in the gates." His name was ever on their lips, whilst his institutions were in their hearts, and formed, as it were, the very atmosphere in which they lived, and moved, and had their being. He needed, therefore, "no

storied urn or animated bust" to perpetuate his renown. He was buried, after the manner of his people, in some rock sepulchre, or in some lofty tumulus at Tarquinia, near the first fortress he had built, and the first temple he had dedicated; and whilst his unburnt, but richly clothed corpse, crumbled to dust beneath its cerements of gold, his spirit for more than 1100 years continued to rule over the land, which his wisdom had settled, and his sword had won.

We may derive a tolerable idea of the manner of Tarchun's burial, from the discoveries which have been made at Tarquinia, in our own day. In the year 1826, Carlo Avolta of Corneto, had a most unexpected glimpse of a Tarquinian Lucumo. On removing a few stones from the upper part of a sepulchre, he looked through the aperture to discover the contents, and behold, extended in state, before him lay one of the mighty men of old. He saw him crowned with gold and clothed in armour. His shield, spear, and arrows were by his side, and the warrior's sleep seemed rather to be of yesterday, than to have endured well nigh thirty centuries. But a sudden change came over the scene, and startled Avolta from his astonished contemplation. A slight tremor, like that of sand in an hour glass, seemed to agitate the figure, and in a few minutes it vanished into air and disappeared. When he entered the tomb, the golden crown, some fragments of arms, and a few handfuls of dust, were all that marked the last resting place of this Tarquinian chief.

According to the fashion of the oldest Etruscan tombs, whether under a tumulus or quarried in the rock, Tarchun's was probably a Fane, where yearly offerings were long made, and where auguries could always be taken. Near his bier might possibly stand an image of himself in a Curule chair, as has been found long prior to his date* in the sepulchres of Egypt, and stretching from his bier towards the altar, would be rows of Lares, in memory of his Ludin forefathers. Near him, would be also ranged vases of an Egyptian form, and with Egyptian lines and figures on them, filled with wine, corn and oil, the fruits of his land. Above him, would be hung his sword and shield, beside him his bow and plenished quiver, and upon his head, the double crown of Augur and of King. The sacred ring or Scarabæus on his finger, would probably bear upon it the figures of Egyptian gods, as has usually been the case with those Scarabæi which have been found in the most ancient Etruscan tombs; and we must suppose pomps and Palæstric exercises to have honoured his funeral, as he was famous for the introduction of innumerable games of all kinds into Italy. Indeed, the Etruscans taught the Latins all the Circensian shows, and all manner of scenic and pantomimic diversions, but especially every species of solemn and commemorative Ceremonial and Festive entertainment. We may therefore believe, that on this occasion, the circus of Tarquinia would turn out her chariots and her horsemen, and that all the

* Rosellini.

Senators, and the Vestals, and the rich, and the honourable, would assemble, and would look upon the boxing, the wrestling, and the racing, which were exhibited in his honour, whilst they joined in the deep and loud lamentation occasioned by his loss. These games all had their original in Egypt, and are represented in the Egyptian tombs, many centuries before the Rasena colonized from the Delta to the shores of Italy.

The great antiquity of ceremonial entertainments, whether consisting of horse and chariot races, or of athletic exercises, may be judged of, by the enormous Hippodrome, which a king of the 18th dynasty constructed at Thebes,* and by the court attached to the house or temple of Dagon, built by the Philistines, on purpose for these scenes, where Samson met his death 1120 years before the christian era. Three thousand men and women were assembled upon the roof of this temple, besides the nobles who were inside. The slaves and captives, who were exhibited for their diversion, were in the inclosed court in front, which directly communicated with the great hall.

"It is worthy of remark," says Müller, "that the Etruscan men of rank never condescended to mingle in the Palæstric games, excepting as spectators, and that they employed in them their clients, their handsomest slaves, and hired strangers; but they would have thought it a degradation to enter the arena themselves. If, as in later ages sometimes happened, a man of family loved athletic sports and

* Rosellini.

"desired to prove his skill in them, he was obliged
 "to go for that purpose, into Greece, in order that,
 "while he gratified his taste, he might still preserve
 "his caste, for there he could carry off the crown of
 "victory from his own equals, which in Etruria would
 "have been impossible." This will explain the inscription *τοναθενεθεναθλον*, occasionally found on sepulchral prize vases, which had probably been gained by their possessors in Greece, and which were afterwards deposited in their tombs. It is not here indeed asserted that such is the origin of all the vases found in Etruria with this inscription, for some may have been imported from Athens for sale, and the greater part were certainly made in Italy, and were probably imitated from the Greeks, by the Etruscans.

The acts of Tarchun were rehearsed at his interment, and there his praises were sung after the manner of Egypt; and his highest eulogy in the funeral song must have been, that he had been found worthy of converse with the Genius of Etruria, and that he had conferred upon the Rasena the laws and institutions of Tages, and entitled them to the love and veneration of those whom they conquered only to improve.

We will now inquire what were the names by which Italy was known in the days of Tarchun, or in those ages immediately succeeding him, which may be called "his times;" because no other name besides his, during that long period found an echo through the land. "Tarchun" is said to have founded Etruria Nova. "Tarchun" is said to have planted the colonies of the south, ages after the eastern hero

had mouldered in the sepulchre. Tarchun to the Rasena, was the same as Israel to the Hebrews. He, the head, stood for his people.

Italy, in the earliest times, was called, according to Niebuhr, and the authors he quotes, Uitellia, or Sikellia; Heraclea, and Saturnia; also Hesperia, or the land of the West; and Ausonia, or the land of the South; whence by corruption or contraction, or variety of pronunciation in different dialects, Auruncia, Oscania, and Opica. The land of the South, and the land of the West, need no explanation, and Sikellia, we have already said, upon Niebuhr's authority, is only another version of Uitellia or Vitellia, a goddess of the centre of Italy, who has gradually spread her name, though we can trace nothing of her worship, over the inhabitants, and over the country. The Vitellia of Tarchun is the Italia of our times. There was anciently a small city of Vitellia, now Valmontone, near Palestrina. It is mentioned by Livy,* and by Pliny,† and its site has been recognised from the numerous sepulchral excavations in the rocks close to it, after the fashion of the Etruscans, from whom this style was adopted by the bordering tribes.

What are the derivations of Heraclea and Saturnia, the two oldest names of Italy? Are they not from Hercules and Saturn? And whence come Hercules and Saturn? Are they not gods of the Phœnicians? And were they ever heard of in Italy, until introduced by the Ludin-Rasena? Hercules was a demi-god, a dei-

* ii. 39.

* iii. 5.

fied man; in poetry, one of the old giants, and the first of a series of five and forty Hercules* who came, in the course of ages, to be renowned in song amongst the Greeks, with as many different adventures. The first and original Hercules† was the strong and valiant Prince who founded Tyre, and who surrounded it with a wall one hundred and fifty feet high. This man had a temple built to his memory, and altars erected to his name, but without any graven image; for, like Moses and Tarchun, he had an image which sufficed, being graven in the memories of his contemporaries, and in the idealism and creative fancies of his successors. He was worshipped in Tyre as Melek-karta, king of the city, מלך קרתא, and as E.R.K.L, Erkol, ערקל, or the strong. Herodotus‡ says that he, this Hercules, was of the same age with Tyre, and Cicero de Nat. Deo. calls him "the Father of Carthage," where he was represented with a bow in one hand, and a club in the other. His image had four wings, and Etruria is the only land in Europe where these four-winged images have been found. He had an oracle in Egypt, and temples amongst all the Phœnician tribes, wherever scattered. He was worshipped in Tartary as the introducer of agriculture, and he was one of the gods of India.

Tarchun brought his worship and name into Italy, and hence the Turrhenian Hercules, or the strength and power of the Turrheni, of whom Tarchun was

* Ancient Universal History, xviii. p. 282.

† Ancient Universal History in loco.

‡ ii. 43, 44.

the head. Through the Turrheni, he was naturally introduced into Latium; and Dionysius of Halicarnassus,* finding that he was not indigenous, but brought thither by some strangers, gives that honour to Eleans and Arcadians, whom for that, and for other historical conveniences, he sometimes carries across the sea to the Italian peninsula. There is no image so common as that of Hercules or Erkle, on the Etruscan terra cotta and bronzes; and in Etruscan mythology, he was the husband of Minerva, giving us to understand that absolute perfection, short of supreme deity, was, according to their ideas, the union of wisdom with strength. The Etruscans were the first people of Hercules that ever set foot in Italy; they spread his name across the country, they called after him two of their towns, Erkle or Nortia, and Erkle or Herculeum; they engraved his image upon their Scarabæi, they stamped his head upon their coins, and we believe that through them the name "Heraclea" was given to Italy in general, as well as to the most southern of their settlements, the town of Heraclea, which they shared with the Greeks in Campania.

But whence had Italy the name of Saturnia? who was Saturn, and what were his feasts, or the Saturnalia, which still have their continuation and image in the Italian carnivals?

The Saturnalia, Macrobus tells us, were feasts kept in honour of Saturn, of his times, and of his admirably civilizing institutions, which changed the face of the peninsula, and the first condition of the original Italians. It is remarkable that Italy does not

* Lib. i. 9, 23, 25.

begin with her age of gold, and then sink to an age of iron. The Saturnalia, on the contrary, were feasts kept in memory of some great reformer and benefactor, who came into the land from some other country, and who was a father and instructor to the people he found, of the same sort as Manco Capac to the native Peruvians. Saturn was not Tina or Jupiter; he had not his seat in the heavens, but he did good amongst men upon earth. His feasts, Macrobius says, were kept, long prior to Rome; and he arrived in Italy by water, for Tertullian* says that he found on his arrival Janus established as king of the Italians, and that he reigned along with him. Diodorus Siculus (xx.) tells us, that Saturn was the same with Kronus, the god of Carthage, and he adds that human victims, sometimes children, and sometimes slaves, were sacrificed to him. For these victims the Rasena afterwards substituted figures of clay and of wax; in the same spirit of rational sobriety and quiet wisdom, which suggested that prayer and unshaken courage might in times of adversity, defer the decrees of fate.

There was an image of this dreadful Demon in Carthage, into which children were thrown and burnt, and the Scripture continually reproves the Canaanites for making their children to pass through the fire to him. From this, arose the tradition of Saturn devouring his own children, which the elegant fancy of the Greeks emblemized into a personification of Time, the destroyer of all men. Saturn was a Phœnician or Assyrian god, brought into Italy by Tarchun, and the same with the

* Apol. x.

Moloch or Bel of Canaan, and the other parts of Ludin, all his names having the same signification of king or crowned one, קרן, KRN or Lord.

"The better life" commemorated in the Saturnalia, was the substituting of plenty, by the introduction of scientific agriculture, which multiplies and secures the fruits of the earth; instead of the frequent famines which used before this time, to desolate Italy. It commemorated also the gift of the vine, brought by Tarchun, and the equality which he granted to those conquered enemies, who used before, to be the slaves of their conquerors, and the victims of their pride and cruelty. Previous to the time of Tarchun, the Sikeli had no quarter, and the Pelasgi are reported to have been all enslaved or exterminated. Before him, there was no principle amongst the Italians, of incorporating the vanquished with the victors, of actually conquering and ruling for the benefit of all, and of turning enemies into friends. It is the practice of wild men, in every age and country, to kill or drive away those whom they subdue; and the refinements of municipal rights, Isopolitism, equal alliance and protection, and equal law for the incorporated Plebs, were all Tarchunian or Saturnian, and might well fill those who benefited by them with admiration, gratitude, and joy.

Some ancient authors tell us, that Saturn was the priest of the double-headed Etruscan Janus, and the feasts of the Saturnalia, we believe to have been kept in honour of Tarchun himself, to whom alone the praise was due of all the great changes

which they commemorated. Saturn was the name of a Ludin god, and Janus of a Ludin king. But the feasts of Italy, though they went by their name, were in honour neither of the one nor of the other, but of him, even Tarchun, who very possibly called himself their son, and who was indeed their priest. The Saturnalia were observed for seven days, which we find from the Scriptures, was the usual time of an Eastern feast, whether of the Hebrews or of other nations.*

Niebuhr† says that the Latins "held Janus to be the author of a better way of living in Italy; the teacher of agriculture, and of settled homes." And who is this but Tarchun, who drained the ground, introduced the Egyptian plough, made deep the furrows, measured off fixed portions of land for agriculture, and first fortified and consecrated the Italian cities? "Janus was the most ancient king who civilized the Italians,‡ and his temple always stood open in war, for mutual assistance." And who but Tarchun was the first civilizing sovereign, who made mutual assistance a sacred and sworn obligation, both from his own twelve Dynasties to each other, and also from all their allies? The old treaty says, "Neither shall suffer the other to be attacked." According to Arnobius, Janus presided over gates, roads, and rituals. And who but Tarchun consecrated gates, made the roads, and prescribed the rituals, and who but him first made known the names and attributes

* Esther, &c. † Nieb. in loco. ‡ An. Hist. xvi. 62.

of Janus and Saturn to the wondering and ever teachable Italians?

There is a passage in Ovid's *Fastorum*,* which seems almost as if it had been expressly written to illustrate the views here advanced. "Tell me," says the poet to Janus, "why is a ship represented on one side of our coins, and a double head on the other? The double head, rejoins Janus, represents me. My temple stood upon the hill, now called Janiculum, and I brought into cultivation, the sandy wastes of Latium, and the land which lies upon the left bank of the Tiber. To the inhabitants, I was known as the god of peace, keeping their gates and ways, armed only with the sceptre of dominion, and not with the weapons of war. The ship denotes the Tuscan vessel, in which I came to these shores, before the scythe-bearing god had wandered over the earth." (Meaning, perhaps, I arrived before the reckoning of time, the epoch of the Etruscans, B. C. 1187, had begun. Tarchun was some years in Italy before his dedication could have taken place.) "I remember Saturn being received in this land, when Jove drove him from heaven. Hence it is called Saturnia, and a grateful posterity have placed a prow on the reverse of my image, in memory of the arrival of Saturn as our guest. I introduced his worship into Italy, and I cultivated all the left bank of the Tiber, (i. e. Etruria Proper,) and had a temple erected to me upon the Mount Janiculum. My land was fertile

* Lib. i. 229.

and arable, when the hills of Rome were pasture for cattle." Might we not suppose the whole of this passage to have been written by Tarchun himself?

Placidis ita rursus, ut ante,
 Clavigerum verbis alloquor ipse Deum.
 Multa quidem didici: sed cur navalis in œre,
 Altera signata est, altera forma biceps?
 Noscere me duplici posses in imagine dixit
 Ni vetus ipsa dies extenuasset opus.
 Causa ratis superest: Tuscam rate venit ad amnem,
 Ante pererrato falcifer orbe Deus.
 Hac ego Saturnum memini tellure receptum:
 Cœlitibus regnis ab Jove pulsus erat.
 Inde diu genti mansit Saturnia nomen:
 Dicta quoque est Latium, terra latente Deo.
 At bona posteritas puppim formavit in ære
 Hospitis adventum testificata Dei.
 Ipse solum colui cujus placidissima lævum
 Radit arenosi Tibridis unda latus
 Hic ubi nunc Roma est, tunc ardua sylva virebat:
 Tantaque res paucis pascua bubus erat,
 Arx mea collis erat quam vulgus nomine nostro
 Nuncupat, hæc ætas Janiculumque vocat.
 Tunc ego regnabam patiens quum terra Deorum.
 Esset et humanis numina mista locis
 Nondum justitiam facinus mortale fugarat.
 Ultima de superis illa reliquit humum,
 Proque metu populum sine ni pudor ipse regebat:
 Nullus erat justis reddere jura labor.
 Nil mihi cum bello, pacem postesque tuebar,
 Et clavem ostendens, hæc ait arma gero.

OVID FASTORUM, LIB. I.

Janus was represented in statues, as a young man. And did not Tarchun come over young, and present to

Italy, Tages new born, with the body of a child? The Ancient History says that Janus fixed monarchical government in Etruria,* and that he was the author of religion, agriculture, and wine,† Macrobius says that he first raised temples and instituted sacred rites. Pliny‡ that he introduced the crown of triumph, and Athenæus that he brought in corn, which means a better method of cultivation, and that he came to Italy in a ship from Asia, i. e. Ludin. Macrobius§ and Servius|| say that he was an Etruscan, and introduced from Faleria into Rome. Servius¶ says that Janus or Eanus was the same as Mars the God of War to the Romans, because he was the author of their military tactics. Now, if we were asked to whom all these acts are to be attributed, and in whom alone they can be said most truly to unite, should we not answer Tarchun? We believe that Tarchun of the house of Janus, and who introduced into Etruria feasts in honour of Janus, and in remembrance of his mother-country, came himself in the course of time, to be worshipped, and kept in honour, under the name of Janus, and that Janus and Saturn, and Hercules, and Turrhenus, and Tyrsenus, as known to the Latins, all meant one and the same person, whose spirit breathed through all their various forms, and that this person was Tarchun. May not Saturnia be possibly only a corrupted pronunciation of Tursenia, and may not the Tursene god have become in the mouths of the Italians, Saturn?

* Vide Arnobius.

§ Lib. i.

† Vide Plut.

|| vii. 607.

‡ xxxiii. 1.

¶ Æn. vii.

CHAPTER XIV.

ÆNEAS AND TUSCAN HEROES.

B. C.
CENT.
XII. DIONYSIUS of Halicarnassus* tells us that about sixty years before the Trojan war, Evander, an Arcadian, left his native country, that he took ship, coasted Italy, and sailing up the Tiber, established himself upon one of the small heights which crown its banks. That he was well received by the inhabitants, to whom he brought literal characters, agriculture, and music; and that soon after, Hercules also left Greece, and came with a colony of Arcadians and Eleans, to join the settlement of Evander, and to share his popularity and his newly-acquired power. After the death of Evander, Hercules had a temple erected to him on the hill, now called Janiculum, and near this games, were kept in his honour, and in remembrance of the many benefits of peace, cultivation, and good order, which his arrival had conferred upon Italy. Now this is merely a Greek

* Lib. i. 20, 21.

version of Ovid's Latin story, that Hercules, the club-bearing god, and Janus were one; that Janus received Saturn, who arrived in a Tuscan vessel, that he reigned with him upon the Janiculum, and that his reign was an era of peace and unmixed good to the Latin tribes. Ovid's story again, is only a Latin version of the Tuscan tradition, as related by Herodotus, that a foreign colony arrived in Western Umbria, afterwards Etruria, near the mouth of the Tiber, under an enlightened and wise king, about sixty years before the Trojan war; that they introduced the worship of foreign gods; that they settled the peace of the land by good government, rather than by force; and that they introduced musical instruments, religious feasts, and an improved system of agriculture.

From this, it appears that, according to Latin and Greek belief, Italy, and especially Latium, was civilized by foreigners from Tuscan vessels, at a time when the Greeks had no vessels. This we infer, because these events happened coeval with the Argonautic expedition, when, according to their own testimony, the Greeks had but one vessel; and the Eastern strangers introduced with them the worship of Saturn, a Ludi god not known in Greece. The Latins, according to this account, were like the Umbri and Pelasgi, enrolled amongst the Municipia, of the Rasena, and the small Tuscan town, or fort upon the Janiculum, was Isopolitan with Latium. The height of Saturnia near it, afterwards the Mons Capitolinus, was probably the spot where the Turrhenian or

Tarchunian games of Saturn were celebrated every year. The Janiculum, being within the Tiber, was a possession of Etruria Proper, and was conceived to belong to the Rasena, as the gift of Jove; but the Tuscans soon pushed forward a colony into Latium, and settled in that part of the Alban hills, called Tusculum, where they were independent of the mother state, and where probably their Senate consisted of Latins and Tuscans, in equal proportions, and upon perfectly equal terms.

During the latter years of the life of Tarchun, Virgil brings Æneas into Italy, a Phrygian prince, who, escaping through the flames of the burning Troy, carried his father upon his shoulders to a vessel in the harbour, and there being joined by his son and a few followers, he contrived to stow away his household gods, and set sail with one hundred men and a single vessel, to seek his fortunes in another country. As he had no mortal mother, we need not wonder at the marvellous adventures of this extraordinary man. He landed at Carthage three hundred years before it was founded, and was most kindly welcomed by Queen Dido, whom he caused to die of a broken heart, three hundred years before she was born. The goddess, his mother, desired him not to waste his time in Africa, and he accordingly sailed on to Italy, six centuries before Greek vessels dared to navigate the Tyrrhene sea. He landed at Laurentum, where he was hospitably received by King Latinus, and married to his daughter Lavinia, though she had been promised to the

king of the Rutuli, a small Latin tribe close to Laurentum, the whole of whose country now belongs to the Duke Cesarini Sforza.

As Æneas had been driven into exile by the Greeks, who had just slain all his kindred, and wasted his native home, he could not have been much delighted to find himself close to a nest of these foreigners, who, consisting of Eleans and Arcadians,* had in some marvellous and unexplained manner, transported themselves to the Palatine hill in Rome. They, however, spoke peaceably and comfortably to him; told him that they had heard much of his valour, and that they sympathized in his misfortunes, and would help him against the mighty Rutuli, and against all other who ventured to attack him. Tarchun, the wise and the brave, was so penetrated with the merits of this new stranger, that he brought his polished bands to help him, and called out in his behalf all the forces of all his twelve dynasties. He ordered troops from Mantua, before a Tuscan had ever crossed the Po, and from Volturnus, or Capua, before this city had had one stone laid upon another. He exerted all his talents in the service of Æneas, suspended his patriotic improvements, and involved Italy in a general war, to do him pleasure. He chastised such of his own people as refused him submission, and finally offered to acknowledge him as sovereign of the Turseni, and to resign to him his own Etrurian crown. Æneas, the goddess-born, with the magnanimity of one, who knew of higher things than the

* Dion. i.

crowns and sceptres of this world, refused his offer, bade him keep his little day of dominion to himself, and disappeared in the Numicus, no doubt gliding down its stream into the arms of his sea-formed mother.

It was not until a hundred years after the arrival of Æneas, that he and the Laurentini, according to Livy, founded Lavinium, a city which always continued to be considered as the colony, or daughter, of Laurentum of the Latins. Laurentum is now Terra Paterno. Again, thirty years after the foundation of Lavinium now Pratica, this city sent out a colony and founded Alba, on Mount Albanus, above the beautiful Alban lake, where vestiges of it may be still seen.* Those who believe the story of Æneas, ascribe the foundation of Alba to his son Ascanius, whilst those whose imaginations are more material, believe that it was founded by Sylvius, captain of the colony from Lavinium, because they find that it was governed by a dynasty of Sylvii, for some generations, and these Sylvii are descended from, or connected with, Latinus, Sabinus, Faunus, and Picus, all names indigenous to the Italian soil.

Virgil did not invent the fable of Æneas, but only embellished what was so fixed in the belief, and so agreeable to the fancies of the Romans, that it would have been vain for him to have investigated the truth.

* Rome was founded B. C. 753. Alba 300 years before Rome, or B. C. 1053. Lavinium 30 years previous to Alba, or 1083, and Troy fell B. C. 1184. Æneas is therefore made to land in 1180, and not to found Laurentum until 1083 B. C.

Æneas was a personage almost unknown to Homer, and thoroughly undistinguished throughout the Trojan war, but his name comes forward in some old histories, as a connexion of the royal family of Priam, and as having made his escape when Troy was consumed. Cephalon, in his history of Troy, quotes an author who wrote in the 330 of Rome, and who says that Æneas founded Ænea in Thrace from his own name, and that he died at Pallene, being succeeded by his sons, one of whom reigned in Thrace after him. Another ancient author, quoted by Niebuhr, says, that he collected the remnant of the Trojans, after the death of Priam, and ruled over them, near the site of old Troy. Stersichorus says, that he sailed for Hesperia, and the writers who followed him, consequently landed Æneas in the country, towards which they supposed him to have sailed. Sophocles makes him wander about in the neighbourhood of Troy, and the less correct and later Greeks say, that the Palladium, which Æneas bore away with him, was taken to Siris in Ænotria, an inconsiderable town of South Italy.

The story of Æneas being the ancestor of Romulus, and the founder, by himself or his son, of Alba, was first worked out in Lycophron's Cassandra, about the year of Rome 500, and it was from this time forward, adopted, and more and more adorned, by every succeeding writer, until it blazed forth in the poem of Virgil, and received the stamp of immortality.

When the Greeks first became acquainted with the Iliad, their very delight in it made them sorry

that it was finished, and they naturally inquired what had become of the heroes who had survived the war, and where were their children? They were glad to answer their own question, by the invention that Diomed had led one colony, and Glaucus another, and Antenor a third,* into Hesperia, or the country to the west; and they were still better pleased, when they could give to this country "a local habitation and a name," and declare that Hesperia meant Italia, though the only portion of it known to their forefathers, was that governed by the Turseni. The Romans, on the other hand, were very much delighted with the legend, which made them from their earliest original, as good as the refined and imaginative Greeks. They were flattered that Homer should have sung of their ancestors, and proud to find that they were equally the adversaries of Greece before Troy, and the conquerors of Greece afterwards. Even the Etruscans were seduced into adopting and patronizing the fable, which brought Dardanus from Corytus in their own territories, and which therefore still kept to them the praise of being the civilizers of Italy. They henceforward could consider all the heroes of the painted vases, and all the episodes of the Iliad, as having reference to themselves; and the Greeks took care not to alarm their vanity, for they exempted them from the charge of barbarism, which they brought against the other nations of Italy; and they styled them the lovers of

* Plato ridicules them for this vanity, by the mouth of the Egyptian priests.

art, the φιλοτεκνοι, from whom, according to Plato, Aristotle, and Theophrastus, they acknowledged with gratitude, that they themselves, had learned and adopted many religious ceremonies and useful arts. Athenæus, speaking of them, says "φιλοτεκνων οντων των Τυρρηνων."

Homer states Æneas to have remained in Phrygia, under the protection of Neptune; and Strabo* adopts the same account, and says that the sons of Hector and Æneas reigned long afterwards in the Troad, and were always distinguished amongst their countrymen. Festus, quoting Agathocles, tells us that Æneas was buried in Berecynthia, near Troy; and Nicolaus Damascenus and Stephanus of Byzantium say that Ascania, in Phrygia, was built by the son of Æneas, and therefore bore his name. All these accounts have on their side, antiquity and probability, and agree with the known facts of the Greeks and Trojans having had no ships equal to long voyages, and of no Greek colony having arrived by sea, in any part of Italy or Sicily, earlier than eighty or a hundred years subsequent to the destruction of Troy. The Pelasgi either coasted, or entered by land from Illyria. The navy of the Greeks at the siege of Troy, had to be drawn upon the shore every night, and the inventions of the anchor, and of the prow, are ascribed by all the ancients, to the Etruscans. Æneas therefore, as Virgil wisely observes, could only come to Italy by the immediate help of the gods, and when he disappeared in the

* lib. xiii.

Numicus, he seems to have returned to the Troad, for the purpose of being buried in his native soil.*

Ascanius, with similar heroic sentiments of magnanimity and patriotism, according to Latin authors, leaves Alba to the Lavinian family of the Sylvii, and their half Etruscan descendants, and returns to Phrygia, where he builds Ascania, and where he reigns and dies, leaving this little kingdom to his son, and showing the Peloponesian Greeks, that though they had overthrown the city, they had not annihilated the dynasty of Priam. Ascanius appears to have taken all his gods back with him also, for when Alba was destroyed, and her temples were spared by Tullus Hostilius,† they are enumerated as those of Janus, Minerfa, Maurs, Vesta, and Carna, three of them Etruscan, and one of them a Latin deity. Besides these, we only know of the great temple of Jupiter Latialis, which belonged to Latium in general, rather than to Alba in particular, and which is said by antiquarians, to be in form and structure, an Etruscan work. Dionysius of Halicarnassus tells us that Ascanius was drowned, and that Alba was founded, thirty years after his death, i. e. one hundred and twenty years after the date at which Virgil brings Æneas and his grown-up son to Laurentum.

After the criticisms of Niebuhr and Müller, we have no occasion to prove, that Æneas never landed in Italy, and that Evander and his Arcadians are a creation of those, who required their assistance to make up a story. Nevertheless, Virgil in his epic

* See Ancient History, vol. iv. p. 499.

† Strabo v.

tale, works up old Italian traditions, and these at least are worth examining. Virgil informs us that in the days of Tarchun, that is, during the time of his supremacy in Italy, between the settlement of Etruria and the foundation of Rome, the Tuscans had many brave chiefs, whose names old songs or old annals had preserved to his day. Virgil, in order to give life and reality to his poem, takes the oldest names of all the ruling families in Italy, and brings them to the aid, either of Æneas or of his rival Turnus, just as our supposed author of the poem of Arthur, might bring Ina of Wessex, and Offa of Mercia, to fight against King Arthur, whilst he invited Fingal and Ossian from Scotland, to come to his hero's assistance.

Virgil gives us Abas of Volterra, who leads the troops of Populonia and Ilva.* Massicus of Vulci, who brings a thousand warriors† and their followers from Alsium and Cosa. Osinius of Clusium‡ with a third band, who, like the chiefs of the maritime states, sends his troops by sea, though his shortest road would have been by Voltumna; and Messapus of Falescii, the son of Neptune, i. e. king of the people of Falescii, or Halesus, the naval hero of Etruria, who is always called the son of Neptune. Messapus brings his men, from the lake Ciminus near Voltumna, and from Feronia, near the fort of Veii. And old Halesus, himself, is made to extend forward his existence and dominion, and to come from Vulturum in Campania with the Sidicini, the Auruncii, and the Massici, intimating that Vulturum or Capua,

* Lib. x.

† x.

‡ x.

was colonized from Faleseii, and that it ruled over those tribes, which Halesus is said to have brought with him. Halesus, the founder of Alsium and Falisci, and the son of Neptune, was the last of a princely family, and a very favourite hero with the Etruscans.* We hear often of him, because Falisci bordered upon both the Latin tribes, of the Romans and of the Rutuli.

Astur, the first Etruscan prince of Cere, commands the troops of Agylla, Pyrgi, and Gravisca. Ocnus is a hero who comes with his men from Virgil's own Mantua, because Ocnus of Perugia, was said to have colonized Mantua. Auletes, a Cortonian or Perugian, who also colonized across the Po, the brother chief, and rival of Ocnus, is, for the same reason, said to have headed the troops of the Benacus and the Mincio, or the Lago di Guarda. The territory of Auletes must not only have been wealthy and populous, but he must have been possessed of some port on the Turrhene sea, as he is made to bring with him one hundred ships.

Asylas, the renowned chief and Augur from Pisa, is made to come with a Lucumo's band of one thousand men. It is not impossible that Romulus may have dedicated his place of refuge to the Asylean god, with reference to this Asylas, though we cannot fix his date, and know so few particulars concerning him. Most learned men consider the Asylean god to have been Jupiter, because Dionysius says that in his day, the Roman asylum was consecrated to Jove; and as asylums were old religious institutions

* Dempster.

common in Italy at the time of Romulus,* they may, with great probability, have owed their origin to Asylas, who, being an Augur, would give the command to dedicate them, as from Jupiter, and they would throughout Italy henceforward bear his name. Though asylums, as far as we know, first obtained amongst the Jews, who had sacred cities set apart for the unfortunate,† the idea of instituting them would naturally come into the minds of merciful and reflecting men, especially Augurs, wherever social hardships, such as slavery for debt, &c., seemed to require them; and it is a very common thing for pious minds, when any thought unusually wise or great, presents itself to them, to attribute that thought to inspiration, or, in Asylas's language, "to the gods," without any intention to deceive or to impose upon their fellow-creatures. Livy‡ mentions the asylums of Tibur and Præneste.

Virgil gives us further, amongst the old heroes, the names of Acron, king of Cortona or Corytus; Aulestes, Tarquitiu, Seculus, Rhætus, Antæus, and Aruns, and he represents the Umbrians as faithfully supporting the Tuscan side.§ Umbro, the priestly warrior, leads to the battle his band of Manubians, from which we might be led to imagine that Manubiæ was an Umbrian word. Rhamnes, (an Etruscan name, according to Varro,) a king and Augur, Virgil represents as against Æneas, and so also was Mezentius the Etruscan rebel and tyrant. Along with

* Micali Storia. L. iv. i. 8.

† Livy xii.

‡ Numb.

§ Æneid xii.

these, he ranges Clausus of the Sabines, the supposed ancestor of the Claudian family; and Camilla queen of the Volsci, with several of her female companions, which gives us a curious tradition as to the condition of women amongst the earliest Italians. We think this must be referred to the Etruscans, because there are instances of their women going out with the troops at a later period of their history, and because they pre-eminently, if not alone, amongst the Italian nations seem to have regarded women from the very first, as the partners, friends, and companions of men. Camilla of the Volsci may have been some queen of the Vulci, of whom Virgil records the eccentricity and courage, and she wears the purple mantle, which the Tuscans introduced. But supposing Virgil not to mean the Vulci, but the Volsci proper, they were early and very long subjects of the Rasena, and during that period, it is even more probable that their kings and queens would have been Etruscan.

It is plain that if Æneas never set foot in Italy, Abas, Asinius, and Asylas, could not go forth to meet him; but it is not therefore plain, that these men had no existence, and that their memories and their deeds of valour, were not familiar in the mouths of their countrymen, and were not inscribed in the annals of their respective states. They may very likely, have been generals of the League, at various periods prior to the foundation of Rome, and they may have figured in the wars of Laurentum, and Lavinium, and Turnus, (which Niebuhr believes to

have been a town of the Rutuli,) and Ardea; and they may have fought both for and against them, long prior to the time when Alba sent forth her last colony. The songs of Ossian and the Percy Relics, in our own country, show us how the memories of local heroes remain enbalméd in the hearts of the people, though no trace of their fame, and no record of their deeds, are to be found in general history. There is an old song, now in vogue amongst the peasants in Normandy, which proves, notwithstanding the desolating ravages of the French Revolution, and its attempts to sweep away all that was monarchical and time-honoured in the land, how ineffaceable are the sacred feelings of natural and national gratitude, in the breasts of the common people, and how enduring and unquenchable are those feelings, when they spring warm from the national heart.

“ Le bon Roi Dagobert
Mettait ses culottes à l’envers,
Le bon St. Eloi, lui dit mon bon roi
Votre Majesté est mal culotté
He bien ! lui dit le Roi
Donne moi les tiens, et je les mettrai,” &c.*

It is a truth, that those who never heard of Louis Seize, and of the miseries which their fathers suffered

* The peasant who sang this song, containing a long history of the reign of Dagobert, knew of no revolution excepting 1830, and of the remaining French monarchs, who preceded Napoleon le Grand, he only knew of the existence of Charlemagne, Hugh Capet, Henri Quatre, and Louis XIV.

before him, and after him, can yet sing of Dagobert, his poverty, his benevolence, and his weakness; and of the counsels of his minister, le bon St. Eloi, all true to history. Those, in like manner, who never heard of Manlius, may have known the acts of Abas, and Osinius, who were not further removed from their times, than Dagobert from the present French.

The Etruscan kings, excepting as the founders of cities, or as generals of the League, could be but very little known to Italian history in general, unless it were here and there some Augur, like Asylas, far renowned for wisdom, and therefore requested to visit the other states, either as an umpire or a councillor.

Virgil mentions two Etruscan princes who lived at this period and who were cotemporaries, Mezentius and Astur, the one of whom colonized Ardea of the Rutuli, and the other Agylla of the Pelasgi; and they probably flourished not many generations after Tarchun. Niebuhr and Müller agree that they were native heroes, and that Virgil gives the correct Italian tradition respecting them. Mezentius was a Tarquinian who rebelled against Tarchun, i. e. against his laws, being unable to submit his proud and turbulent spirit to their absolute and equal rule. Such a man could not have arisen in the lifetime of Tarchun, or he would have made a house divided against itself; nor was he likely to arise, until the chiefs felt too equal amongst each other, so as to require a strong hand

to keep them in their proper places, and a real as well as a nominal head.

Mezentius, it would appear, claimed or attempted to usurp the sovereignty, and was therefore expelled from Tarquinia, upon which, he and his clan retired to the Isopolitan, independent, and neighbouring state, of Agylla. The town was walled, and the sentries were keeping their watches, when Mezentius and his band appeared. Strabo relates* that when he spoke to the soldiers, they answered "Kaire;" and if they were Greeks, it was a most natural salutation to a body of supposed friends, and it was equally natural that they should allow him to enter the city without fear, as he had a right to live in it if he chose. Mezentius, however, most unlike an Etruscan, came not in the spirit of peace, but in the lust of dominion and with an arrogant thirst for power. He seized the government, and forced the Agyllans to fight his battles against the assembled Tuscan forces. In this point of view, he comes down to us as the first of those turbulent and restless spirits who by their pride and lawlessness, brought on the ruin of Etruria, and, therefore, in so far as Virgil records tradition truly, he must have lived some generations later than Tarchun.

After he had seized Agylla, he allied himself with the Rutuli, the Sabines of Amiternum and Tetrica, and the Falisci; who, as Messapus their chief is called the nephew of Turnus, may possibly have had many Rutulian families mingled

* Strabo v.

with the first Etruscan colonists, in the Senates of their chief towns. Mezentius had also on his side, the tribe of Rhamnes, which was probably Etruscan from its name (according to Varro, iv.) and the troops of the Vulci. He was personally opposed by Acron, king of Cortona,* whom he is said to have killed, and by Astur,† whom we presume to have been the prince of Gravisca, because we find the men of Gravisca under his command, and afterwards associated with his new subjects in Cære. Mezentius was a bold and daring warrior, and seems to have been the victor in many a well-fought field. Whilst prince of Agylla, he took prisoners, men against whom he burnt with the fiercest indignation, and he tied the living to the dead amongst these miserable captives, a cruelty which the people never forgot and never pardoned.

It is probable that he used in this manner, some of the Agyllan Senate, for had he done it to his enemies only, his new subjects would have been little excited about the matter. But as it was, they rose against him, burnt his palace, and drove him, his son Lausus, and all his clan, out of the city, and took as their protector, Astur of Tarquinia, who was in all likelihood lying before the town with his troops. They admitted him, and three hundred Graviscan families into their city, and from this time, joined the Etruscan League, and proclaimed themselves the people of Tarchun. It is indeed very possible that Astur, after expelling Mezentius, may have left

* Virgil.

† Ibid.

them no choice as to whether they would remain independent or become Etruscan; but however that might be, Caere, from this time forward, was united to the twelve states, and continued to be so, until the day of the Rasena was closed. Virgil says, that

“Agylla was torn by the Lydian, from the Tuscan race;”

but as the Ludin were the Tuscans, and Tyrrhenus the captain of these Ludin was Tarchun, we can attach no weight to this line of poetry. Virgil* in several parts of his poem, calls the Tuscans Lydians.

Though at the time of this war, or not long after, Latium, Sabina, and Etruria, were so thickly peopled, that in many districts, there was not more than two miles from one walled town to another, each containing many thousands of people, and including several square miles of territory;† still Mezentius's name might never have been remembered beyond the bounds of Etruria, had he not, when driven from Caere, attacked the Laurentini, and joined Ardea and Turnus in their quarrel against Lavinium.‡ Mezentius took the command, gave the Laurentini battle, and was victorious, slaying the Latin king; after which, as the terms of peace, he imposed upon his adversaries a tribute of all the wine of Latium. The young king, whom Virgil calls Iulus, was re-

* Æneid. vii. &c,

† Gell.

‡ As Lavinium was not founded until 100 years after the dedication of Etruria by Tarchun, Mezentius must have been at least by so many years posterior to him.

solved not to submit to so unjust an imposition, and dedicated the tithe of the wine to Jupiter, sending for answer to Mezentius, that he could not yield, to make peace with man, that which would make him at war with heaven, for that the Latin wine belonged to the Latin gods.

Lausus the son of Mezentius, encamped near Lavinium, meaning to attack it, but being surprised by a night sortie,* he was routed and slain. Mezentius, who does not appear to have been an Augur, was perhaps terrified at this, and may have been afraid of lightning striking him, if he persisted in his demand, and therefore he granted more reasonable terms, and concluded a peace, which fixed the Tiber as the bounds of Latium towards the east. This boundary we find remaining in the days of Romulus, and all historians agree that it marked to a much later epoch, the limits of the Tuscan territories, though Virgil says, it was fixed by a rebel who had deserted from them. Mezentius, according to the custom of the Tuscans, changed the name of Agylla, and called it Cære, the C sounding hard, and the authors of the Ancient History think that in Etruscan, it may have meant the same as Keri, כְּרִי a city, by way of eminence.

Mezentius† after this, retired with his followers,

* Dionysius.

† Cato (in Macrob. Satur.) says that Mezentius was impious because he demanded the tribute of the wine. The story of Mezentius is taken from Livy, Virgil, Dion. Hal., and the Ancient History.

called in round numbers 1000 men, to Ardea, and gave that city the strong Etruscan character which marked its refinements, and its peculiarities. From Virgil's poem we judge that Ardea was frequently the ally of the Falisci, Ceriti, Tarquinii, and Vulcii; from Pliny* we know that it was renowned for painting and sculpture, before the days of Rome, and from Livy we read of its almost inaccessible fortifications, and immensely strong walls, which are built in parallelograms, after the Tuscan fashion, and where some of the old right-angled streets may still be distinguished. The present town occupies only the ground of the ancient citadel, and is one-sixth of its former extent. Virgil† calls the inhabitants Argives, and again in the same book, speaks of them as Rutuli, Aurunci, and Sicani, whom Gell considers to have been all the same people, i. e. tribes of Latins. No doubt Mezentius died in exile at Ardea, where Virgil says, he killed himself.

Though his life is marked by not one virtue, yet as it is distinguished by several great events, he has every right to appear before us, as an historical character. In his day, Agylla changed its name, and was added to the Tuscan League. Ardea was civilized, and settled by a large Etruscan colony. Wine, introduced by the first king of the Tuscans, was abundantly cultivated in Latium. Lavinium was founded, and the boundaries of Etruria Proper to the east were fixed, being in truth the boundaries of Falisci and Cære on the side of Latium.

* xxxv.

† Ænd. vii.

Though Virgil says that Mezentius changed the name of Agylla to Cære, it is much more probable that Astur was the person who changed it, when he incorporated the town and territory with the other members of the League. The authors of the Ancient History think that the name comes from the Hebrew *keri* כרי, a city, and though we find it mentioned in history by both names, even so late as the Phocian war, yet the Etruscan state never appears in any catalogue of the dynasties of the League, excepting under the name of Keri or Caere. Virgil says that Astur was distinguished by his skilful horsemanship and beautiful armour.

Both Niebuhr and Müller agree that Mezentius was a real personage, and though his field of action was not large, he has left a name like other men of his stamp,

“At which the world grew pale,
To point a moral and adorn a tale.”

He was self-willed and lawless, sacrilegious and cruel. These qualities go together, for those who do not venerate the gods, will not respect the rights of their fellow-men. The Tarquinians, though subject to despotic power, and though he strove to govern them by means of armed foreigners, perhaps paid Latins or Pelasgi, would not endure his tyranny, but drove him away and banished him for ever. Men who are governed by law must be essentially free, though their sovereign may be called absolute, just as men who live without law must be slaves, even though their government should be called

democratic. This has been proved by every revolution, and is in the nature of things. Slavery and degrading dependence, are submission to arbitrary despotism, not to absolute power, and no man lives in the dignity and security of a rational being, who is not subject to fixed principles, and to known and inflexible laws.

The authors of the Ancient History consider Agylla to be a genuine Etruscan name, as well as Cære, and derive the word from גלא, G.L.A or Gylla, a spring, to which add the Heemantee letter א; or again, from גלה, of the same pronunciation, which means “emigration or expulsion,” and if to these letters א be prefixed, it gives us “Agylla,” the very name in question. Agylla and Cære may as easily have been confounded together by the Greek and Latin historians, as Falisci and Faleria, which is continually done. Cere lies upon the “Aquæ Ceritanæ,” or springs of Ceri; and “Emigration,” might intimate, that the inhabitants who settled in that place had come to Italy from some distant land. As this state could not have been known to the Greeks, excepting through Tuscan vessels, and after it had become subject to Etruscan dominion, there is reason to think that with them, it long continued to bear both names; Agylla, very possibly signifying the territory, and Cære the city; and the latter name may have gradually taken the place of the former, because the city of Cære comes prominently forward in Latin history, and the “Jus Ceriti” is the name by which its municipal relation with Rome is always

expressed. In common with Jerusalem and Salem, York and Eboracum, &c. it may for ages have been distinguished by either appellation indifferently.

Strabo (v.) says that Agylla was first built by the Pelasgi, who were driven out of Greece by the Hellenes; and though this is merely a guess, it is not impossible. It is certain that the ships of Agylla or Cære, had much earlier and more advantageous commerce with Grecia Proper, and with Magna Grecia, than any of the other Tuscan states, which occasioned an amity and alliance between the Agyllans and the Greeks, greater than between the Greeks and any of the more northern maritime states, who probably disliked and despised them, and who therefore seized their vessels, and long baffled all their attempts to penetrate further up the Turrhene sea. For this reason, the Greeks describe the Agyllans with peculiar favour, call them more just than their countrymen, and say that they not only abstained from piracy themselves, but repressed it in their neighbours, for they were bound by the laws of Tages to protect their allies, and "not to suffer them to be attacked." Doubtless upon this account, the Greeks were glad to associate the Agyllans with themselves in Delphi, and to find out that they were originally of the Thracian stock, even as they afterwards discovered that the Romans were descended from the royal house of Priam, as soon as it became indispensable to regard them as a race worthy of historic celebrity.

The Agyllans, Strabo says, had a treasure at Delphi before the time of the Phocian war; and this, Dionysius states to have been a thank-offering for the expulsion of the Siculi, and refers it to the days before the fall of Troy,—a manner of expression with Greek writers, like our own "before the memory of man," and which merely means that it antedates written history. The Pelasgi and the Rasena of Agylla were gratified to find a temple, with which they could identify themselves in the land of Greece, and if we presume alliance and Isopolity to have existed between them and any town near Delphi, such as afterwards certainly took place between Tarquinia and Corinth, the Agyllans would naturally join at the shrine of Apollo, or perhaps in those early days, of their own Neptune, and would celebrate along with the natives, the great festivals of the Grecian people.

The Pelasgi of Agylla had been so long familiar with Etruscan usages, when they were conquered by Mezentius, that in receiving Astur, and in joining themselves indissolubly to the Etruscan league, they may rather be said to have provided for their future peace, than to have sacrificed their existing freedom. They simply guarded themselves against that conquest and tyranny, which it was at any time, at the option of Tarquinia to exercise, and they enlarged their power without any balancing infraction of their independence, or diminution of their dignity. They kept their own gods, and their own customs, as before, only superadding to them, those of their

neighbours; and it is highly probable that Cære was the state through which Etruscan civilization first took deep root in Rome, and that the Cerites owned for sovereigns Janus and Amense, a king and a queen of the Rasena, afterwards numbered amongst the demi-gods of the Latins.

Pyrgi, now San Severa, is usually considered to have been the port of Agylla, though Gell doubts if they were not different places, because Strabo (v.) says that the port of Agylla was fifty stadii distant from Pyrgi. This place was towered and fortified, and possessed a harbour crowded with ships, and a castle, on the site of which San Severa now stands, and which in ancient days, protected the rich and holy temple of Eluthya, the Goddess of Victory or Delivery, answering to an Egyptian divinity of the same name, in the Thebaid. Aristotle ascribes the temple of Pyrgi to Leucothœ, and both of the names express Greek versions of Etruscan stories; either concerning the Rasenan Goddess of Delivery and Victory, or, as is more likely, of the nymph Bygœ, who, Servius says, received and nourished Tages; or else of the royal muse Camese or Carmenta, the goddess of married women, for the Latins translated Eluthya to mean Bona Dea, Mater Matuta, and Lucina. Bacchus, who was nursed by Leucothœ, was not known in Etruria until after both Eluthya and Pyrgi were in ruins. Indeed Cære itself perished with all that made it powerful or renowned, as soon as it sank under the dominion of Rome, and this is probably the reason why only the translated

and not the native names have been preserved to us, of the more ancient, and to Latin writers almost unknown, temple of Eluthya and town of Pyrgi.

From the Agyllan goddess Eluthya being called also Leucothœ and Ino, it is supposed that she was a maritime divinity; but this does not follow, any more than that the Virgin Mary should be maritime, because churches and shrines are erected to her honour upon the sea shore. It is sufficient for the allegory, that Camese and Bygœ were both princesses of a maritime people. Ino, according to the Greeks, was the daughter of Cadmus and Harmonia, i. e. she was descended from an Eastern and Ludin ancestry, and was renowned for her poetical or musical talents, and both of these attributes will apply to Camese and Bygœ of the Tuscans. Both Cære, and Falleria the capital of the next state, were long renowned for oracles which delivered their answers in verse.

Virgil mentions Messapus, the L.ch.m., Lucumo, or captain of the men of Feronia and Ciminia.* He is said to have given his name to that part of Calabria, filled with Etruscan towns, called Messapia; and this may either mean that Messapus really headed the Faliscian colonies, when they settled in Calabria, or that these colonies came from the country and dominions of Messapus, and therefore called their new territory by his name. Virgil deals with Messapus as with Dido, and honours him by making him worthy to measure swords with the intrepid wanderer Æneas, and the valiant hero Tarchun.

* Æn. vi. 691. viii. 6. ix. 27.

Evander, the Arcadian Greek, who welcomed Æneas, appears to have been a Pelasgic Sabine, who wandered with his cattle, from the little town of Palantium,* near Reati, and built a small village on the Palatine Hill, above the Tiber.

In the days of Evander, of Messapus, Mezentius and Astur, i. e. in the uncertain but earliest period of the Rasena, we must place Janus, Camese and Bygöe, three noted Etruscan heroic characters of the very olden time. King Janus is said to have been an Etruscan prince, who had a palace, and afterwards a temple,† on the Janiculum, which was named from him; and he is said to have introduced into Latium wine, and the games of the Saturnalia. He was fond of agriculture, and took much charge of the vineyards, oliveyards, and corn-fields, like king Uzziah of Judah,‡ who yet did not belong to a very primitive people. He was much beloved by his subjects, and yet was killed by them in a drunken§ tumult, because, when the wine mounted to their heads, they fancied that their prince, whom Plato calls a benefactor to Italy, had poisoned them. All this may refer to the institutions of Tarchun merely, and may convey in allegory, that wine makes men mad, and that drunkenness and licentiousness render noxious, the otherwise innocent joy of commemorative feasts and public carnivals. But, on the other hand, there is nothing improbable in a Tuscan Lucumo named Janus, having a country

* Gell.

† Pliny, iii. 5. Ovid. Fast. i.

‡ 2 Chron. xxvi. 10.

§ Plut.

seat, or large farm, upon the Janiculum,* the very outskirts of Etruria, and of his being a benefactor to the Latins, the Sabines, and the Pelasgi, in his immediate neighbourhood. As Janus is said to have been introduced into Rome from Falisci, this Janus, supposing him to have been different from Tarchun, was either a sovereign of the Faliscii, or some Faliscian prince, who built a temple to Janus upon the hill above the Tiber, which hill was hence called Janiculum; and it is not unlikely that, on some occasion of the Saturnalia, he may have offered sacrifices here, and have been killed in a drunken frolic, which occurred during the games.

Janus, according to the Ancient History,† married Venilia, who bore him a son named Fontus,‡ in honour of whom, yearly feasts were kept amongst the Romans, called Fontinalia. Besides Fontus, he had four daughters. Others say that he was the father of Tiberinus, King of Veii, who was succeeded by Vertumnus or Vadimon, and then by Aunus. Yet Janus's sister Camese, and none of these descendants, ruled immediately after himself. There can be no doubt that the acts of Janus and of Tarchun have been often confounded together, the one being the first king of Etruria, and the other, perhaps, the first transplanter of Etruscan civilization beyond the Tiber. In popular songs, and traditionary history, the acts of twenty

* Story of Janus, given by Cato, Cicero, and Festus; also Antient History and Plut.

† xvi. 64.

‡ Arnob.

different Januses would all be melted into one, and it is vain for us, at this distance of time, to attempt to distinguish them. Fontus, the son of Janus, may have been a man, a town, or an institution. The succession of his sister Camese may mean her succession from a sister state. Tiberinus or Deheberis, the king of Veii, and a general of the league, may have been descended from the original Janus, in the sense of being an Etruscan, or from the secondary Janus, in the sense of being a Faliscian. Vertumnus, the god of orchards, naturally springs from the great improver of Latin horticulture; and Vadimon, from whom the Vadimonian Sea received its name, we find again in the territory of Falisci, and in that sense, he may have been the son of any former Faliscian prince. We see this figure in the Scriptures, where the king of Judah is always called the son of David. The four daughters of Janus, after the same figure, may mean any four towns colonized by the Faliscians.

Anus, or Anius, according to Alexander Polyhistor, was the grandfather of Latinus, the king of Laurentum, in whose days Lavinia was founded. Probably Latinus, like Vejo, and other names of that class, means simply a prince of the Latins, of any name or date whatever. Livy, Virgil, and all the writers of their time, give the legendary predecessors of Latinus, as descending from father to son, but the early Italian successions were by election, and not by hereditary right; therefore, in all probability, none of these princes, admitting them to have been

real men, and to have followed each other, were of the same family.

After Janus we find in ancient history, next in order, the Queen Camese or Camense; a name which reminds us of the Egyptian sovereign Queen Amese* or Amense. She is said to have been the sister of Janus, and to have succeeded him. It is probable, from the territory about the Janiculum having been called after her name, Camasene, and having been dedicated to her, that she was at the head of the vestal virgins, like the revered Egyptian Queen Nofre-ari. She seems to have been the same as Camæna of the Latins, or Carmenta, or Carmina, the muse of song, the undying Sybil, the oracle of justice, called also Tethys;† and no doubt her talents for song, and her fame for wisdom and justice, gave to her cotemporaries the impression of inspiration, and therefore both raised her to the throne, and kept her upon it. Romulus is said, by Plutarch, to have consulted the Tuscan oracle, "Tethys or Themis," which is the same as Carmina or Camæna; and this could be no other than the oracle of Camese, the sister of Janus. Her shrines were honoured by the Latins, the Sabines, and the Tuscans; and, as she is the only sovereign priestess we read of amongst the Rasena, it may have been her tomb which was discovered at Agylla-Cære by General Galassi, and the Arci-Prete Regulini, in A. D. 1838, in which case, she only received the honours which were her unquestionable due. She

* Rosell.

† Plut. in Rom.

had pre-eminently a right amongst Etruscan women, to engrave upon her cups "*Mi Larthia*," for she was gifted with genius and virtue, as well as with exalted birth and talents. Amongst her strong-minded but unimaginary countrymen, Camese had a claim to the golden breastplate and the priestly crown, to the bracelets and the girdle, the silver censers and the heaps of perfume, which were found in that most ancient and most honoured grave, the name and fame of whose inhabitant, her nation vainly fancied, could never—never be forgotten.

It is, indeed, humbling to the pride of man, that the wisest and the greatest, the most revered and the most godlike of our race, must mark his last resting-place with the same care, and in the same manner, as the most insignificant, and the most contemptible, if he would have it kept in remembrance amongst his fellows. Beauty, wit, genius, talent, knowledge, glory, power, and virtue itself, leave us, and may walk and dazzle in other worlds; but the dust in which they shone here, the once half-worshipped dust, mingles again with its kindred clay, and soon cannot be distinguished from the soil beneath our feet. Alas! knowledge shall fade away; power shall become impotent; genius shall be heard of no more. What then can last? What can endure the wreck "of elements and crush of worlds?" Even such fame as finds its record in the hearts of a grateful nation, for those who have been, in their day of power, the consolers and improvers, as well as the commanders of the people.

Carmenta, the Tuscan goddess, consulted by Romulus, had feasts in her honour called *Carmentalia*; she gave oracles in verse, and she became the goddess of married women, being the chief of matrons, which does not at all militate against her, having been the chief of the Vestal virgins previously. Numa, the Sabine, who honoured and adopted the civil and religious institutions of Janus, according to Plutarch, consulted Camene, who could be no other than this same person.

Cato (*de Origin.*) calls Camese the brother of Janus; but this we take to be a version of the same sort with Alexander Polyhistor, who, when speaking of the Hebrews, calls their leader "*Moso, a woman!*" Macrobius, in the *Saturnalia*, says, Camese was a foreigner, placed upon the throne by Janus. Athenæus and Servius make her his sister and his wife; i. e. she lived near his time, and was one with his spirit.

Next to Camese in feminine renown, comes the priestess and Sybil Bygoë, who was doubtless a princess and a Vestal also, and who wrote a commentary in verse* upon the laws of Tages, and a treatise upon the science of lightning. To none but a woman of the highest rank and most commanding powers, would the Augurs have intrusted a knowledge of this art, and only from such a one would a treatise upon religion and a commentary upon civil government have been suffered, much less have been received with respect. She was

* Servius vi. 72.

deeply instructed in natural history, otherwise she could not have written upon lightning; and she was well versed in the genius of Etruscan rule, or she would not have been said, as Servius affirms, to have received Tages and to have nourished him. We know nothing positive of her beyond these few facts, but it is evident that she lived in the earliest ages of Etruria, and many have supposed her to be the same with Carmenta, because they could not understand how so deeply revered a woman should not have had oracles and shrines erected to her honour. She is sometimes represented upon antique gems with Tages in her arms, and has thus, as we have observed already, been confounded with the nymph Leucothoë, who received Bacchus. If Bygoë were ever worshipped and semi-deified in Etruria, it was no doubt at the great Etruscan temple of Elythia at Pyrgi, which Aristotle calls the temple of Leucothoë, the name he would naturally have given to the shrine of the nymph who received and educated Tages. As Bacchus was unknown until nearly the extinction of the Etruscan dominion, we have no occasion to prove that the rich temple of Pyrgi was not that of Leucothoë.

The verses of Bygoë were taught in the Etruscan schools, and without question, the fair rhymes and useful maxims of many an after minstrel, came to be incorporated with them, and were ascribed to her, as this has ever been the case with ancient poets of celebrity, and with names preserved in national popular songs. Bygoë and Camea were in Rome,

soon confounded with the other Sybils, and their verses served to augment the treasures of the sybilline books. These books were usually made of the leaves of palm trees,* like those of the Burmese now, or of linen, or of tablets of wood covered with a thin coating of wax, and they were written upon, with a small pointed style of bronze or of iron.

No dominion is ever ascribed to Bygoë, but that of mental superiority and sanctified wisdom; and though she usurped not power, which was more rightfully lodged in the hands of others, tradition says of her, that she once killed an ox by whispering in his ear† the name of the Holy One, which probably means, that she awed some strong and stupid, and perhaps brutal Lucumo, a *Front de Bœuf* of the olden world, by her quiet and unmoved vindication of the superiority and reality of inspired laws and divine superintendence.

One ancient hero shines forth like a spectre from the mists of antiquity, to whom the actions of several others have no doubt been attributed. We mean Malæotus, king of Tarquinia and Cere, called also King of all the Pelasgi in that part of Italy; a man who carried on commerce and intercourse with Greece, who lived near Gravisca, at the spot afterwards called Regis Villa,‡ who made a voyage to Athens, and who, as some say, died there. Malæotus may have been a general of the League, which would occasion his name to be remembered in Italy, or he

* Virgil. Symmachus. Livy.

† Müller in loco.

‡ Strabo v. 225.

may have lived in the days of Homer, and have been heard of in Greece, through ships that came to Argos or Corinth, from Tarquinia or Pyrgi, over one of which states he may have been prince, with a very different name from that, by which alone we can identify him. As general of the League, he would certainly rule all the Turrheni Pelasgi, and as head of any of the maritime states, he would encourage commerce, and may, by his ships, have visited Athens. His name has so few incidents attached to it, that we can but mention him and dismiss the subject, observing that the Pelasgi had no princes, and no commerce, before the arrival of Tarchun, and that after his arrival, Tarquinia and Gravisca owned no rulers but Etruscan.

Meleus of Pisa, is a Lar or General mentioned by Virgil and Pliny, who ruled all Turrhenia, and to whom they ascribe the invention of the trumpet, which may perhaps mean its introduction into Latium. Clusius, whom Virgil calls an Etruscan monarch, we are inclined to think, is only a word expressing, in the Latin manner, the imperial general from Clusium, and we believe that it does not designate the name of any particular individual.

CHAPTER XV.

CIVILIZATION OF CENTRAL AND NORTHERN UMBRIA.

WE must now proceed to give an account of the general colonization and civilization of Italy by the Etruscans. This they commenced by the founding of certain cities, some particulars of which have come down to us, and we shall take them as far as we can, in chronological order. The first on record is "Ameria of the Umbri," consecrated according to Etruscan rites, and keeping a yearly founder's feast. Its date, according to Pliny and Cato,* is 964 years before the war with Perseus, consequently fifty-three years after the dedication of Tarquinia, 1134 B. C.; and in Roman times, it used to boast of its great antiquity, though we are acquainted with no other claim which it could make to distinction. It was probably governed entirely by Umbrians, as it is always called "Ameria of the Umbri." Spoleto is said to be of the same age, and we may also refer to about this time, Ikuvine or Gubbio, Tutere or Todi, Nocera, Interamna, Nequino, Sarsina, Sen-

B. C.
CENT.
XL. &
X.

* Pliny iii. 14.

tinu, and Mevania,* all of which are said to have been founded by Tuscan rites, and some of which occasionally come before us, as "*Pars Tusciæ*," though all in Umbria. Sentinu reminds us of the Sentinate, whose sepulchres are now found at Chiusi and Tarquinia.

In Etruria Proper, Fiesole is the only colony, the date of which we know with any accuracy, and it is said in round numbers, to have been founded 1000 years before Florence, which Sylla built to take its place, and to prevent its ever again rising into consequence. This makes the æra of Fiesole 1090 B. C., and the Etruscans prosecuted here the wonderful waterworks which they had first tried with such signal success, farther south. They confined the turbulent Arno within deep straight banks, and made on each side of it, such channels as we now see regulating the waters in Holland, thus enabling the inhabitants either to irrigate and drain their fields, or to lay them all under water. At Fiesole, they lowered the lake which surrounded it, and gradually drained it off into the Arno; and they made for this purpose, tunnels through the hill upon which the town stands, which still exist and which may be visited at this day. Fiesole or Felsole was not improbably a colony from Felatria or Volterra, and stands upon an eminence equally inaccessible and striking. Volterra peopled also the great town of Populonia, which was increased at various times, by emigrations or importations from other quarters,

* Micali Storia, l. v. p. 74.

especially from the mines, as it was the great mart for all the ores from Ilva, or Elba, and Corsica.

Volterra must have been the mightiest and most populous town of Etruria, and was continually sending forth colonies, apparently because the circumscribed bounds of her rocky height, did not admit of a sufficient enlargement of her suburbs. Propertius, one of the kings of Volterra, is said by Servius, to have sent forth a colony southwards into the territory of the Faliscii, to the boundary fort of Veii, perhaps then a custom-house and station for waggons, (for *Veja* in Etruscan means a waggon.) Here, they drew the sacred furrow, and raised the stately walls of Veii, having, as it would seem, a domain ceded to them by the Faliscii, in whose country Veii was originally situated, and bounding themselves on the east by Cære, and on the south and west by the Tiber. Veii is said to have been founded by Halesus, as well as by Propertius, because Halesus founded the dynasty of Faliscii, and therefore gave his name to all the works and all the colonies of his people. The city of Veii took for its patron, Talna or Juno, the patron of Faleria, and dedicated a particular family, most likely that of one of the original Senators of Faleria, to be her priests. As Virgil makes no mention of Veii amongst the cities that helped Æneas, antiquaries have inferred that it rose into eminence subsequently to Tarquinia, Agylla, and the other states which he does mention, and that it was founded between the death of Mezentius and the colonization of Rome.

As Veii was often engaged in disputes with the Latins and Sabines, we know several particulars of its history above what we know of the other northern states. Its senate and people, like the other Etruscan dynasties, consisted of more than one race, and the population, Müller thinks, was composed of Sikeli and Etruscans. The Sikeli may mean Latins or Sabines, it being the name of every native tribe. Veii was ruled by a number of wealthy and luxurious sovereigns, all kept in our remembrance by some one remarkable act, but none succeeding each other in the relation of father and son. They were elected from amongst the Lucumoes of the Senate, and had all different names, each being the Head of a different family. This we judge, because all the Etruscan families had their own surnames, like the English, descending from father to son, as is proved by their sepulchral inscriptions; and this enables us to distinguish between the different families.

In fragments of popular songs or stray quotations, we find mention made of the kings of Veii, Morrio, Vejo, Meralus, and Deheberis or Tiberis. King Morrio was author of the Morris Dancers,* i. e. founder of the Salii, a band of priestly warriors, all noble, who danced a kind of sword dance in procession, in honour of Mauors, the god of battles. His altar was on the top of the Monte Musino, surrounded by three terraces which are still visible. The Salii consisted of twelve men, one to represent each

* Servius ad Æn.

Etruscan state, and their order was adopted by Preneste and Tusculum, in imitation of Veii. Morrio is called the son of Halesus, and therefore probably was a Falliscian. He* is said by some authors to have founded Alsium, because he is confounded with Halesus, who was the founder both of Alsium and of Faliscii, and in Eastern phraseology, he was the founder also of all the towns that proceeded from the colonies of either.

In the days of Morrio, according to Servius from Cato the men of Veii made the vow of a sacred spring,† and sent out a colony eighteen years afterwards, with an Augur, to build Capena; a city upon this account, perfectly independent in jurisdiction, but ever most faithfully and affectionately attached to the fortunes of its mother state. It is now called Civita, and the remains of its walls are in the usual Etruscan parallelograms, and give us an idea of the impregnability which Livy‡ attributes to Capena.

King Vejo means the king of Veii, when elected chief of the League without any proper name. King Meralus was probably also a chief of the League; and king Deheberis, Latinized into Tiberis, may have been a real person, who gave his name to the Tiber, his boundary stream. This river he may very possibly have navigated, and in it he is said to have been drowned. Before Deheberis, the name of the Tiber was Rumon, and to us it is known equally as the Rumon or Roman River, and the Tiber. Tiberis ruled over Alba, therefore must

* Vide Dempster.

† Niebuhr. i. 127.

‡ v. 24.

have conquered the Latins, and is called the son of Janus, which means that he was a Tuscan. His time was so remote, that some authors make him cotemporary with the Argonauts, by whom he was killed;* but if he ruled Alba, he could not have reigned until after Alba was founded, and Silvius its first king was dead.

In the government of Veii, lay the Septem Pagi, or the seven villages, so long the object of contention with Rome. It is not easy to account for the greatness of Veii, as it was situated upon no navigable river, and was near no great lake, but it was probably the medium of communication between Pyrgi and Clusium, through Faleria and Volsinia, and it possessed manufactures of bronze and clay, famed for their superior excellence. It would naturally become warlike from being a frontier city, and it probably established both its territory and its power at the time the Tuscans ruled in Latium.

It seems likely that Veii founded Fidene, in the same manner as Capena, for Fidene appears ever to have looked up to Veii, and to have expected succour from her as a mother, whilst at the same time, she always returned to her the affectionate support of a daughter. Dionysius calls Fidene an Alban colony, which may have some reference to its foundation in the days of Tiberis, who ruled Alba. Pliny calls it Sabine, which would lead us to believe that Sabines were admitted into its senate. Livy† tells us that it was Etruscan, and that only a portion

* Dempster.

† i. xv.

of the inhabitants could speak Latin; and when the Romans wanted a spy upon Fidene,* they procured a man from Cære, who understood the Etruscan language and writing, and who did not feel himself, as the Faliscians and Veientes would have done, betraying his own blood. The site of its ancient citadel is now Castel Giubileo.†

One other large town which grew up about this time, was Cosa, the port of Vulci, far more wealthy and better known than the elegant but small metropolis of the Vulcienes. It traded, like Tarquinia, with the ports of the north, and with those of Egypt and Carthage, which may account for the very extraordinary Egyptian relics of high antiquity, which continue still to be found in the sepulchres of Vulci.

The Tuscans of Etruria Proper, after having fully Colonization of Rhætia. peopled their own country, and the province of Umbria, which formed its eastern boundary, still continued to increase in their population, until their numbers became too great for the country to support, and the twelve dynasties agreed, each to send forth a large colony, which should possess and redeem the Padus country, i. e. the vast tract, afterwards possessed by the Gauls, lying upon each side of the Po, and extending from about the 44th degree of north latitude to the Alps. As all this land, bounded on the East by the Veneti, and on the West by the Ligurians, belonged to the Umbri, according to Pliny,‡ we need not wonder that the

* ix.

† Gell.

‡ iii.

Rasena found no difficulty in arranging with them the terms of their settlement, and met with no opposition. The decision of the twelve dynasties must have been concluded at one of the great meetings of Voltumna, and it is probable that they colonized simultaneously, as their movement is called by the Tuscan historians, Flaccus and Cecina, "Tarchon crossing the Po, and founding Etruria Nova." *

The colonies thus planted, were all upon the model of the mother country. Each metropolis was marked out by the plough, and blessed by the Augur; each had its threefold temple, and its three dedicated gates, and each had its massive walls, its garrisoned citadel, its theatre and amphitheatre. Each had also its Lucumoes and Senate, its Plebs and its slaves, its ruling Prince or Lar, and its patron god; and all of them without exception, were subject to the laws of Tages, and gloried in being the people of Tarchun, and in considering themselves as twelve members of one whole. From this it follows, that the northern Etruscans, also had their Voltumna, or place of general meeting, and their feast of brotherly union, though whether dedicated to the same goddess or to another, we have no means of knowing. It is to be presumed that they often sent deputies to Voltumna in Tarquinia, and that the twelve mother states frequently sent deputies to them, but there was no obligation for the one to attend the meetings of the other, nor was there any such bond

* Servius *Æn.* x.

between them, as to make it needful for the one to be acquainted with the councils of the other.

Like all the colonies, of all the people of Ludin, "Etruria Nova" was wholly independent of the country whence she sprung; she carried forward with her the domestic manners, the national modes of thought, and the civilization of Etruria Proper, and she was bound to it by lasting ties of gratitude and affection, but never of subjection. She was the friend, but not the servant of Tarchunia; her child, but a child gone out into the world to seek fortune for itself, and consulting no more the authority of home. As the Rasena who settled in Western Umbria, called their country Aturia, or Etruria, in memory of the land of their forefathers, and Turrhenia or Turchunia, in memory of their great chief, so these second Rasena probably called their part of Northern Umbria, "Rasena," in remembrance of their ancient race. It has come down to us in the corrupted form of *Rhœtia*,* and is said to have been named from *Rhœtus*, one of their colonizing kings. We can but go upon probabilities, and faint gleams of light in our researches into Etruria Nova, because its very existence is first made known to us at the period of its downfall. Livy first mentions it in the reign of the Roman king, Tarquin the First, in the year of Tarquinia 560, and we scarcely hear of it again, until the fall of Melpum, one of its largest and greatest cities, which was destroyed at the same time with Veii.† It is certain that all the land

* Livy v. 33. Pliny iii. 20.

† A. R. 358.

which remained to these Northern Rasena, after the conquest of the Gauls, was called Rhœtia,* and was divided into upper and lower; the first extending from the source of the Rhine to the Leck, and the second from the Leck to the Inn, comprehending the country which is now the Tyrol and the Grisons. Their towns in this space were Curia, now Coire, Tridentum now Trent, Belumen, and Feltria. These four were not unlikely spelt Keri or Cære, Tr.t.nte. Vel.m.ne, and Felatri, whence we are inclined to attribute the founding of Feltria to Volterra or Felatri, of Curia to Cære, of Tritente to Tutere of the Umbri, united with the men of Faliscii; and of Velumen or Velumne to some of those Northern States, in which we now find the sepulchres of the family of Velumne; one of the chief Magnates of Etruria.

In after ages, the northern Rasena were confined within the space of Rhœtia Proper, where they lost their commerce and their maritime character, and where they had no neighbours, but the Germans on the one side, and the Gauls on the other; they then forgot their pristine refinement, and became comparatively poor and savage, retaining, as Livy† says, "no traces of their original, except their ancient language, and even that corrupted." Many Etruscan bronzes and inscriptions have been found within the last fifty years, in this district.

* Servius on Georg. ii. Strab. iv. Plin. iii. 20.

† v. 33.

The eight* rich cities conquered by the Gauls, with which these four in their happier days, were in full communion, were Adria, Spina, Kupra, Fulsinia, Melpum, Mediolanum, Verona, and Mantua; and of these, the two last keep their ancient name. Mediolanum is Milan, though under the Tuscans, it must have borne some other designation, perhaps Met.lun, Mediolanum being Gallic. Melpum was so rich and powerful a city, that its loss caused the ruin of all the others, and it was regarded by the northern Tuscans, in the same light as Veii by the southern. Felsina, called also Bononia, and now Bologna, is described by Pliny as the capital of northern Etruria, and along with Mantua, it comes prominently forward in Latin history. Felsinius, mentioned by Virgil, was probably the ruler of this city, and general of the northern league. It was in all likelihood founded by Felsune or Volsinia, (the tribe of artists,) which it so much resembles in name.

Kupra, near the modern Ripra Santone, was the city of the great and universally venerated Etruscan goddess, Juno. It may be a doubt whether Kupra did not signify Juno in the Egyptian or Lybian form only, in which she was worshipped at Veii, and in which she appeared, when she stood alone as the object of adoration, whilst Talna might be her name as the wife of Jupiter, and as one of the great Triad.

* Authorities for these cities, &c.: Livy v. 33; xxxix. 55. Strabo v. 214—218. Pliny iii. 15, 16, 19. Scylax.

Both names are given to Juno in the bronze specchj, and the thought is suggested, because the female form of Egyptian Jupiter is "Tamon," which form standing alone is Neith, or Minerva; and it is not unworthy of remark, that Lanuvian Juno, the only remaining statue which we have, representing the Etruscan Juno, and which Dionysius says is like the Argive Hera, is Juno in a dress which might be mistaken for that of Minerva. This statue is to be seen in the Vatican. Temples to Kupra, the Tuscan warlike Juno, seem to have abounded in all the Tuscan settlements.

Adria* and Spina† were both great commercial towns upon the coast, and the former gave its name to the whole gulf of Venice, called by the ancients, the Adriatic Sea. At Adria or Hatria, the houses were all built with a court, universal to the Tuscans, but called by the Latins from this town, Atria. Varro tells us, "Atrium appellatum est ab Atrialibus Tuscis," i. e. from Hatria. Its name upon the coins is Hathri and Tah. We have already quoted the testimony of Pliny,‡ as to the whole district of Adrianus having once belonged to the Umbri, who upon first entering Italy, conquered it from the Siculi.

Mantua, the birth-place of Virgil, was founded from Perugia, and he relates the tradition that Bianor, the son of Manto, named the city after his mother.§ Antiquarians believe this Manto to have

* Adria Tuscan: Plin. iii. Varro, l. v. † Müller, 3, 4.
‡ iii, 14. § Servius Æn. x. 198.

been simply the God of the shades, and that Bianor dedicated his town to the manes of his mother. As he was a son of Ocnus, in the sense of being a Perugian, he is often confounded with Ocnus, one of the reputed founders of Perugia, and Ocnus is consequently said to have done that, which the colony of Ocnus achieved under Bianor. He seems to have been one of the greatest of the Etruscan princes. Virgil* says that he was buried between Mantua and the little town of Andes, and that his sepulchre was visible even in his (the poet's) day. Bianor, in the usual eastern phraseology of the Tuscans, is called the son of Tiberis, and of Manto the daughter of Tiresias. In other words, Bianor came from the Tiber, the beautiful river of Perugia; he was, at the period his tomb was erected, the son of Mantu; and Mantu was the god of death, or of disembodied spirits, to the Tiresians, or Tirsenians. Auletes appears also to have been a very ancient and powerful king of Mantua,† as he is represented heading the troops of the Benacus and the Mincio, and joining his brethren with one hundred ships.

Virgil‡ mentions the mixture of races in the Senate of Mantua; and it is superfluous to dilate upon the necessary and all but obligatory mixture of the Umbri with the Tusci, in all the new cities which were founded in their unconquered land; and throughout every apportioned district which was measured off in their allied and friendly territory.

* Eclogue ix. † Æn. x. 207.
‡ Servius on Æn. x. 201.

All the north, which had been Umbrian, was henceforward considered Rasenan or Rhœtian, and the old native rulers must have shared equally with the new governors, and, it may be, were even alternate with the kings; for where marriage was lawful between the houses, and the laws, religion, and civilization were wholly Tuscan, we can easily perceive that the name of Umbrian would quickly merge into that of the dominating power. Müller* says, that a great many small towns in Rhœtia, bore the same names as those in Umbria Proper, in Etruria, and in Etruscan Campania; such as Acerra, Laus Pompeja, and Vulturina, all near Cremona, and noticed by Cluverius.

Ravenna† was one of the great northern Tuscan cities, which remained to the Rasena and the Umbri, and was not conquered by the Gauls. Pliny says, that all the Padusland, without any exception, as far north as the Alps, was Umbrian; and Livy, that it all became Tuscan, excepting a small portion round the head of the sea, belonging to the Veneti, afterwards the republic of Venice. These Veneti may have been, like the Siculi, straggling colonists from Illyria, who had not strength to push themselves further southward; but Niebuhr thinks that they also were Etruscans, or at least, that their country was included in the Etruscan dominion, and that we do not hear of them as united with the others, because they were cut off from the main body by the Gauls. It is most likely that they were Etrusci, Umbri, and

* Etrusker Einl. iii. 3.

† Müller Ein. iii. 4.

Siculi, all mixed together in different proportions, but the two last greatly preponderating, possessed of no large city in their territory, and being under the rule of no great family; and therefore, after the dreadful revolution occasioned by the Gauls, they were allowed to remain quiet and forgotten. They present all the marked features of the native, unimproved Sikelean character. They were neither military nor maritime, neither savage nor polite. They neither injured others, nor appear themselves to have been injured. They existed in the same locality through a long succession of ages, and managed during the whole time, to maintain themselves in honourable peace, and most respectable insignificance.

We presume these Rhœtian colonies to have been founded at least 1090 B. C., about one hundred years after the full and quiet settlement of Etruria Proper, which would leave time for those rock-girt cities, that could not safely enlarge their boundaries, to become over peopled, and also for the improvers of the ground by water husbandry, (i. e. draining and irrigation,) to cast a wistful eye upon the luxuriant but useless meadows of the Po. Here the Tuscans directly commenced operations, with their characteristic vigour and perseverance, on a gigantic scale, and in an enduring manner; yet here, again, we have no tradition of sighs and groans; no oppression of Umbri, or Sikeli, or enslaved Pelasgi; no sacrifices to Saturn or to Mantu; and no hecatombs of their brother men. It was the

Tuscans who laboured in these works, rather than the Tuscan slaves; though, without doubt, the slave helped his master. Nowhere in Europe have we parallel works, except in Holland, the freest and the most unconquerable of lands.

In Rhætian and Padusian Etruria we find no tunnels, because sagacity did not there counsel their construction, nor did prudence and foresight require that the mountains should be bored through, for the plains of the Po were enough and to spare. The Rasena accordingly, raised ditch banks (if we may be allowed such an expression) along the sides of the river, managed its waters so as either to drain, to irrigate, or to flood, and made it their mightiest defence against their foes, and the most powerful benefactor to themselves. They conducted its stream through the lake Comacchio; and thence by seven canals, known as the "Fossæ Filistinæ," into the sea, at the point now called Brondolo. They turned the swampy and unhealthy Milanese into a well-watered land, "like the garden of the Lord, like Egypt." They restrained the sea itself, and formed the harbour of Adria, now destroyed: and in short it is not for an unlearned person to undertake to describe, the immensity and variety of their works, the very traces, remains, and ruins of which, are filling the learned and scientific at this day, with inexpressible wonder and admiration.

The ports of Adria and Spina, so early as the time of Hesiod, sent ships into Greece, even the vessels of "the mighty Tyrseni, who lived in the days of the

demi-gods:"* and they carried thither, amongst other things, amber, called by Hesiod and Homer *elektrum*, which the Greeks referred to a port of the Eridanus, i. e. Spina, and believed to be the gum of a tree which grew upon the banks of the Padus, a river of these same Tyrseni. Theopompus says, that the Greeks procured tin also from the Tyrseni, which came from an island in the Eridanus, or Po. It is supposed that the Tyrseni received this tin at Marsiglia, and shipped it from Greece, for Atria or Spina.†

We are almost afraid of being accused of substituting some fairy tale for history, when we state, what is evidenced to us by the Tyrsenian commerce in amber more than 900 years B. C., and when we do so without stopping at this place, to demonstrate each fact from ancient authorities. It proves to us that the Tyrseni, had not only colonized as far as the Alps, but had crossed them in their insatiable spirit of adventure; that they had traversed Germany, (Müller thinks through Pannonia,) in the character of merchants, managing to keep peace with all the tribes, the Boii, the Catti, and the Angli, through whom they passed; and that they had reached its utmost bounds, even upon the shores of the Sarmatian sea,‡ whence in those remote ages, they brought their precious gum. In the chapter upon the arts and sciences of the Tuscans, we shall return to the "sacred road," which was the name

* Thucyd.

† See Müller on Tuscan trade.

‡ Sarmatian or Sinus Codonus.

given to the Tursenian highway, that crossed from the Alps to the Baltic.

Corinth It may not be uninteresting here to remark, as it follows in order of chronology, that Corinth, formerly Ephyra, with which Tarquinia traded largely, was founded in 1074 B. C. by Aletes, who conquered the town, and changed its name. It henceforward, according to Strabo, became the emporium between Asia and Italy. It had all the trade of Greece in its power, and Thucydides says, was wealthy even in the days of Homer, from the commerce of its inhabitants; and it is mentioned as wealthy by the prince of poets himself.* Its two great colonies were Syracuse in Sicily, founded 732 B. C., about twenty years later than Rome; and Coreyra, now Corfu, in the Egean Sea, thirty years later, in 703 B. C. The inhabitants, with whom the Corinthians united themselves in Coreyra, were Pelasgi or Egyptians, from Colchis, who had settled there some centuries earlier.

Greeks in Italy. In 1060 B. C., exactly 127 years after the settlement of Etruria Proper by Tarchun, the first Greeks entered Southern Italy, subsequently, as we believe, to the colonization of Rhœotia. In this year a very few families, probably blown by contrary winds and in distress, arrived at a spot ten miles north of the present town of Naples, and built a village which they called Cuma,† whence some authors believe them to have come from Cuma, the capital

* Iliad, ii. 570.

† Thucyd. vi. Livy, viii. Dion. vii. 419.

city of Eolis; whilst others say that they came from Chalcis in Eubœa, and had probably intended to settle in some of the Ionian Islands. Pliny always calls them Chalcidian. They were joined by but few of their countrymen for many ages, and made a most inconsiderable progress in Italy, being, as Müller* thinks, prevented from extending themselves, by the Tuscans. In the course of 300 years, about the epoch of Rome, they ventured to send out a colony, which founded Zancle,† now Messina, in Sicily. Before that time, they had only crept a few miles along the shore, and founded Dicearchia, Naples, or Palepolis and Neapolis, and Pithecusa. Their countrymen, who followed them in small and timorous companies, did not feel inclined to venture even so far as they had done, and kept to the little islands of Ischia, Capri, Procida, and Nisida, in the Bay of Naples.

We may judge how circumscribed the Cumeans were, from the testimony of the Greeks themselves. Sophocles calls the Lake Avernus, in their immediate neighbourhood, Tursenian; and, in the Drama of Triptolemus, he says, that between Œnotria, i. e. South Italy, and Ligustica, now Genoa, there was nothing but the dominion of the Tursenians. Pausanias‡ calls Dicearchia, Tursenian; Stephanus says, that the Turseni were masters of Puteoli;§ and Dion. Hal.|| tells us that Umbri and Etrusci formed part of the population of Cuma itself; whilst Poly-

* i. 4.

† Thucyd. vi.

‡ iv. and viii.

§ Vide Pliny.

|| viii.

bis,* who doubts and depreciates the power of the Etruscans, yet gives as part of their territory the Phlegrean fields described by Homer.

The Greek colonies from Asia Minor first settled in Sicily, at a considerably later period, and they did not come in any numbers even into that part of Italy, which from them was termed MAGNA GRECIA, until the tenth century B. C. We cannot but think that Hindostan might with far more propriety be called "Magna Anglia," than Southern Italy "Magna Grecia," as the Greeks nowhere, and at no time, spread themselves inland: and never civilized the native Italians or Siculi, who continued to occupy their country as before, only removing a little further from the sea, and there enjoying, without interruption or change, their pristine rudeness. When we look at Magna Grecia in a map, we fancy it to have been a paradise, with a people revelling and luxuriating in all the elegancies of life; but, when we come to analyse it, we find that the whole of the interior, where civilized, was occupied by the Tuscans, and that, where not occupied by them, it either degenerated into barbarism, or sunk into insignificance. We read upon the Magna Grecian coins, to our amazement, Oscan words upon the one side and Greek upon the other; so written, in order that they might pass current and be understood within a few miles of the shore. And the more we examine into the subject, the more does truth force us to confess, that the Greeks traded gladly and con-

* ii. 17.

stantly with those whom they found in Italy, natives in all points, equal, or superior to themselves, and also with all the various towns in Italy, Sicily, and Grecia Proper, of their own blood; but that we can nowhere trace them as being, either by accident or interest, the civilizers of any rude tribe of the native Italians. The Greeks were most apt to learn, most elegant and fanciful to improve, but they were not patient to teach, and they had no romantic ideas, when they came to colonize in Hesperia of benefiting any but themselves.

CHAPTER XVI.

COLONIZATION OF CENTRAL ITALY.

B. C.
XII.
& XI.
CENT.

WE now come to the civilization and colonization of the rest of Italy, and to the overwhelming influence which Etruria, naturally and necessarily exercised upon the Central Italian tribes. We have already shown that from the Alps down to 42½° N. Lat., i. e. to Reati, almost the whole land belonged to the Rasena, and to their allies the Umbri. But south of this, we meet with nations who, though governed by them, and inhabiting the country with them, were always distinguished from them; we mean the Sabines, the Latins, and their numerous offsets. Micali, in his "Popoli d'Italia," proves that every one of the tribes of Italy came from the same stock, that is, the Sikeli, whom Niebuhr calls Itali, or Osci, which is the same with the Ausoni, or the dwellers in the south land. Hence these people are called Oscans, Opicans, Auruncians, Ænotrians, Italians, and Sikelians, each signifying the same

thing, as is well known to those who have studied this matter; and the wearisome names of the different tribes, some of whose territories did not exceed a highland estate, only signify the designations of their leaders, or the localities in which they settled, or the various bands in which they colonised.

If we cast our eyes over a map of ancient Italy, we shall find its chief divisions southwards, to consist of Sabina, Latium, Samnium, Campania, Lucania, Bruzzi, and Apulia, (besides Magna Grecia,) and every one of these tribes was an offset from the other, according to Festus and Servius; chiefly through the observance of the Sacred Spring, an institution introduced by the Rasena. According to the rules of this system of migration, each colony went forth with its Augur, as a religious and peaceful settlement, and consequently was received, not only without dislike or terror, but as a holy thing, by the original Sikeli, whose uncultivated lands they came to till, and whose thinly peopled districts they helped to occupy.

First among these colonies, we find the Sabines. ^{Sabines.} We have already said, that when Tarchun entered Italy, Reati, commonly called the stronghold of the Sabines, was, according to Zenodotus of Trezene, the chief town of the Umbri. A colony of these Umbri, Zenodotus says, left Reati (very possibly immediately after the union of the Umbri with the Tuscans,) and wandering further south, they built Cures, now Correse,* a large unwall'd village, where their chiefs met every year for council, in imitation of the

* Gell.

Etruscan Voltumna, and where their ceremonies were commenced by raising a spear.* The marked difference between the Sabines and their parent Umbri, seems to have consisted in a more resolute love of their ancient customs, and a less patient tolerance of strangers, even though these strangers might be benefactors. Whilst the Umbri gladly learnt to wall and fortify their towns, to go forth to battle, and to share in booty with the Rasena; whilst they worshipped at the same shrine, and voted in the same Senate; the Sabines would have no walled towns, and shared in none of their expeditions. They made a league offensive and defensive with the victorious Turrheni. "Neither attacked the other, nor suffered the other to be attacked;" but they did not colonize with them, and they seem to have had no wish so much at heart, as to live with them in peace, whilst they continued to observe amongst themselves the old customs of their forefathers. They were agricultural as well as pastoral, yet we do not find in their country, the great drains or tunnels of the Etruscans; and they were not commercial, and therefore were behind their neighbours in the luxuries and refinements of life.

It is greatly to the credit of the Rasena that they never attacked the Sabines, nor interfered with their order of government, as nothing could have been more easy for them, than to have burnt the unwalled villages, overrun the country, built forts amongst

* Dion. Hal. says on this head "Umbri, mutatoque cum sedibus nomine, Sabinos fuisse appellatos.

them, and forced them to become tributary. But history has no such tradition, nor does it ever record of the Rasena such a breach of public faith. The Sabines adopted much of their civilization, received their letters, numbers, weights and measures, their order of battle, manner of burial, and style of dress, but did not adopt their many images, nor accept of the laws of Tages, nor establish their manufactures, nor imitate their buildings. Except, however, in these particulars, the influence of Etruria upon Sabina appears to have been most powerful. Plutarch tells us that Numa the Sabine, honoured the laws and institutions of Janus (or Tarchun,) he therefore knew and had studied them. The Sabine great gods were Jupiter and Juno Cures—their demi-god and genius Sancus, whom Varro makes to be Hercules, but he was most probably no other than Janus with the club, and the Ancient History says, that he was derived to the Sabines either from Etruria or from Umbria. St. Augustin* asserts, that the government, laws, arts, manners, and religion of Sabines, were the same with the Etruscan. An assertion that must, however, be taken with many limitations.

The country of Sabina, is perhaps at this moment, better known to the peasantry than to the aristocracy of Rome. In the minds of the people, it still remains, bordering upon the Eternal City, but quite apart from it; and the arms and ornaments, vases, bronzes and sarcophagi, found in the sepulchres of Sabina, are so similar to those of Etruria, as only to be distin-

* Di Civitat. Dei xxiii. 19.

guished by their locality, as may be seen in the interesting work, and yet more interesting museum of the Cavaliere Campana in Rome.

The Sabines seem to have multiplied fast, and to have endured many famines or other calamities, which occasioned them with great frequency to observe the sacred spring. It is in this way, that they sent forth the Piceni, the original Latins,* the Rutuli, Hernici, Equi, Volsci, Marsi, Campanians, and above all, the Samnites, a fierce and warlike race, who became the stock of Southern Italy, and who were in most characteristics, very unlike their progenitors. Colonies, as we have said before, take with them to their new homes, not only the education they have received from their immediate ancestors, but a development of natural disposition under new circumstances, which must proceed from themselves. These colonies all consisted of men who had been in a greater or less degree, under Etruscan influence, and who went out with that education, to fix themselves amongst the uneducated of their own race, (the Sikeli,) who were spread, or rather who had been dispersed through the land before them.

When the sacred colonies left their native soil, they were glad to catch at omens, as signifying the will of the gods, whither they should direct their steps, and the Samnites are said to have been conducted by a bull to the territory they afterwards occupied amongst the Osci. This bull they very properly stamped upon their coins, in token of

* Prisci Latini.

Sam-
nites.

gratitude for the excellent pastures to which he had led them. They went in three bands, and the third band passed the Silaris and originated the Lucani.* Whilst some divisions of the Samnites dwelt in villages like the Sabines; others took a bolder flight and built cities with walls and towers, having Forums, Curiae, Comitia, and magistrates, and each of these more polished states had its own internal government, subject to a general diet modelled from the Etruscan. The warlike pomp of the Samnites was carried even further than that of the rest of Etruscanized Italy. They wore mantles of the most beautiful colours, and like the Syrians of Zobah mentioned in the book of Samuel,† their resplendent shields were inlaid with gold and silver.

Of all the Sabine colonies, the one most interesting ^{Latins.} to us, and next to the Umbri, the most influenced by Etruria, and the most mingled with the Etruscans, was the Latin, including besides Latium, the Volsci, Equi, Rutuli, and Hernici. Latium Proper was no very splendid domain, being circumscribed between the Sabines and the Rutuli, and comprising, according to Cluverius, a district of only thirty-five miles by twenty, from Tibur now Tivoli, to the sea; and from Ostia to the Mount Albanus or Monte Cavo, in which space all the land about Laurentum, Ardea, Anxium, and Lavinium, is described by Virgil and Strabo as full of marshes.

Nothing shows us more strikingly,

“How great events from smallest causes spring,”

* Plin.

† 2 Sam. viii. 7.

than that all these places should acquire importance, and Latium itself be kept in remembrance by the pre-eminent success of one small town, within its limits, which rose like a grain of mustard-seed, compared with the long established and wealthy cities of the Rasena.

The Latins are supposed to have been Sabines from Mount Velinus,* who united with the Siculi and Pelasgi, and who were conquered in various degrees,† and at various times, by the Turrheni. Laurentum, according to Virgil, was the cradle of the Latin kings, and Lanuvium was the city next to it, in age and dignity, and both were probably small, though strongly walled and fortified. Lanuvium, according to the manner of the Etruscans, with whom vowels were indifferent, was often spelt Lanivium, whence Lavinium‡ the name it now bears; and to it rather than to Lavinia, Müller attributes the founding of Alba, one of the most interesting cities in Italy. Whichever of these two towns we may prefer, whether Pratica, the old Lavinia, or Lanuvium, which assumed the name of Lavinium in later times, one of them was undoubtedly the mother of Alba, and the daughter of Laurentum. This Lavinia, according to Livy, was founded in the year B. C. 1083, a century after the union of Umbria and Turrhenia, and thirty years before the colony which she sent forth to establish Alba upon the Mount Cavo.

Lanu-
vium. Lanuvium or Lanivium gives very striking evidences of Etruscan civilization, and of her princes having once been the sons of Veii, Faliscii, or some

* Gell.

† See Niebuhr.

‡ Gell.

neighbouring and Turrhene state. Lanivium was a walled and fortified city, boasting a theatre, an amphitheatre, and a temple of the square Tuscan form, with pillars in front, dedicated to Juno Sospita, i.e. as Livy* tells us, to Juno with the spear, like the Argive or Lybian Juno, with the attributes of Minerva. Her statue is now to be seen in the Vatican. The town or this temple contained paintings, according to Pliny, older than Rome, similar in style to those of Cære and of Ardea. Lavinia or Lanuvia, along with twenty-nine other towns and villages, sent out each, ten families to build Alba, under the command of Silvius of Lavinia, who was their captain and prince. These families, from thirty different towns, will easily account for the original tradition, that Alba was the mother of thirty colonies, and that these thirty colonies met every year, to celebrate their common origin, at the Temple of Jupiter Latialis; for this would have been true, had none but the Senators of Alba assembled there. In process of time, this tradition was confused, by adding to it the modern idea of colonies, as meaning emigrations from the city itself, of which sort Rome was the youngest, and in all likelihood the tenth.

Alba was built, according to Livy, only 300 years before Rome; and deputies from thirty cities of the Latins met here every year, to sacrifice and to keep a feast of union, like those of the Rasena at the fane of Voltumna. Here also the allies of the Latins joined with them, as we find from mention being made in

* xxi. 62.

Livy of the Sabines from Amiternum.* The sacred place of assembly was the great Temple of Jupiter Latialis, which antiquarians now affirm to have been constructed in the Etruscan form, and after the Etruscan manner. We suppose, therefore, without venturing to assert what we have not examined, that it was a square building with columns, erected in honour of the Triad, and that its architecture was the same with that of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus at Rome.

We have some reason to think that thirty years, the space between Alba and Lavinia, was the usual date of an Italian colony in time of peace. It is the period of a generation, when a young population usually doubles itself, and when a walled city must throw off its swarm, to seek another hive. In this case, Alba might send out ten colonies in 300 years; and we know the names of more than ten cities, which have their origin attributed to her; but the idea of any town sending out a fresh colony every ten years is surely absurd, excepting in so far as the colonies of the ten first might again be referred to the same original. Alba, as soon as she became the metropolis of the Latins, would naturally be translated as the mother of them all; and as naturally would her daughter cities, in the sense of those who acknowledged her headship, be called her colonies. Each of these cities had their own senates, their own princes, and their own independent governments, and Alba was no further superior, excepting

* See Gell.

as the place of the common diet, and in so far as her princes might, more frequently than others, be chosen to head the Latin league. It is for this reason, that we are acquainted with the names of so few amongst her sovereigns, and that we, whose notions of colonies and metropoleis is so different from the old Italian, cannot comprehend how Gabii, and Preneste, and Ardea, and Antium, and others, should be fighting their own battles, and making their own terms of peace with perfect independence; and choosing their own allies, and sometimes attending the Alban meetings, and sometimes not, as if Alba had nothing whatever to do with them.

As we have, in no author, an enumeration of the twelve united Etruscan dynasties, so we have in none, a list of the thirty Latin cities, which used to celebrate a common origin upon the Mons Albanus. Their youngest metropolis was Alba, most beautifully situated upon the shores of a large volcanic lake, whose waters at that time, stood 200 feet higher* than the present level; and the city, the ruins of which may still be seen, was a mile long, the walls being built of large quadrilateral blocks of stone, and the citadel, as usual, placed upon the highest point, which was an eminence at one end. Two of the gates, namely, the Tusculan and the Lavinian, may still be traced. It had many temples, as we have already mentioned, dedicated chiefly to the Tuscan gods; and it claimed as its pride the

* Gell. Livy.

grand Temple of Jupiter Latialis, which, as it towered above it on the summit of the mountain, was probably visible from every point of Latium, so as originally to have conveyed the idea that the Divine Eye was continually upon that country.

The Latins, as we have said, were Sabines, Sikeli, and Pelasgi, civilized and often ruled by Etruscans. Of this, their language is the certain evidence, the basis of it being Oscan, its terms for common and sordid employments Greek, and its words of command, especially for war and hunting, taken from the Rasena.* The Greek and Tuscan roots held the same place in Latin, that the Saxon and French do in English. The name Alba, "Alpum," is itself Tuscan, and means white and high. It is probable that Alba and its several colonies were founded with Etruscan rites, as we find them all with walls, and gates, and citadels, and temples; and the walls of many, if not of most of them, were built with the quadrangular stones, which was the favourite method of the Tur-
rheni. Varro says,† "Oppida condebant in Latio Etrusco ritu multa;" or, many cities in Latium were founded with Etruscan rites; which we must suppose to refer to towns of name, otherwise an historian would not have thought them worth his notice.

Ten of the cities of Alba, with the names of

* Niebuhr, i., gives the words for house, field, plough, oil, milk, ox, swine, sheep, apple, &c., as Pelasgic; and Duellum, Ensis, Scutum, Hasta, Sagitta, &c., as Tuscan.

† Lib. iv.

which we are acquainted, are Rome, the youngest of them all; Mugilla, and Politorium, on the Alban River, which are probably the oldest; Bovilla,* Preneste, Tibur, Gabii, Nomentum, Crustumerium, and Fidene. These three last are said to have been founded† by three brothers, meaning by the expression, very possibly, three brother nations, i. e. the Latins, Sabines, and Tuscans. And, indeed, whilst the two first towns were both Latin and Sabine, the third, Fidene, is ascribed by different authors to each of the tribes; and Dionysius makes it Alban, conquered from the Siculi, and in glory in the days of Romulus. Livy‡ says, that Fidene was Etruscan, that its people did not understand Latin, and that it was, in all likelihood, founded by Veii. It was much connected with Veii and Alba together, at the time the two governments were united.

The most eminent of the early Alban colonies were Gabii, Presneste, and Tibur, all of them powerful and wealthy cities, capitals of their own small states, and each having four or five inferior towns in dependence upon them. Gabii, on the borders of ^{Gabii.} Etruria, exhibits very much of Tuscan culture, and certainly enjoyed Isopolity with the cities of the Rasena in its neighbourhood. It had adopted the Tuscan dress, for the Romans took the Tuscan toga from Gabii. It was independent, for it frequently refused to join in the confederation of all the other Latin states; and it had its own prince and senate, and was powerful to make war by itself alone, as we

* Cato.

† Gell.

‡ i. 15.

shall find in the sequel. It was strongly fortified, having walls built of parallel stones after the manner of the Rasena, and it was a city always peculiarly favoured and protected by the Etruscan princes. Livy* says, that when the Tarquinii were expelled from Rome they had two countries to which they might retreat, Cære and Gabii. Pliny tells us that it had a mint for the As, graven or stamped, like the Etruscans, and that it used their letters. The great temple of Gabii was that of Tuscan Juno, or Kupra in her warlike Lybian dress; and this temple possessed the Tuscan character of being built square, with pillars in front.†

Gabii had also a theatre, a forum, and a celebrated college, at the head of which latter, about the year 760 B. C., was Tanctius the Tuscan, who, according to Macrobius (i.) educated the young Latin princes Romulus and Remus. Indeed, upon this head, tradition is copious; for Plutarch, Strabo, Stephanus of Byzantium, and Diocles of Peparethus, all say, that Romulus and Remus were sent to Gabii to be educated, and to learn the polite and philosophic foreign language, which was in their age, thought necessary for the ruling class of the Italians. This language Plutarch and Strabo naturally call Greek, though we know from Cato, Cicero,‡ and Livy ix., that during the first five centuries of Rome, her noble youth and chief citizens were sent into Etruria for their education. Plutarch and Dionysius tell us that the religious auguries of the Gabinians were

* i. 50.

† Gell.

‡ de Div. i.

the same as those of the Tuscans, and that Gabii taught the Tuscan discipline to the Sabines and the Marsi.

Dionys. ii. says, that at one time, Greek was better understood than Latin, in Gabii and in many other Latin cities, "because they were all founded by the Greeks!" as a proof of which, he states that the Romans, in early ages, employed the Greek character. He here evidently mistakes Greek for Tuscan.

Servius says, that Gabii was a city of the Prisci Latini built by Alba; Strabo, that it was Greek; and Solinus, that it was a town of the Siculi founded by two brothers, Galatios and Bios; which is about the same sense as if we English were to affirm that Pekin is a town of the Tartars, founded by two brothers, Peter and Kinloch! In sober truth, the Siculi first owned, or rather occupied, as shepherds and hunters, the lands of Gabii; the Latins from Alba more recently, founded the town upon Etruscan models, and the Tuscans and Latins inhabited it afterwards together. It was a ruin and desolate in the days of Horace. The breath of Rome was malaria to all the other states; and her dominion was death to theirs.*

Tibur, or Tivoli, had very strong walls built with regular blocks, which looks as if the builders had been Tuscan. Stephanus calls it an Alban colony; but, as his is the only authority for this parentage, Gell thinks it very doubtful whether Tibur were originally Sabine or Latin. Its first name was

Tibur.

* Authorities: Gell, Müller, iii. 122, Plut., Strabo, Dionys.

Siculetum, or the stronghold of the Siculi; and its second name was Tibur, which being coupled with its ascription to Alba, inclines us to think that it may have been built when the Tuscan king, Deheberis or Tiberis, ruled Alba. Solinus viii. makes its founder Tiburtus, a Greek! who came over with Evander, and who expelled the Siculi! Dionysius says, that it was a town of the Aborigines, i. e. the Siculi; and Gell thinks, that it may owe its origin to Evander the Sabine, who may have made it a resting-place, when he journeyed forth from Pallatium, the village near Reati, towards the Tiber. The Greek founders of almost all the towns and states in Central Italy, such as Ausonius, Ænotrius, Latinus, Tiburtus, &c., are exactly the same sort of persons as we might place in our histories, if, without any regard to ancient names and other consistencies, we chose to affirm that London, York, and Lincoln, were founded by Londonus, Yorkius, and Lincolnus, three chiefs who came over before Julius Cæsar; or that Wessex derived its name from Wessexius, a Roman general.

Tibur contained a splendid temple to Hercules, the Ludin demi-god. Pliny does not name the Tibertini, in his enumeration of the Latin tribes who sacrificed at the temple on Mons Albanus, and Gell thinks that they were perhaps too mighty to mingle on an equality with the other tribes, or to allow of the headship of Alba. But it was not the custom of the ancient nations to measure an acknowledgment of brotherhood, or a common participation in the

same worship, by an equality of power. It was not upon this principle that the Tuscan sovereigns subsequently wished for the sacrifices of Jupiter to be made in Rome, or for the meeting of the Latins to be held there; but because they rather wished the Great Divinity of the Latins, their Jupiter, to be under the protection of Turrhenia, which was in all probability, his birthplace, than that Turrhenia in her Tarquinian colonies, should be under the protection of Jupiter Latialis. They anxiously wished to make Rome more Etruscan than Latin, and like most of those who strain the chain too tight, they by this very conduct, caused it to snap asunder, so that it could not be joined again. Tibur, according to Livy,* had four towns dependent upon it, and contained an asylum for the unfortunate slaves and debtors, the origin of which we attribute to Asylas the Tuscan.

Palestrina, or Præneste, we have reason to think, was a state and city even more powerful than Tibur, for Livy† tells us it had no less than eight towns in its dependency, one of which was Vitellia. Like all the other towns in the heart of Italy, it first belonged to the Siculi, and according to Cato in Servius, was founded by Cæculus (Siculus), a robber, i. e. a barbarian. According to Gell, the founder was Prænestus, a Latin; but the plan and style of the place are Etruscan, though the walls are built with the polygonal masses of the Pelasgi. The strongly fortified citadel stood twelve hundred feet above the city, and three of the ancient gates in the

Præ-
neste.

* See Gell.

† vi. 22—30.

circuit of the wall are perfectly traceable, corresponding with the three separate roads, the via Labicana, via Gabina, and via Collatina, which, according to Gell, must have been in use before the foundation of Rome. Virgil* supposes Præneste to have existed in the time of Æneas, and causes Herilus, its king, to be slain, defending his country against the Latins of Latium Proper. The great divinity of Præneste was the Etruscan goddess Nortia, or Fortune, whose temple Cicero says, existed prior to the building of Rome, and in which the "Sortes Prænestinæ" were drawn. This temple, Gell says, was built of a square form, with quadrilateral stones, in regular courses, and having six columns in front. Livy tells us, that Præneste, like Tibur, had its sacred asylum, and Servius says, that like Veii and Tusculum, it had a college of Salii before this brotherhood was introduced by Numa into Rome.

Crustum-
merium Crustumerium is now the green "Monte Rotondo," near the "Monte Sacro, situated a few miles from Rome. Its name in Oscan, means "a round knoll," but the ingenious and ubiquitous Greeks derived it from Clytemnestra, a lady whom they invented, on purpose to relieve the public mind from any dilemma as to its founder.

Kings. The names of the Latin and Alban kings which have come down to us, are Capetus, Latinus, Sylvius, Julius, Tarchetius, Cluillius, Numitor, and Amulius. We have indeed a list of thirteen other names in Livy, of some of which Niebuhr remarks, that

* Æneid.

they are most clumsily put together, and that several of them were quite un-Italian. Livy is said to have taken his list from Polyhistor, a client of Sylla's, and to have added to them, the names of the chief families, or the "*principes*" of the Latins, which he found in the old annals. Now Plutarch gives from Polyhistor, and from Aristides Milesius, an anecdote of Anius or Annus, an old Etruscan monarch who had a beautiful daughter Salia, with whom Cathetus or Capetus, one of his Lucumoes fell in love, and as her father refused her to him, Cathetus carried her off. Capetus fled into Latium, and Anius pursuing him was drowned in crossing a river, which after his name was called the Anio. Salia had two sons, Salius and Latinus; the one a governor of the Latins, and the other a ruler of the Tuscans.

This story, though a mere legend, shows that the Italian Greeks had traditions amongst them of the Latins having been in old times, subject to the Tuscans, and having been governed by Tuscan kings. Salius must surely have succeeded Morrio, and have been at the head of the Salii in Veii. How well this tradition accords with the story of Deheberis of Veii having been the ruler of Alba! Dionysius says that Capetus, king of Alba, reigned twenty-six years, and was the father of Deheberis. This name is Latinized into Tiberis, and then made the same with Latinus, and Hesiod (Theog.) states that Latinus, i. e. Tiberis, was a king of the Tyrseni, or, in other words, a king of the Rasena, who ruled in Latium.

Sylvius, a native of Lavinia, was the undoubted

founder of Alba, and Julius, not improbably, was amongst his successors, because Bovilla was a colony of Alba, and the chief family of Bovilla was the Julian,* therefore we presume that Julius was Prince of the Bovilla band, when it went forth from Alba, and that he was the young scion of a great house there.

Tarchetius is beyond doubt, an Etruscan name, and the manner of expressing a Tarchunian sovereign. Perhaps he was some arrogant Lucumo from Tusculum, and it is not unlikely from the hatred attached to his name, that he was haughty and tyrannizing, like Mezentius in Cære, and Tarquinius Superbus afterwards in Rome, despising all but his own race, and persuaded that the world was made for his peculiar service. Plutarch in Romulus tells us that he was an imperious king, and was drowned. There is also a legend that relates concerning another imperious and wilful king that when he was sacrificing to his household gods, Jupiter struck his palace with lightning, and that the rock on which it stood, broke off, and fell down into the lake. At that time, according to Livy,† Alba Longa was not much above the lake, and a river flowed from it, and discharged its waters into the sea, having four towns built upon its banks, all afterwards destroyed by Tarquin.

King Cluillius, Niebuhr adopts as a genuine Latin, and believes to have been as much a benefactor to his country as Tarchetius was a curse. Whether we are to refer to him the operations in the immediate neighbourhood of Alba, or whether

* Gell.

† v. 16.

they belong to former or to later kings, we cannot determine, but he was the author of the prodigious drain, called the "Fossæ Cluilliae," which after the foundation of Rome formed the boundary of the territories of Alba towards the west; which made arable the marshy swamp through which it was conducted; and which Niebuhr considers to have been one of the noblest works ever executed by man. Its character is entirely Etruscan, and as Rome, the latest colony of Alba, for more than two hundred years, sent for all her artists into Etruria, we cannot doubt but that the directors of it were from that nation. The Etruscans, though so admirable in many things, seem to have had great jealousy in imparting their knowledge to others, and as we have said, it was the effects, and not the causes, which they communicated; the results, but not the principles; therefore the Latins might copy their works, and labour under their direction, but were utterly unfit to manage the scientific part of any vast undertaking. Besides this work, the Alban Mount has, at some very early date, been artificially cut, in order to make a deeper channel for the river; and Dionysius tells us, that the water was conducted from the lake (or river) by means of sluices, so that it could be distributed over the plain below.

The *brothers* Numitor and Amulius, mentioned by Plutarch and Livy, were probably brother Lucumoes or Patricians, each in his day, king of Alba; and Rea Sylvia, the vestal virgin, the mother of Romulus, is said to have belonged to the ancient

family of the Sylvii, and to have been nearly related to them. The pasture lands of Alba in their day, reached the Tiber, where their territories joined those of the Sabines and Tuscans, with both of whom they were in Isopolity. The young princes, Romulus and Remus, the sons of Rhea Silvia, and grandsons of Numitor, were brought up at Gabii, as we have already said, under Tanctius, or Tanquiti, the Tuscan, who was at the head of the chief college there.

Virgil and Ovid give the genealogy of Latinus, or of the Latin sovereigns, thus: Picus, the first king of Latium, married Venilia or Velinas, and was father to Faunus, and Faunus was father to Latinus, who ruled in Laurentum. Now Picus* was the son of Sabo, the Mars or Janus Quirinis of the Sabines, and all of these heroes, Picus, Faunus, and Mars, were the sons of Saturn. Saturn and Janus, then, the Turrhene hero and the Turrhene god, stand at the head of this list, and from them or their allies, go forth the Sabines from Mount Velinus, and become Latins. This agrees with the results of the most acute modern criticisms, and we believe to be the truth.

During this period, that is, subsequent to the settlement of Etruria, by Tarchun, and previous to the entire civilization of Italy, in the year 1016 B. C. Solomon built his magnificent palace and temple at Jerusalem, by means of artists sent from Tyre; and as Tyre certainly did not excel Egypt, and constantly traded with it, the costliness and skill of the temple

* Picus was Mars of the Marsi.

workmanship will give us a fair idea of the state of art in the East, a few years after the building of Alba. They also give us a tolerable notion of the models to which the Etruscans always had access, and of the science and refinement with which they were in constant communication, by means of their commerce with the Delta, and the Phœnician colonies in Lybia.

We know not at what period the Tuscans crossed the Tiber, and extended their dominion over the country of the Volsci, but at the time Rome was founded, Volscia seems to have been very long in their occupation, and not only was the whole coast as far as Circe, (now Terracina,) reckoned theirs, but Apollonius says, that in the days of the Argonauts, Circe itself was Tyrrhene or Etruscan. We need not therefore point out the necessary influence of the Etruscans upon the Volsci, in whose cities it is probable they were for ages settled, as the clan of Mezentius was in Ardea, and whose polity was in consequence, a mimic Etruria. The Volsci were a very warlike tribe of Latins, dwelling to the south of their brethren, the Equi and the Marsi; and they possessed a long line of sea coast. Their chief towns were very numerous, and their country commercial. Their armour was distinguished for beauty of form, and richness of material, and they were seldom at peace with Rome. The number of independent Senates amongst them, mentioned in history, shows us that their government was on the same model as the Etruscan, consisting of many members, which com-

posed one whole; but the secret of a necessary and continually enduring head, and of one, and only one, firm central government, seems to have been discovered and acted upon by Rome only.

The mighty drains in the country of the Volsci, doubtless executed whilst this people were under Etruscan dominion, vied with those upon the Po. They made the Pontine marshes not only healthy and fertile, but the very garden of Italy, supplying with wine, and fruit, and corn, three-and-twenty cities, which then flourished upon what are now wide and hopeless plains.* The Volscian letters and numbers, kalendar, &c., it is almost needless to say, were Etruscan, and so were very many words, and perhaps idioms, in their language. Pliny† mentions the proficiency of the Volsci in the plastic art; and specimens of their excellent bassi relievi in the Etruscan style may be seen in the museum of Naples.

Ancient remains of art, all after the manner of the Tuscans, and at times with Tuscan inscriptions, are found at Velletri. If the masters of the Volsci were the Rasena, we need not wonder that the disciples should give evidence of their school.

Cities. The principal cities of the Volsci were all built upon heights strongly walled and fortified with citadels, forums, and temples. Such were Cora, Segni, Velletri, Corioli, Antium, Sulmona, Arpino, Sora, Anxium, Terracina, and Interamna on the river Clanis, now the Garigliano. Livy‡ speaks of the strong defences of Antium, and Dionysius calls

* Livy vi. vii.

† xxxv.

‡ vi. 9.

it a splendid city of the Volsci. It had a celebrated temple to the goddess Nortia or Fortune, in which were drawn the Sortes Antiumnæ. It is now Castel d'Anzo; and Nettuno, near it, where antiquities abound, was once Cerium, the port of Antium.

Apollonius makes Circe to have been Turrhenian in the days of the Argonauts, and so does the ancient scholiast upon Homer.*

Virgil calls many of the Volscian cities Etrurian. Cato ap. Servium,† says "Gente Volscorum, quæ etiam ipsa Etruscorum potestate regebatur;" and Diodorus‡ tells us that all Volscia and Campania, "Volscos et Campanos omnes," were once subject to the Etruscans.

* l. 32.

† xi. 567, 581.

‡ See lib. v.

CHAPTER XVII.

CAMPANIA AND MAGNA GRECIA—CONCLUSION.

CENT.
XI. & X.
B. C. THE quotation from Diodorus Siculus,* with which our last chapter terminated, viz. that "the whole of Campania was once subject to the Etruscans," naturally leads us to the third general colonization of the Rasena. This is the last emigration upon a grand scale recorded of them in ancient history, and will conclude what we have to say upon the head of their being the first civilizers of Italy, and consequently of Europe.

It appears that, after the colonies of Rhoetia and the Po had become great and flourishing, the twelve original Dynasties of Central Etruria again found themselves over peopled, and again the Lares and Lucumoes met at Voltumna, and took the resolution of sending forth another Etruria, to migrate southwards, and to settle in the half-occupied lands of the Ausonian Siculi. Here, according to Strabo,† they formed twelve new states, and established themselves exactly upon the model of their mother country; but, like the Northern Rasena, their go-

* v.

† v. 242.

vernments were perfectly independent of her. We know as little of these twelve southern Dynasties, as of the twelve northern, because the Greeks settled amongst the Campanian Rasena too late, and were too much afraid of them, to be able or willing to give us any account of their early history. The Greeks imagined that this people had always lived where they first found them, or, at least, that they had done so, since the Trojan war; and they never had a further wonder concerning them, excepting as to which of the Phrygian or Argonautic heroes might have been their ancestors. The Romans, on the other hand, could know nothing of them before Rome was founded; and Southern Etruria was too remote from the scene of action, to influence Latium more than any other foreign country.

Our knowledge is therefore limited to the Etruscan towns which the Rasena founded in Campania, and to the extent of country in that region which, beyond controversy, was in early times and for many ages, theirs. And though, under more favourable circumstances, we might have been able to redeem from oblivion, some heroes, whose deeds must now be unknown for ever, and to tell of feeble resistances offered to them in some few places, quickly to be overcome; yet it is not likely that we should have had much of incident to relate, even had the lost histories of Claudius and Dionysius, of Aristotle and Theophrastus, of Flaccus and Cecina, been still extant in our libraries. No Umbri or Pelasgi were to be conquered here. No people proud of their independ-

ence, or endeavouring to improve upon a half-civilization. The inhabitants of Southern Italy were the Sikeli, who had already fled before each of the conquering races, and who were continually joined by new refugees or captives, barbarian men, who had run away, to escape barbarian slavery. The Siculi or Ausoni would fear the Rasena the less, the better they became acquainted with them, and we may say the same of the Sabine offsets, who came amongst them, about the same æra, bearing the peace-speaking branches and garlands of friendliness which betokened them the children of a Sacred Spring. The Rasena associated the Southern natives in their governments, as they had before done with regard to the pristine owners of the North and of the Centre; and whilst they proclaimed the laws of Tages to be the sole code for the children of Tarchun, they allowed the natives to keep their own gods, and their own laws, as far as ever they pleased.

The Greeks could give disturbance to neither party, whether contending or agreeing together, for there either were no Greeks in the country, when the Turrheni first colonized Campania, or else they were so few in number as to have no influence. Now, as we have presumed the North to have been colonized three generations, or ninety years, after the full settlement of Etruria Proper, that is, about 1090 B. C., thus allowing time for the Rasena to have possessed towns there with well-furnished arsenals, and well-filled harbours; and for an extended and

flourishing commerce to have spread itself, north as far as the Baltic, west, to Marseilles, south, to Lybia and Egypt, and east, to the Ports of Corinth and Argos, in the days of Hesiod, about 910 B. C.; so we may suppose that three more generations, in a wealthy and fertile land, blessed with a profound peace, would again over-people them, and that, about 1010 B. C., they might once more be constrained to sally forth, each Dynasty disburdening itself of its superfluous population. As Cuma was founded 1060 B. C., this would bring them into its neighbourhood, whilst yet in its infancy, and would overawe the settlement, before the Greeks had time to become in any way, numerous or powerful.

Müller* thinks that the Rasena first came into Campania by sea; and it is very probable that Virgil's account of the great gathering of the twelve people to assist Æneas, almost all of whom join him in ships, may be part of the tradition of the Etruscan exit towards Southern Italy. Dempster de Etruria Regali gives the authority of Janus Parrhasius for asserting that Campania was subject to the Tuscans 500 years before Rome, i. e. at a very remote period. The towns which they founded upon the coast directly south from Circe,† were Puteoli, Herculaneum,‡ Pompeia, Stabiæ, Salernum, Phlistu,

* Etrüsker on Cuma.

† Apollonius calls Circe Tyrrhene or Etruscan, in time of the Argonauts, that is, in the earliest period of history.

‡ Strabo, v. 246.

and Velia.* Inland, they built the towns and cities of Nola,† Vulturnum, Casilino,‡ Calazia, Suessa, Acerra, Trebella, Caleno, Abella, Venafro, Atella, Nuceria,§ Alfaterna, Compulteria, Liturnus, Blera, Acherontia, Anxia, and Heraclea. Müller gives also Marcina and Sarraste, on the Sarnus.||

Which of these towns were capitals, and by which state they were founded, we can in most instances, only guess. Müller conceives Salernum to have been the first general metropolis, and Vulturnum the last. Salernum, now Salerno, was famed for its Etruscan temple, according to Pliny, dedicated to the Argive Juno, i. e. to Kupra of the Rasena. This temple, said by the Greeks to have been built by Jason, was probably attributed by the Rasena to Janus, or to the tribe of Janus, which the Greeks metamorphosed into Jason, and transferred to the days of the Argonauts.

Vulturnum. Vulturnum was not founded until fifty years before Rome, according to Velleius (i. 7) from Cato, and yet he says that Vulturnum and Nola were illustrious *before* Rome was built. These two accounts cannot both be true, but, as the history of Cuma, and the attribution of various places to the Tyrseni, in the days of the Argonauts and at the arrival of Æneas, argues the Tyrseni to have been in possession of the country very long before this late period, and as even many passages in the Iliad and Odyssey name places

* Stephanus.

‡ Micali, *Antichi Pop.* i. xiv.

|| From Pliny, iii.

† Vell. Pater.

§ Serv. vii.

on the coast as Tursene, at the time of the Trojan war,* we may either suppose Vulturnum and Nola, like Veii and Capena, to have been the latest of the Tuscan establishments, and merely in their origin colonies from some of the other southern capitals; or that Cato means, by the epoch of their foundation, the dedication of their great temples, which might take place many years subsequent to the foundation. Müller justly observes, that fifty years is too short a time to allow for a place to become rich and illustrious.

The great and wealthy city of Vulturnum, was Capua. afterwards Capua, and Capua was another Etruscan word signifying, according to Servius,† “a hawk,” probably the cognomen of the Samnite general who captured it.

Those who built Vulturnum were, according to Virgil, the sons of Halesus, or, in other words, the descendants of the people of Faliscii; and Müller has found a strong confirmation of this tradition, in two small towns close to it, both named from the cities of the Faliscii, viz. Falernum, from Faleria, and Stellatina, close to Capua, from Stellatina, close to Capena.‡ Near Sutri, Müller says, a Tuscan inscription has been found containing the name of Vulturnum.§ At the time Vulturnum, (i. e. Capua,) fell under the power of Rome, it was said by Cicero to have vied with Carthage and Corinth in riches. Its ruins may now be seen at Santa Maria in Corpo, a few miles from the present Capua, and consist of

* An. Scholiast on Odyssey, i. 32.

† Æn. x. 145.

‡ Müller, b. i. v. 2.

§ Müller, Einleit.

an amphitheatre, seven gates, and portions of the old wall, which once comprised a space five miles in extent. The present Capua is on the site of the ancient Casilino.

The name of Pompeia, spelt in inscriptions, according to Micali, Pumpniian, naturally refers itself to the Pumpu as its founders, the great Magnates whose sepulchres we still see at Tarquinia. Acherontia, named from the Tuscan Acheron, reminds us of Mantua, which was named from Mantu, by its Perugian founder Bianor. Perhaps some later Perugian chief may have consecrated Acherontia to the Shades themselves, in imitation of Bianor, who had dedicated his city to the Shade-ruling deity. Blera has its counterpart near the Fanum Vultumnæ in Etruria Proper. Anxia speaks for itself, as a colony from Anxium, of the Volsci and Etrusci, and was doubtless settled by both nations. Strabo (v.) mentions Campanian, Acerra, and Nocera or Nuceria,* cities which were named, in compliment to the Umbri, from their towns so called in the north, the men of which, according to the laws of Tages, would form just such a proportion in the colonies, as they shared in the means by which they were acquired. According to the unalterable words of the treaty, "They shall share one common danger, and divide one common booty;" and therefore the men of Umbrian Acerra and Nocera, when they joined with the troops of their neighbours, the Rasena of Arretium, Cortona, and Clusium, would divide with them the new States founded in Campania. These

* Plin. iii. 5.

towns of Acerra and Nocera are called by Pliny* Umbrian, and by most other authors Tuscan; Valerius Maximus† speaks of the strong walls of Nuceria.

Strabo‡ says that Herculaneum and Pompeia were Pelasgic and Turrhene; which, no doubt, means that they were founded by the maritime wanderers or strangers, the Turrheni; and Polybius§ tells us that the Phlegræan fields were Turrhene. According to Micali,|| the names of several of these towns have been found in the old Tuscan writing, thus spelt:—Compulteria, "Kupelturnum." Nuceria, "Nufkrinum." Alfaterna, "Alataternum." Abella, "Achterl or Athellanium." The stone of Athella records one solemn annual feast, which was kept in common by Abella, Abellino, Trebella, and Nola, and was called the Tancinud.

Puteoli, which Stephanus of Byzantium and Pausanius (iv.) call Tursene, Pliny says, was a colony of Dicearchia, founded by the Greeks of Cuma; whence we infer that Puteoli was colonized by Greeks and Tuscans in common, the latter being in early times, by far the most polished and learned race of the two, and therefore teaching and civilizing the former.

We find the tiny settlement of Cuma, which for Cuma. 300 years, scarcely ventured to increase its territories, and which had no ships, except for trading with the Tuscans, quite surrounded and inclosed by this people, in their peaceful but ever-advancing

* iii. 5.

§ ii. 17.

† ix. 6.

‡ v.

|| An. Pop. xiv. 307.

career of dominion and colonization. Cuma was bounded by Tuscan Puteoli and Avernus on the north, by Nola and Vulturnum on the east, by Stabiæ, Salerno, and many inferior towns on the south, and by the sea upon the west, where the Tuscans then ruled the waves, even as the British now rule in the English Channel and in the Northern Ocean. Such, for 300 years, was the condition in Italy, of MAGNA GRECIA; and we need not be surprised to learn, from Dion. Hal. (viii.), that half the population of Cuma was Umbrian and Etruscan; neither need we wonder, when we find that an intimate commerce was in the course of ages, established between Tarquinia and Cuma, and between Rome, (whilst it was under Etruscan rule,) and Cuma, and that Tarquin the Second was in Isopolity with that city, and there exercised his right of exile, and retired to end his days.

Near Stabiæ, is the Promontory of Sorrento, which was surmounted by a celebrated temple to Etruscan Minerva, of which Statius says,*

"Est inter notos nomine muros,
Saxaque Turrhenæ templis oneratæ Minervæ."

Herculaneum on the west coast, and Heraclea on the east, are both named from the demi-god of the Rasena, "Erkle;" a god who was adopted by the Greeks, and who had many shrines and many towns named after him throughout the Greek settlements. Heraclea, upon the Gulf of Tarento, we are told by Theophrastus,† was Turrhene;

* Silv. ii.

† Ol. 116. Vide Müller.

and though this assertion startled Müller, the old Greek had every probability, and without doubt tradition also on his side. Modern authors are astonished to find him ascribing Heraclea to the Turrheni, because, in his day, this town was chiefly inhabited by the Greeks of later times, and was reckoned one of the cities of Magna Grecia; but the Maritime Rasena from Etruria Proper, at the period when they first colonized Southern Italy, would naturally extend themselves to this point, and stretch their settlements in a line from sea to sea. It is at Heraclea that the temple lands are found measured off, according to the Etruscan rules, with the *Cardo* and *Decumanus*.*

We learn, from the Scholiast upon the Odyssey,† that "Elea," afterwards conquered by the Greeks from the Lucanians, and then by the Samnites from the Greeks, was at first, a Tuscan settlement; and "Elea or Velea," opposite Paestum, is almost in a right line with Heraclea, and has a chain of small towns with genuine Tuscan names, which were stations, as it were, between them. Velea did not become Greek till the 61st Olympiad, and was Tuscan long before the Olympiads had begun. It was, as a Grecian colony, first settled in the days of Cyrus,‡ by Ionians who fled from the tyranny of the Persians, and who, after a skirmish, were not improbably received by treaty, and upon equal terms by the commercial Etruscan Velians, to whom Cuma,

* See Müller's *Etrüsker*, iii. 6, 13.

† i. 32. Vide Müller.

Sicily, and Grecia Proper, had long been familiar. The Tuscan stations between Velea and Heraclea were Vulci, the Vultur mountains, Lucus Minervæ, Blera, and Acherontia, which no man can doubt to have been Tuscan, and the Vultur mountains retain their old name to this day. Dr. Daubeney, in his late tour in this district, visited the Monte Vulture, the country of Volca, the Grotta Maina, and the River Aufidus, all names of the ancient Tusci.

As far as Cape Garganus, not much to the north of Heraclea, the Tuscans had, from the days of Tarchun, possessed the command of the sea, and the choice of settling wherever they pleased in the land, because this country belonged to their allies, the Umbri, who suffered all their possessions to be received as "Pars Tusciæ." The Ager Picentinus, extending from Sorrentum to the Silarus, Pliny* tells us, became Umbrian, that is, was shared by the Umbri with the Turrheni, at the time of their southern emigration and conquests; whilst again, he asserts that "Ager Picentinus fuit Thuscorum," because he considered the Umbri and Tusci as one. Stephanus of Byzantium says, that the "Πικερτία" was Tyrrhene. Many authors believe the Silarus, a small river running between Salerno and Paestum, to have been the boundary of South Etruria; but, if Elea was Tuscan in very early times, then it seems impossible that Paestum, or Phistu, (or Phistius, or

* iii. 5.

† iii. 9. See on the Tuscan Campanian cities, Müller's Etrüsker Einl. 4, 2.

Pistelel, or Sistlus, for it is spelt all these ways,) lying between it and the Silarus, should not have been Tuscan also.

Phistu boasted, as its oldest ornament, one of the strongest marks of the Tuscan people, viz. a temple to the warlike Juno, which, being a sacred shrine of the tribe of Janus, was as usual, referred by the Greeks to Jason, before the time of the Trojan war and during the lifetime of Tarchun. Paoli remarks upon this, that such a reference at least proves the belief of the Greeks, that its date was too ancient to be ascertained.* The common story of Paestum makes it to be founded by the Sybarites, the date not given, and *reconquered* by the Lucanians in the v. c. 400,† who restored its ancient name. Now the Sybarites were a colony of Achaïans, according to Aristotle, who did not appear in Italy at all until 800 B. C., and who, when they possessed themselves of Paestum, did so by conquest from the Lucanians, the youngest colony of the Samnites. This occurred about the time that the Samnites and the Tuscans were struggling for the upper hand in Campania, when the rich city of Vulturnum had just fallen by treachery into the power of the Samnites, according to Livy,‡ v. c. 332; that is, B. C. 421.§ The Sybarites

* See Paoli's great work on Velea and Paestum.

† Micali, A. P.

‡ iv. 37.

§ Hence it appears that Paestum or Phistu was founded by the Rasena, and continued long under their dominion, probably for four or five hundred years. It was first conquered by the Lucanians, and taken from them by the Sybarites, from whom it was again reconquered after a short possession.

consequently did not take or found Paestum until ages after the erection of the great Temple of Juno, and this may be the same as the temple now called that of Ceres, the type of whose architecture is to be seen in the pillars of Nevothp.h.'s tomb at Beni Hassan, dating at least 1700 B.C., and which was probably well known to the early Rasena.

We have no light whatever, neither by inscription nor by tradition, as to who built these wonderful and magnificent temples yet standing in silent ruin, where once the busy hum of men made cheerful the now lonely and deserted plains; where commerce smiled, where Ceres and Bacchus are said to have made their home, and where agriculture abundantly brought forth her golden stores. It is however tolerably certain, that had the Greeks raised these mighty piles, their names would not have slept in such uncaring oblivion; for it was not the fault of that people to leave their own vast and sublime creations without notice or renown. Their beautiful works in Lycia, lately visited by Mr. Fellowes, though not named by historians, have each their own inscriptions, to say how they were founded and by whom. But Paestum is silent as the grave, and was erected by those who believed, with the careless grandeur of the East, that their temples needed no storied monument, for that they spake the language of all mankind, and could not cease to be had in everlasting remembrance. The style of the temples is called ^{or} Doric, but no such Doric buildings have been found in the land of the Dorians, nor can

any traveller who knows Egypt, afterwards visit them, and not have his thoughts carried back to the tombs of Beni Hassan, and the temples of Thebes, when he looks upon the ruins of Paestum.

We see in these buildings, the massive stones, the low and heavy style described by Vitruvius, the baseless pillars somewhat diminishing upwards, and even the triglyph ornament of the Tuscans; and these noble monuments of voiceless antiquity and unrenowned skill, strike the unlearned eye, as if they were a later improvement upon the oldest native Tuscan style; just such an improvement as long intercourse with the great architectural structures of the wealthy cities in Lybia, and the Memphaid would naturally produce. When the Sybarites took Pistulis, we believe them to have surprised a walled and towered city, such as we see still occupying its ancient consecrated ground. We believe that it had Tuscan gates, a Tuscan citadel, and a Tuscan amphitheatre, a forum and a temple, all probably repaired and adorned by the Greeks, and doubtless used by them in the service of other gods, as they were afterwards governed by other masters, and filled by other votaries.

Phistu presents us with all the characters of the Turseni, excepting a Tuscan site, which would have been more appropriately found upon the mountain behind it; but the southern Tuscans having, at the time of their settlement in Campania, an overwhelming power in their own countrymen to back them, against the uncivilized Siculi; and having, as

their earliest neighbours, the Samnites and their offsets, whom they looked upon as their children, or their brethren; seem to have abandoned the lofty and peculiar sites of Etruria Proper, and to have thought only, or chiefly, of safe harbours and fruitful fields. The greater number of the Campanian towns were situated in plains, though walled and fortified, like those of the north. The site of a town was a circumstance left to their own discretion, and though uniform wherever they had to contend with warlike adversaries, was not one of the requisites prescribed by the laws of Tages.

Nola.

The town of Nola was one of the latest of the Tuscan cities, built, according to Velleius, at the same time with Volturnum, and bordering upon the Greek settlements; and it contained the most beautiful kind of Etruscan vases that have ever been excavated, with a polish and varnish quite peculiar, and a grace of form which is the Greek refinement upon a Tuscan original. As to the shape of these vases, it is needless to say, that they are all originally Egyptian, and most of them may be seen in Rosellini's plates, copied from the tombs of those Pharaohs of the 18th and 19th dynasties, which were sealed up at least 1500 B. C., and five or six hundred years previous to the period about which we are now writing. In Egypt these vases, for various uses, were of gold, silver, and bronze, as well as of clay. Such we find them also amongst the Hebrews under Moses, and consequently under succeeding rulers, and such we still

find them in the tombs of the Rasena.* The inhabitants of Nola, as we might naturally conjecture, were partly Greeks and partly Tuscans, though the Tuscans appear always to have remained masters in the town, and were without any doubt its original founders. The strong towers of Nola are spoken of by Livy† and by Silius.‡

We know little of the other cities enumerated from Müller and Micali, beyond their names, and that Tuscan inscriptions, or coins, or tombs, are occasionally found in their vicinity. Micali§ states that the names of Maisius, Vesius, Veltineism, Purnia, &c. have been found in the Etruscan burying-places in Campania, all names familiar amongst that people in the northern states; whilst, on the other hand, "Larth. Campanu," a "Lar of Campania," has been found added to names in the sepulchres of Perugia. Several small rivers in South Etruria went by the name of Clan and Clanis, particularly the Liris and the Uffente. The Chiana, near Clusium, bore the same name originally, the "Clanis," or the river of the great Clusium Clan.

About one hundred and fifty years after Cuma was founded, i. e. about 910 B. C., Homer came in his wanderings, to this small Greek settlement, probably in an Etruscan vessel from Egypt. This extraor-

Homer.
B. C.
910.

* The vases of Nola, are the same in style and subject as those of Chiusi and Tarquinia, but treated with more grace, and made of a finer and more lustrous clay.

† xxiii. 44.

‡ xii. 162.

§ It. av. Rom. ii. p. 19.

dinary man, whose name, birth, and parentage, are not known, is said to have been the son of a school-master in Smyrna or Chios, and to have travelled into distant lands that he might gain knowledge in countries more advanced than his own.* In acting thus, he pursued the same course with every Greek of superior intellect and attainments in those early days. The countries particularised as those over which he travelled, are Egypt, Africa, and Spain, or in other words, Egypt and the Phœnician colonies to the west and north of it, substituting Etruria for Spain, because we know that he visited the one, whilst we have not the slightest trace of him in the other. After he arrived in Egypt, he is said to have found the account of the Trojan war in the library of Ptha, at Naucratis, and he was so struck with the waste of heroism, of blood, and of treasure, that had been occasioned by a mistake regarding Helen, which arose from the ignorance of events, which must ever follow between distant countries, when the intercourse between them is limited and unfrequent, that it fired his mind and kindled his genius, to render it into an epic poem.

In this, besides instructing his countrymen in a great moral and political truth, he wished to make known throughout all the Greek tribes, an event in which all their chiefs had been engaged, and yet the remembrance of which, because it had happened one hundred and fifty years before, and had no chronicler in Greece, was then sinking into obli-

* See for Homer, Herodotus, and Strabo.

vion. The destruction of Troy, because the wife of Menelaus was erroneously supposed to be detained within her walls, was indeed known, as well in Grecia Proper, as in Egypt and in Asia Minor; but the names of the heroes, with the exception of two or three, and their deeds, had no distinct or lively remembrance in their native land. It was the custom in Egypt, in Assyria, and in all the Assyrian and Egyptian colonies; and probably amongst all the nations throughout the southern and eastern world, for a man's deeds to be recounted at his funeral, and for songs to be composed in his honour, in order to magnify whatever could be remembered in the acts of his life, which was heroic or praiseworthy. These songs, when they related any striking incident, were preserved in families, and sung by the bards, or the poets, or the chiefs, after supper, and Homer soon found that his poems were of that attractive kind, which made him universally acceptable. When in the Memphaid, he would doubtless strive to obtain information concerning all the dispersed colonies of his countrymen towards the west, and through the Turrheni Campanian merchants from the immediate neighbourhood of Cuma, he would hear of the few establishments of the Greeks who were settled in that town, and in the islands of the Bay of Naples.

If Homer read the account of the Trojan war in the library of Ptha at Naucratis, then it is probable that the Rasena in his day, had a factory at Naucratis, for they were a great commercial people long

before the Greeks, and in the year two hundred of Rome, Egina had a very large establishment for the Greek merchants at this place. Aristotle says that in the reign of Amosis, the Greeks there possessed four hundred and seventy thousand slaves!!

The great poet, on his arrival in Italy, seems first to have visited Cuma and its neighbourhood, where he learned the gloomy doctrines of the Tuscan Acherontia, and whence he travelled into Turrhenia, in which land, tradition says, he unfortunately caught a fever which occasioned him to lose his eyes. Doubtless at Tarquinia, Cere, or wherever else he might travel, he would sing those bewitching lays, which told of Priam's death and Troy's fall; and in this manner, the Iliad came to be known in Turrhenia, as ancient authors assure us that it was, before it was known in Greece. The poet, when he returned blind to Cuma,* expected sympathy and assistance from his own countrymen, but though they admired him as other men had done, they were too like the world of the present day, to part with their money for an old song, and they called him Omeros, or the blind man, and said that the charitable funds of Cuma were not intended for the *οἰμποί*, or the blind.

The songs of Homer at Cuma seem, however, never to have been forgotten: the Phlegræan fields, he is supposed to have described from nature, and the Lestrigoni are the Cumean notion of those Sikeli who dwelt to the south of the Greeks, and amongst

* Tiraboschi quotes Heraclides Ponticus for the tradition that Homer lost his sight in Tyrrhenia.

whom they did not dare to venture. These songs may have been either written down in Turrhenia, or they may have been learnt and repeated by successive bards, for as ancestral songs were ever in mode amongst the Tuscans, those who sang them were sure to be men of quick parts and retentive memories. We have reason to believe that Homer's tales were translated into Tuscan, and constantly repeated at the supper tables, but that they were not written down, because the vases show us that the Etruscans had different versions of them in different provinces, and that they added to them various ideas and customs peculiar to themselves. In short, they put Homer's poems into an Etruscan dress, which they would not have done, had they translated or transcribed them from a written original.

Homer, or the blind man of Cuma, returned to Asia Minor, and in Chios married, and there died. His poems were all written out in fragments by the Asiatic Greeks, and Lycurgus the great lawgiver of Sparta,* first heard them when he travelled into Ionia. He was so delighted with them, and thought them so well fitted to aid the tendency and design of his own laws, by inspiring the Greeks with patriotism and courage, that he had them collected together, and introduced them into Sparta,† but they were not generally known in Greece, nor arranged as we now have them, till long afterwards, by Pisis-tratus, 560 B. C. It is no marvel if some corruptions should have crept into the copies of the

* B. C. 840.

† Plut.

Iliad, seeing that those copies were first perfected three or four centuries subsequent to the age of Homer.

Car-
thage,
B. C.
890.

The next great event, which had an after and enduring influence upon the fortunes of Italy, was the foundation of Carthage, in the year B. C. 890, by a small colony from Tyre, who followed the fortunes and were under the command of Elisa, or Dido, a widowed princess of that city.* It is said that she asked leave of her brother Pygmalion, the reigning king, to depart for Chartaca, or Kartaca, or Kartaca, a small sea-port town near Tyre, now Acre, where she wished to live in retirement; and upon his granting her request, she put to sea, and made sail for the well-known friendly harbour of Utica, then a great city and powerful state in Africa. The governor of Utica, Justin says, received her, and settled her and her followers at a small town at no great distance, where he procured for her a grant of land, and where he and the Lybians helped her to build the citadel of Bursa, or Bozrah, which in time, uniting with the town, became the Kartaca, or Carthage, to which she retired. Ancient authors occasionally call Carthage by the name of Tyre, and its inhabitants Sidonians; and Eusebius says that, according to Philistus of Syracuse, it was built by Zorus, (i. e. Tsur or Tyre,) and Charchedon, (i. e. the little town of Chartaca.)

* The date of Carthage, according to Petavius, is 137 prior to Rome. It was destroyed in the year of Rome 606, at which time, according to Solinus, it was 737 years old.

Solinus says that Carthage consisted of three different parts, Megara, Bursa, and Cothon, built at three different times, and that Bursa, or the citadel, was the only one erected by Elisa. This might be ascertained in old times, because the Carthaginians kept with great solemnity their founder's feasts, and there may have been three such in the great city, which resembled London, Westminster, and Southwark, the three names gradually becoming lost in that one which was most warlike and important. The territories of Utica and Carthage were divided from Numidia by the river Tusca. Virgil is supposed to have derived his knowledge of Dido from the Carthaginian annals, fragments of which were preserved, though most of them, along with those of the Lybians, were destroyed by the Romans. Pygmalion was the Priest of Hercules, in whose temple the perpetual fire was kept at Tyre. He consulted the Augurs as to whether or not he should pursue his sister, and they forbade him to molest her. She settled near the Barcae, who were probably Phœnicians as well as herself, and their prince is called her *brother* Barca, by Strabo and Pliny. The Carthaginian nobles were merchants; they consulted the flight of birds, and carried Patæci, that is, small images of gods or heroes, on the prows of their vessels, which they imagined to be the patrons of seamen,* and they for a long while, sent, every year, tithes and free-will offerings to the temple of Hercules at Tyre. The

* Carthage, Ancient History, vol. xvii.

Rasena doubtless became acquainted with the Carthaginians through the Uticans.

Greek cities, B. C. 800. In the year 800 B. C., the great cities of Crotona and Sybaris were founded in the south of Italy by Achæians, who carried on a commerce with Græcia Proper, and besides this, they necessarily soon came into some communication with the Etruscan colonies in their neighbourhood. Locris* was founded a few years later, and from this time forwards, the Greek vessels ventured to coast from the Umbrian Garganus, to Salentinum, and from Pæstum or Phistum to Reggio, but they seldom if ever, ventured north of Naples. Their earliest commerce with Etruria Proper seems to have been that of Cuma† with Pyrgi and Tarquinia, and perhaps also with Antium and Cosa. The dialects spoken by the Greek tribes who settled in Italy, were the Dorian and the Eolian, the only two now found upon the Etruscan vases, mingled with words of Tuscan, because the two people spoke each other's language, and dwelt in each other's cities, wherever they were borderers. For this reason, the Noctes Atticæ‡ say, that if there is any Greek to be traced in the Tuscan tongue, it is Eolic, though the oldest Tuscan language is like the Hebrew.

Crotona, Temesa, Taranto, Messapi, Brondisi,

* Müller says that Cortona, Sybaris, and Locris, were at first only fortresses, and that all the oldest towns of Magna Græcia, excepting only Cuma, were situated on the gulfs of Locris and Scyllace.

† Müller.

‡ xi. 17.

and Metapontus or Metabo, were all places *conquered* by the Greeks, about this period, from the Siculi, who had villages upon their sites. Crotona has often been confounded in its traditions, with Cortona or Cortyus, in the centre of Etruria Proper.

The founding of Taranto is ascribed to Tarens or Taranto, the son of Neptune, who is represented as riding upon a dolphin, an Etruscan emblem, which signifies one who crosses the ocean. The dolphin has beneath it a star, called by the Rasena "the guiding sign," the star by which they steered at sea, probably the polar star, but which some have thought to represent the compass, an Eastern invention, the origin of which cannot be traced. This device of Tarens riding upon a dolphin above his own star, formed the ancient arms of Tarentum. There is an old tradition, that Taras came from Tarquinia, and scarabæi with his image have been found in the Tarquinian sepulchres.* Tarentum was not colonized, as a Greek city, until 707 B. C.

Messapi reminds us of Messapus the Etruscan, whom Virgil brings to the assistance of Æneas, though all we can infer from this coincidence is, that Etruscans may very probably have formed part of the population of Messapi, as they

* There is, in the possession of the author, a remarkable scarabæus with an intaglio of Taras riding on a dolphin. And it is distinguished by the unique peculiarity of having the back of the scarabæus fashioned into a human face with an Egyptian headdress.

did of Cuma and Heraclea. The Greeks, who were capable afterwards, of telling us that their colonies founded Rome and all the seaports of northern Italy, were capable also of telling us that they were the originators of cities, which in the commencement, they only shared in common with the Rasena and the Siculi, and only dwelt in by their sufferance.

Zancle. In the eighth century before Christ, Cuma sent forth her colony to build Zancle,* now Messina, in Sicily, and about the year 760 B. C., colonies of Dorians from Chalcis and Asia Minor formed also settlements along the Sicilian sea coast. In the fifth Olympiad, a few years before Rome was founded, the Greeks began to venture into the Turrhene seas, where they peopled Naxos, in Sicily,† Megara, and other towns, and from Sicily they first came in numbers to Italy. Müller thinks that the Campanian Greeks were very little known in Etruria before this period.

Rome, B. C. 753. In the sixth Olympiad, Rome was founded, and we have therefore brought our history down to the close of its first division. We have shown how Western Umbria in early ages and barbarous times, first became civilized under the Rasena, who spread themselves through the wide territories of the Umbri, north and south; and we have also shown how, by their influence upon the Sabellian tribes, which all derive their origin from the Umbri, they gradually spread their own institutions, but not the reasons and groundwork of those institutions, throughout Italy.

* Thucyd. vi.

† Müller.

This unworthy jealousy on the part of the Rasena, which led them to conceal their first principles of government and science, lest the multitude should share in the knowledge of the few, and lest the limbs of the child should grow into proportion with the head of the man, has deprived Etruria of the gratitude of posterity. She is indeed the origin of civilization to Europe, and of almost every important and useful institution which blesses and preserves our present order of society; but as the tribes of Italy were ever in danger of falling back into their Sikelian barbarism, as soon as her guidance was withdrawn, we cannot help perceiving a selfish policy in her Magnates, and in her aristocratical governments, unworthy of the pristine genius of her faith, and of the noble and exalted public institutions given to her people by Tarchun.

We think we have proved that the power of Etruria both extended over Italy and blessed it, before the Greeks had any power, and before the name of Rome had been heard amongst mankind, and we will adduce a few conclusive sentences from ancient authors to show that we have only explained at length, what they in brief, have uniformly asserted.

Dionysius Halicarnassus* says that the Rasena were the first inhabitants of Italy who fortified their towns, and that they were a brave and skilful nation, who taught the Pelasgi navigation and military discipline; also that they were the earliest, and long

* lib. i.

the only, people known to the Greeks, for that all the extent of Italy which the Latins called "Italia," the Greeks only knew by the name of Turrhenia.

Diodorus Siculus* speaks of Etruria as the source of all learning and philosophy to the other Italians, and says that the Turrheni excelled in courage, lived in wide and fruitful lands, built many and celebrated cities, were powerful in ships and ruled on the sea; also that "Volscos et Campanos omnes" were subject to their sway.

Pliny† and Athenæus‡ speak of their having invented the anchor and the shield, and excelling all their cotemporaries by sea and land.

Heraclides Ponticus says, that the Turrheni shone in the arts and sciences, and Varro that they taught religion to the Romans.

Livy affirms§ that before Rome had risen into power they had filled Italy with their riches and their fame, which spread from the Alps to the sea.

Strabo (v.) tells us that the Romans took from them their consuls and magistrates, lictors, fasces, secures, and triumphs, their gods, sacrifices, divination and solemn music.

Diodorus Siculus|| again says, that the Turrheni were amongst the first in letters, in the investigation of nature, and in the knowledge of thunder and lightning. They were the first who gave the ensigns of sovereignty to their chief. They cultivated heir fields, and made their hills arable, and they

* lib. v.

† vii.

‡ Deip. xii.

§ lib. v. 33.

|| lib. v.

were luxurious in their feasts and their apparel. They wore woollen garments, which were flowered all over, (with crimson, with purple, and with gold, as we learn from the tombs,) they used silver cups, and they were fond of many servants and slaves, who were gaily dressed, delicately treated, and well instructed. The Romans took from them their magistrates, lictors, curule chairs of ivory, purple toga, and atria or porticoes to their houses, to keep off the crowd of attendants. "In this age, about the 710 of Rome," adds Diodorus, "they dine or sup twice every day, and they have fallen from glory to gluttony."

Plutarch in Mario, says, that the Turrhenian, the Ionian, and the Adriatic seas, were all in early times ruled over by the Tuscans, and he and Servius say that the Latins were tributary to them.

Homer in the Odyssey, and Herodotus in Vit. Hom., ascribe to them extensive dominions, commerce, and power. Aristotle* says, that "the Indians ruled in the east, as the Etruscans in the west."

Cato† says, "in Thuscorum jure, pene omnis Italiae fuerat."

Servius, in his commentary upon Virgil,‡ asserts "Nam constat Thuscos usque ad mare Siculum omnia possedissee."

We have now proved the Rasena to have been an Asiatic or a Ludin colony, and we think that they

* Orat. in Bacch.

† Servius Æn. xi.

‡ Georg. ii. 533.

prove themselves to have passed, like the Jews, a long sojourning in Egypt, and to have come from Egypt or Lybia, into Europe.

Let us, as an illustration, suppose an English ship to arrive suddenly and unexpectedly to-morrow, at an island in Polynesia never before heard of. The crew are amazed to find a people there, who write the old black letter of our forefathers, and who speak a jargon of German and French, which when analysed, proves to be the English of the days of Chaucer. This people inform them that the name of their island is "Anglia," and that they themselves are "Londoners," a colony from Normandy, who arrived in ships at their present home five centuries ago, under "Sir Hubert." Their metropolis is named Hubertstown, their great lawgiver is St. Louis, their patron saint, St. George, and one of their towns is Georgeville, because, as they allege, George's land was the earliest name of their country. Their great and rich temple is "Notre Dame;" their kalendar is the old style of Europe; their towns are built with walls, gates, and fortresses, and their cathedrals are like those of Normandy and Brittany. Their religion also is the Roman Catholic, such as it was before the decrees of Trent had fixed it in its present dogmas, when much liberality and much diversity of opinion were allowed to exist amongst its members, upon difficult points of faith, though there was a general agreement in doctrine and worship.

Though this strange people might say that "God

had given them the Polynesian Anglia," even as the Rasena said that Jove had given them Etruria, and though they might preserve no trace of their history previous to their settlement in Polynesia under Sir Hubert, yet could we doubt as to who they were, or whence they came? As a colony of Londoners and going through transitions, such as we have imagined, they could in truth have no history to relate, but would resemble the American emigrants in the days of Elizabeth and Charles. Yet should we not say that they needed no records, that their language and customs told their own story, and that not all the annals of corroborating narratives, could make the truth more evident, as to their having been originally a colony from London, the capital of England, at a time when it had been in intimate relation with France? Should we not deduce with equal confidence, that this colony had dwelt for a time in Normandy, that they had been protected there by St. Louis, whose laws and memory they in consequence held in reverence, and that some strange accident, perhaps persecution following upon his death, or war, or famine, had driven them across the ocean to the New Anglia, in which our ship is supposed to find them?

Let us imagine still further, that this people had impressed upon their standard coin, called a sovereign or suzerain, the head of William the Conqueror doubled, in order to express that he had been their lord in two countries. Suppose that on the reverse side, was a ship, in memory of their

having been driven from their earthly heaven, the French home, which had at first received them, and of their having found, upon being forced away from it, refuge in another home in the East. And suppose that they had introduced amongst the native islanders, the saint-worship of this William of their coins, with whom they were continually confounding Sir Hubert, in tradition, because in Normandy, they had been called the people of William, and Sir Hubert as the head of this people, when they colonized, naturally represented in the new country, the man who had been their former head and symbolical father in the old;—would not this aid us, as an additional light, to trace the period during which they had dwelt in France, under the kings between the dynasties of William and St. Louis? Historical testimony, however clear, could scarcely convince our understandings more strongly, as to the origin and adventures of this people, though it might relate the details of their story more circumstantially.

To apply this parallel to the Rasena: a tribe from Resen, the capital of Aturia, in the land of Assyria, which the Egyptians called Ludin, having ruled for some time, in the Memphaïd, are driven away, and taking ship, come into Umbria under Tarchun, or Tirhaka. They call themselves R.S.N.a, from Resen; their new settlement Etruria, from Aturia;* and their chief town Tarchuna, from Tarchun their

* Servius xi. 596, calls Turrhenia Etruri. Strabo xvi. names Tarchun as the Etrurian chief.

warrior head. Tages or Taautes, their lawgiver, is the same as Egyptian Thoth, and their land was called Heraclea, from their patron-saint "Erkle." One of their towns near the Temple of Voltumna bore the same name; and we deduce it from Erkol the princely demigod of Tyre, or from Archles the Assyrian king of Lower Egypt. Their great temple of Eluthya was dedicated to the same divinity as Eluthia of the Thebaïd.* The image on their coins was that of Janus, who was the ancient chief and ruler of the Assyrians in the Avaris and the Memphaïd; and one of whose tribes came in a ship to Italy, the coin itself bearing the name of "As or Asith," Assyrian Janus's successor. The style of the Rasenan buildings and the genius of their religion was Egyptian; their letters were Phœnician, and their numerals were the remains of an Assyrian alphabet, which, if not cotemporary, preceded the Phœnician. Their writing continued from first to last Oriental, being read from right to left, often leaving out vowels, and generally using them indifferently, one for another. This of itself proves that they neither learnt from the Greeks nor copied them, or they would have changed their mode of writing and fixed their sounds after the Grecian manner. All that they adopted from the Greeks in the course of time, was the O, and some of the letters which express double sounds. Their original alphabet seems to have been the same with the Egyptian, the Assyrian, and the Chaldee,

* Pliny ix.

and had in it, no medial letters, no B, D, or G, and no C. The B was expressed by V, the D by T, and C by S or K. It is from the use or omission of these letters on inscriptions, that we are often able to guess their date, as preceding or subsequent to, the foundation of Rome. Their language is a dialect of Assyrian, their astronomy Chaldean, their alphabet Semitic, their numerals arrow-headed, and their religious usages, manners, and customs, are a mixture of Egyptian and Phœnician, identical with neither, but partaking of the nature of both.

We need not ask reasoning men whether this people are or are not Assyrians? Whether we should believe their own tradition, that they originally were driven by famine, or some other calamity, from Ludin, and sailed to the west and north, taking with them arms and followers, tools and furniture: or whether, according to the conjectures of learned dreamers, they were animated portions of the Italian soil, who, in the progress of time, by some marvellous and hitherto unexperienced and supernatural developement; or by contact with Pelasgi, who could neither build, nor sail, nor fight, became, with the sudden force of inspiration, a learned and powerful, a great and civilized nation? We apprehend, as the governing rule of this world, that effects must have causes equal to produce them.

This appears to us the most convenient place for criticising a parallel which was drawn in the chapter on the Hyksos, p. 33, between the Egyptians and the

Rasena, where Egyptian Eluthya is named, as containing a temple to the same goddess who was worshipped at Pyrgi, and where "Ransni," a scribe and general is mentioned as having been buried in the Eluthyan necropolis. Also we would make some remarks upon a passage of Diodorus, according to which one race of the Hyksos lived for three hundred years in a portion of Egypt near Ethiopia, in a town called Esar, which is the Etruscan word for a demigod.

Eluthya was a town in Upper Egypt, mentioned by Pliny.* Strabo (v.) describes it as rich and noble in appearance, and says that it contained a temple to the goddess of delivery and victory, which temple, Rosellini informs us, was adorned by the sovereign Queen Amense, and by the Pharaohs Moeris and Memnon. In proof of its high antiquity, Rosellini† gives the prenomen of a king prior to the 16th dynasty, who was buried here. Now this temple was certainly known to the Hyksos, because the part of Egypt in which it is situated, was devastated by them, and if a Hyksos general could find a place there, or if the Egyptians, like the Romans, ever took the names of those whom they conquered, such as "Asiaticus," "Africanus," &c., Ranseni, who died in the reign of Sethos, has every chance of being such a man. The Rasena, we believe to have left Egypt either when Sethos was a child,‡ and Ranseni may have been a veteran soldier, or they left it a few years previous to his reign, which would still correspond with the youth of Ranseni. It may be

* ix.

† vol. i. p. 144.

‡ Bunsen's dates.

urged that Eluthya is the Greek, and not the Egyptian name of the goddess or temple of which we are speaking. Its name has indeed, within the last few years, been discovered by the hieroglyphics to be "Tsuana," but we may with equal truth, argue against the temple of Pyrgi, the name of which we only know through the Greeks, and the vernacular of which, could it be found, would more probably be some Syro-Egyptian sound, like "Atsuara or Atsuana." Tsuan being the Egyptian, and Athara the Phœnician name for Eluthya. In both cases, the Greeks conceived the temple to be dedicated to the same goddess, and the names in Etruscan and Egyptian, to signify the same thing. This is further confirmed by Plutarch, who says that Athuri is a title of Isis. Athyr, according to Rosellini, is Venus, i. e. she was one of the great goddesses of Egypt.

Winning says that the four-winged Phœnician figures are *Athara* or *Eluthya*, the same with Egyptian Isis and the Greek Io.* With the Egyptians, the vulture was the emblem of victory, and the hawk of sovereignty, which two were represented in Etruria by the very same birds, latinized afterwards into a vulture and an eagle.

The tomb of Ranseni is one of four painted sepulchres, all in the same place, and in his tomb are the representations of agricultural processes, music and dancing, exactly similar to the Etruscan remains in the sepulchres of Tarquinia.

Esar, the Hyksos town of Diodorus, was situated

* Winning, in Brit. Mag.

seventeen days to the south of Meröe, according to Pliny.* Wilkinson says that Esar means in Arabic, the "left hand," but it is surely not so probable that any people should have given to their capital the sinister name of "Left-Hand," as that, according to the custom of all the ancient Asiatic tribes, they should have called it after the name of a greater or lesser god. At all events, Esar was a Ludin name, given to the town of a Ludin colony, from the Avaris, and Esar also is the name of blessed or deified spirits amongst the Etruscans, and was given to some of their rivers, and with great probability to some of their smaller towns also.

The inventions† ascribed to the Etruscans, by Greek and Latin writers, are the trumpet, the shield, the phalanx, and the science of fortification,‡ Tuscan columns and architectural proportions,§ the prow and anchor,|| mills,¶ atria or house courts, plays and theatres, horse races,** the golden crown of triumph, paintings,†† Fictile vases,‡‡ and coins. The meaning of "invention," as applied to these and many other things, we have before observed, simply indicates that

* vi.

† The authors from whom this list is taken may be seen all collected together in Müller, Micali, and Dempster. They are Varro, Festus, Tertullian, Tacitus xiv., Isidorus, Athenæus Deipnosophist vi., and Pliny vii. 36, xxxvi. 18, xxxv. 2.

‡ Isidorus and Vitruv. § Deip. vi. || Plin. vii.

¶ Pliny, xxxvi. 18. ** Tacitus, xiv. †† Plin. xxxv.

‡ Isidorus.

the Rasena were the first to use and introduce them into Italy.

The Romans took from the Rasena the method of founding and consecrating cities, of constituting the senate and government, and of ordering their colonies. From them, they learned the construction of walls, forts, and pomœria; the reckoning of time, literal characters, numerals, and coinage. From them, they also learned the worship of Janus, Hercules, and Saturn, besides other gods and heroes; the forms of declaring war, and of making treaties; the use of augury, and of religious ceremonies; of military music and accoutrements; of chariots, trumpets, Circensian games, crowns, sceptres, curule chairs, togas, ornaments of dress, and fasces; the institution of Vestals, Feciales, Salii, and lictors; of colleges for different brotherhoods of men, of Arvales, Agrimensores, and Haruspices. From them, they also learned the science of cultivating land with agricultural instruments, the culture of the vine, the arts of statuary and architecture, the fabrication of pottery, the science of navigation, the construction of ships, magazines, and armaments, the method of keeping their annals,* and the useful practice of singing at feasts the praises of their ancestors. Livy says, that in the year 389 of the city, the Romans introduced from Etruria, dancing, playing, scenic amusements, and repeating of verses. Nevertheless, the verses which recorded the praises of ancestors were repeated long

* Justus Fontanus.

before this period, because one of the laws in the Twelve Tables commands that when this is done, other men are not to be disparaged.

The wonderful similarity between the Rasena and the Egyptians in religious dogmas, in the form of their furniture and pottery, their apparel and ornaments, their architecture and painting, their division and measurement of land, their military customs, arms, and discipline, but above all, in their funeral rites, has been frequently touched upon in this volume, and will be referred to more in detail, when we come to treat of the manners and customs of the Rasena. Such are the painted cavern, the sculptured image, the yearly feast in memory of the deceased, the praises sung at his funeral, the Lares, the vases, the scarabæi and bronze specchj buried with the dead; the sacred flower of the Lotus painted on the walls of the tomb, the Tutulus as a mark of dignity, worn upon the head, the emblems of the Hippocampus, the Tiphon, and the sacred geese: the illustrious men, distinguished by red painted faces, and the women of a fairer and paler colour; the very name of the god "Mantu," and of the demons Charon and Tifon. All of these, which were not the separate and simultaneous inventions of two different and widely distant nations, but which were derived from the one people to the other, we shall treat of more at length, hereafter.

It is almost equally interesting to remark the strong brotherly likeness between the Etruscans and the Hebrews, that other Assyrian or Ludin race, which, like themselves, found a long tem-

porary home in the Avaris, and came out thence, between two and three centuries before them, to settle as a separate nation, in another country. The resemblance between the two people is so strong, arising from an identity of circumstances, in many respects, that the Jews, when they became acquainted with the Etruscans, believed them to be the children of Esau, the brother of Jacob, and called them a race from Edom.* We observe, however, this great difference between the two,—the Hebrews, an unwarlike race, went into a warlike and highly civilized country, the inhabitants of which were continually influencing them to adopt their customs, though to their own hurt. Here they seem to have lived under a continual impression that the Canaanites were a superior people to themselves, and that in their land, they could learn much more than they were ever able to teach; though they alone were the people of the Most High, and though they alone possessed that truth, of which every rational notion in Palestine was but a corruption. The Rasena, on the contrary, went forth a warlike and bold race, into a land where they had no equals, and where consequently, to their misfortune, they taught all and could in return learn nothing.

We find amongst the Jews, these strong points of resemblance to the Rasena. They adopted the Assyrian letters and dialect, their weights and measures, their coins and established rules for wages,

* The rabbis have a tradition that the Etruscans were the children of Esau. Vide Winning, in British Mag.

usury, and debt; their system of land-measuring and agriculture, their cultivation of the olive and the vine, their strict division of the people into classes, and the distinction, in matters of government, between dominant Hebrews and plebeian Canaanites, which was ever kept in view, and ever carried out into practice. We find, moreover, a civil division of the people into households, and a military division of them into tens and fifties, hundreds and thousands. We find amongst the Hebrews, the Assyrian law of female inheritance, the institution of asylums, aggers, walled cities, gates, and forts, the building of many storied houses, the custom of counting a man for a family, and, in numbering the people, of reckoning the warriors only. We recognize amongst them the poll-tax and tithes, the keeping of pedigrees, the prohibitions for a man to be a priest (answering to an Augur) before he was of considerable age, the use of highways, and the practice of reading and writing. The covenants which they made with neighbouring nations, or between families and tribes, were always established and solemnized by feasts and sacrifices; and they used in war, trumpets, shields, helmets, daggers, battle-axes, and swords, and for household and temple purposes, vessels of brass or bronze, and clay.

The Hebrews brought with them out of Egypt even the bronze specchj for the women, like those now found in the Etruscan tombs, besides the gold and jewelled ornaments for dress; chains, earrings, bracelets, and a thousand other similarities in sacred

and domestic habits, though their exit took place nearly 300 years prior to the Rasena. And all these we hold to be strong confirmation for what we have throughout advanced, viz. the self-evident orientalism of the Etruscans. Indeed, the deeper we push our researches, the more clearly does the truth shine forth, defying even doubt and hesitation, that the Etruscan nation, which differed in language from all around them, and which originated civilization to every other Italian tribe, whilst they resembled none, can be identified with the men of Egypt and Phœnicia, like children of the same family. We apprehend, therefore, that by the voice of common sense and reason, the Etruscans must be acknowledged as the race which they have ever called themselves, i. e. the children of Tarchun, the disciples of Tages or Thoth, and the tribe of ancient Ludin.

To them alone we trace, in the first instance, the civilization of Italy, where Niebuhr, Müller, and Micali prove, that the Greeks had no influence until after the year 300 of Rome; and, if this be true, it is to Etruria, and to her great Etruscan Latin colony, the lordly and world-embracing Rome, that we owe the civilization of Europe in general, and of our own island, Great Britain, in particular.

Learned men, should any of you ever deign to peruse this work, forgive its errors, and be not disgusted by one, ten, or even a hundred mistakes in its pages, which may appear inexcusable to the eyes

of your superior knowledge. Be persuaded to read it through, and to ponder well the evidence of facts, united to those of ancient testimony and of existing remains. Weigh these together, and then determine if the argument, in the mass, be not founded upon truth. The theory built upon it may be so unskillfully supported, as to fall to pieces at the first rude touch, but the foundation, we believe to be so deeply laid, that it cannot be overthrown.

Be not offended that one who, in comparison with you, knows nothing, should venture to intrude upon the ground which you have left vacant, and who feels like a mole attempting to burrow through a mountain, having no power to accomplish more than barely to trace upon the surface that line which it is your province to quarry through underground.

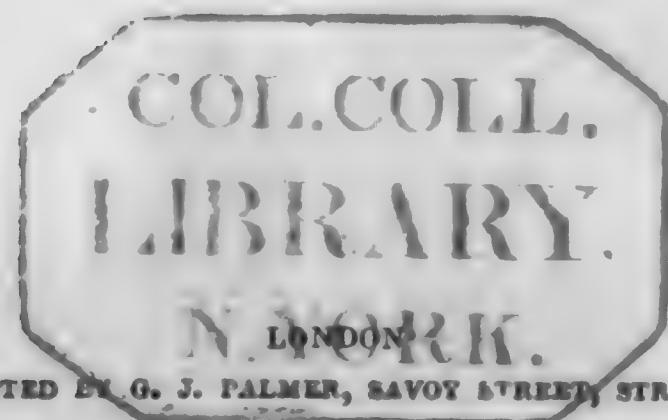
Be not forgetful that the ablest general rarely marches his forces over ground that has not previously been prepared for him by the humble pioneer, and that the most talented of architects cannot put into execution his sublime conceptions, except he have the help of the poor workman who labours for his daily bread. Do not despise the day of small things. "I see men as trees walking." Let us hope that the ointment may yet be found, by your help, which shall restore to those dim and treelike figures the grace and the proportions of men.

NOTE.—Since this volume was entirely finished, the author has seen the very curious work lately published by Sir William Beecham, upon "Etruria Celtica," and is gratified to find that, by an entirely different light and process, that zealous and ingenious

antiquarian has arrived at nearly the same results, in all important particulars, with those developed in the preceding pages. The Eugubian tables, granting them to be written in Etruscan and not in Umbrian, must, however, still remain an open question, until more can be ascertained concerning the various dialects of the Phœnician language. As the Rasena had been settled in Italy for upwards of 500 years, when those tables were engraved, there can be no question that both Greek and Oscan, but especially the latter, had by that time, greatly influenced the primitive Etruscan tongue, even as much as French and Latin in England, have influenced the native Saxon, and for this reason the Irish and Etruscan languages, even though they could be proved to be cognates, cannot be identical.

As we believe Etruscan to have been the learned language of Umbria, it is just as likely that all public decrees should have been written in that tongue, as that our own Acts of Parliament formerly should have been written in Latin: and much more likely than the absurd custom, which we still preserve, of placing Latin eulogies in our churches upon the monuments of illustrious Englishmen, as if their own language were not polished enough to celebrate their praise, or as if we wrote for foreigners, and not for the benefit and improvement of our own people.

THE END.



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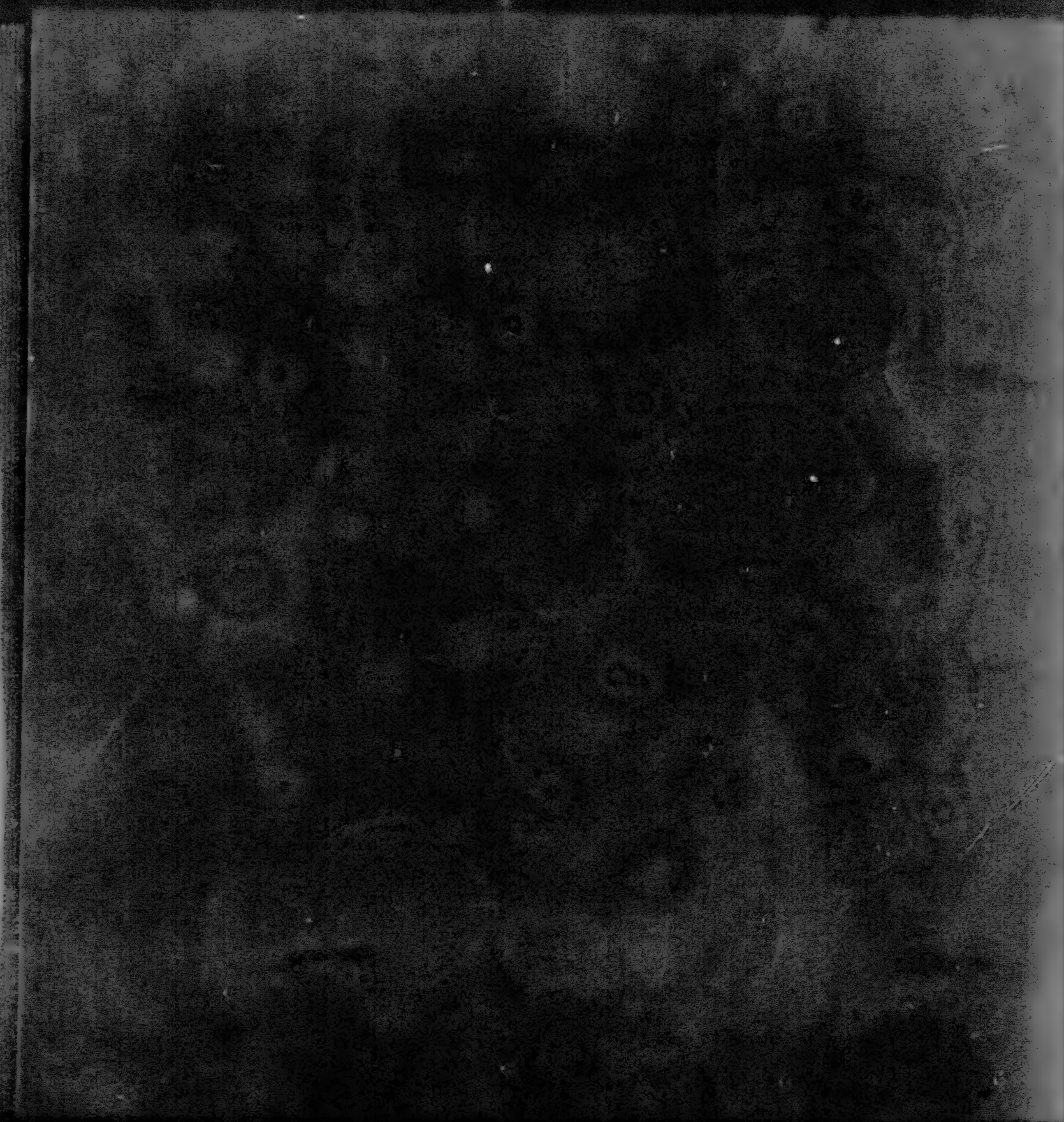
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PREFACE.

IN this Volume we have so often referred to Niebuhr's "Römische Geschichte," that we wished to make that work as accessible as possible to an English reader. We found this difficulty,—that whereas our quotations were made from the original, the German copies and English translation nowhere can be made to agree for reference, excepting in the notes, which in both are numbered alike. We have therefore adopted the somewhat clumsy expedient of quoting the notes only, in order to refer our readers to that part of the work, whether note or text, from which our knowledge was gleaned.

For the quotations from Dionysius and Diodorus we would refer to their index, as in the first volume.

20564

A very eminent scholar has desired that the authors referred to in p. 41, vol. i., of this work, as having related that Northern Africa was settled by the Phœnicians, may be named. They are chiefly collected from the *Universal Ant. His.*, vols. xvii. p. 220, &c., and vol. xviii, p. 141, &c., and they are Aristotle de *Mirabilia*, Strabo iii., Nonnius in Dionys. xiii., Sallust in *Jugurtha*, Vell. Patere, l. c. 2, Florus iii., *Præcop de Bell. Vand.*, Eusebius *Chron.*, August in *Epist. ad Rom.*, besides the modern authorities of Huet, Bachart, and Heeren. The author who asserts that the tribes of "Ait Amor" and "Ait Het." are Phœnicians, is Gray Jackson, once British Consul amongst them, in his *History of the Morocco and Barbary States*; and he could judge as to their language not being Arabic, and as to the prefixes of O and Mac not being mispronunciations of that tongue, because he was himself a distinguished Arabic scholar.

Von Hammer's opinion is quoted from a private letter written by him to Mr. Spencer Smith, of which the writer of this work was permitted to make use, as well as of Mr. Jackson's letters to the same gentleman, and to his talented son, the Reverend Herbert Smith. The information respect-

ing the Ogham alphabet is taken from "the Round Towers of Ireland," by O'Brien; and the "Darius" referred to, as the last king under whom the arrow-headed characters were used, should have been written "Darius Codomanus."

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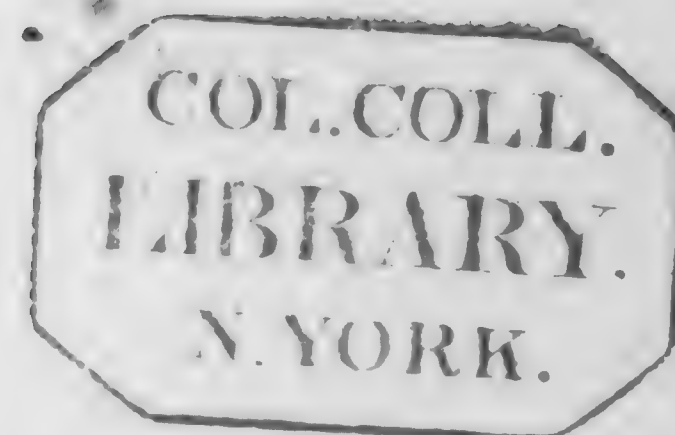
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HISTORY OF ETRURIA.

CHAPTER I.

PERIOD OF ROMULUS.

Turrhenia founds Alba Longa—Colonies and Townships of Alba Longa—Alba Longa founds Rome—Reign and Institutions of Romulus.

UNTIL the third year of the sixth Olympiad, according to Varro, that is, seven hundred and fifty-three years before the christian æra, and four hundred and thirty-four years after the dedication of the great temple at Tarquinia, Etruria was the only great, civilised, and commercial power in Europe. But upon her borders, was another strong and rising state, warlike as herself, though not commercial, and treading fast in the footsteps of her civilization. This was Latium, consisting of several divisions, the chief of which was Alba, having under it thirty

townships, and being acknowledged as the mightiest and perhaps the most sacred of the thirty states which then, and indeed at all times, formed the great Latin confederation.

The Latins were at peace with the Tuscans, and yet formed an armed neutrality against them.

During this Olympiad, Niebuhr * informs us that "there were three separate co-existing dynasties; the Priscan, or original, the Alban, and the Tyrrhene; each dynasty consisting nominally of thirty towns or governments;" because thirty, the three and ten of the Rasena, was the sacred and fundamental number of the Latins. Each of these governing towns was like those of Canaan,† mentioned in the scriptures, "a royal city," being governed by kings, and ruling supreme over dependent towns. These confederations, though now co-existent, had sprung up separately. Three ages prior to this time, there existed at first only one dynasty or league, that of the Priscan, or ancient Latins, which was formed against the Tuscans, who were then rapidly advancing in their career of conquest. It consisted of Tibur, Preneste, Fucine-Alba, and of all the greatest and oldest of the Latine cities. It may be, that Tibur, Gabii, and Preneste, which are called the colonies of Alba, were the colonies of Fucine-Alba. Or it may be that although great cities

* Niebuhr, vol. i. n. 570, &c. &c.

† In Joshua ix. 17, and x. 2, Gibeon, though a republic, is said to have been like a royal city, and we are told that Beeroth, Chephirah, and Kirjath-Jearim were subject to it.

before the foundation of Alba Longa, they yet came to be called her colonies, because the Turseni or Rasena, when dominant over Latium, settled colonies in them; for we have already shown that they all received the Tuscan religion, and that the buildings and ground plans of these cities were modelled after the Tuscan fashion.

Fucine, or Priscan Alba, was situated on the lake Fucinus, and was the capital of the Marsi. But they and their country, when conquered by the Tyrrheni, were forced to accept of such terms of peace and alliance, as they thought proper to impose. None of the cities were destroyed; nor, as far as we can discern, were they even rendered tributary; but their alliance with the Rasena was not voluntary, and a temple erected by both nations, and common to the sacrifices of both, was made the inviolable bond of union between them. The Turseni, as Niebuhr believes, had brought their own Penates to Alba Longa, where history tells us that the men of Veii had a settlement, and here they insisted upon the thirty original, or Priscan Latine cities joining with them to build another temple to the great common god of Italy. This god, the great god of the Latins, we are told, was Dianus, with his queen Diana, which is the Latin form of Etruscan Tiana or Tina, and Talna, Jupiter and Juno. This originated the second Latine league, when the ancient Latins and their Tuscan allies worshipped in common, each receiving their portion of the sacrifice, which, however, the Alban Dictator

offered up. And this league continued until the destruction of Alba, if not longer.

The Latins who were forcibly settled in Alba by the Turseni, were called Tursene Latins, in the same manner as the Hindoos of Tanjore and Allahabad may be called British Hindoos, because subject to the British power. And this new element in Latium produced the third, or Alban league, consisting of the Albans, (who increased and flourished so as to have thirty counties dependent upon them, called the thirty townships of Alba;) and also of the thirty original towns of the Latins. These allied themselves with the Albans, and agreed to meet regularly at Lavinium, the old cradle of Alba, and there to offer up yearly sacrifices in acknowledgment of one common faith and country. The Dictator of each great city, probably took, in turn, the office of high-priest, in behalf of the common league.

This union of sixty towns in sacrifice, at Lavinium, is considered by Niebuhr as quite established; and in proof of it, he mentions an ancient coin which represents the Genius or founder of Lavinium on one side, and a wheel with six spokes on the other, each spoke representing ten towns. The Sylvii who were the chief family in Alba Longa, and who were in general, elevated to the throne there, were possibly under Tursene protection, in the same manner as the Hindoo Rajahs are now under British protection in India. And however light the yoke, they no doubt felt it to the full as

galling, and longed, when they had an opportunity, to throw it off. The unbroken union with the Umbri shows us that the Turseni, like the British, benefited, and did not injure those with whom they connected themselves by treaty. At the same time, the troubles and commotions of Alba teach us that no benefit will ever reconcile an unbroken and high-spirited nation to any other rule than that of its own blood.

About nineteen years previous to the sixth Olympiad, i. e., about seven hundred and seventy two years before Christ, or somewhat earlier, there was civil war in Alba Longa, and Tarchetius or Amulius dispossessed the Sylvian Numitor of the sovereign power. We have everything short of demonstration to assure us that the government of Alba was precisely on the plan of the Etruscan cities, with a Senate and patrician Populus, and with a non-governing Plebs, who were the free and fighting portion of the community, and all of them landholders. Niebuhr calls the thirty townships of Alba her Plebs. All this constitution was set at nought by Tarchetius, who, Plutarch* tells us, slew the sons of Numitor, and became the father of twins by his daughter, probably his captive in war. She either then was a Vestal virgin, under thirty, or else she saved her life by becoming one; for the legend says that Vesta protected her. We know that the greater part of this story, and of the whole

* In Rom.

life and times of Romulus, is merely a national romance, a sort of fairy tale. But however impossible and fictitious, we have nothing more truthful to offer in its stead; and it is vain now for human ingenuity to torture itself in order to select and restore to their proper places, the great historical truth contained in the allegory of Romulus and Remus. Its construction reminds us of Sir Walter Scott's most ingenious tale, in *Ivanhoe*, of the Pope authorising the Benjamites to seize their wives from the other tribes of Israel. A still more striking impersonification of tradition, is the story of the Virgin Mary, now current amongst the peasantry of Ireland; viz., that she was a young girl *going to mass*, when the angel Gabriel met her, and told her that she should be the mother of the beautiful child Jesus.

Who, if the scriptures had perished, like the ancient annals of Italy, could now distinguish and arrange the confused truths contained in such a legend as this, and could separate them from the strangely conglomerated falsehoods with which they are interwoven? Even such is tradition; and upon such materials, chiefly, we have now to work. Tradition preserves the colossal features and forms of history, but it puts on them a mask, which conceals their right proportions, and often clothes them in a garb which is not their own.

The history of Etruria, and of the Rasenan dominion in Italy, as we have already observed, we now only know through the history of Rome; with

a very few exceptions, chiefly incidental remarks in Herodotus, Plato, and Aristotle. Therefore we shall divide this period by the Roman reigns, as the most convenient for its elucidation, and the easiest for the memory of our readers. The next two hundred and forty-four years, we shall distinguish as "Etruria in the time of Romulus, of Numa, of Tullus Hostilius, of Ancus Marcius, of Tarquinius Priscus, of Servius or Mastarna, and of Tarquinius Ultimus or Superbus."

PERIOD OF ROMULUS.* †

B. C. 771. ANNO TARQUINIÆ, 416.†

According to the old legend, Numitor, the disinherited sovereign, whose children had been slain and outraged, continued, nevertheless, to live peacefully and quietly in Alba, giving no jealousy to the Tyrrhene tyrant, but keeping his riches and dignity unmolested, and exercising such influence as a weak character may still possess, when suffering under great misfortune, and not stained by vice or arrogance. Plutarch tells us, that Numitor brought up the two boys, children of his daughter, and gave them a royal education, having them instructed in all the knowledge fit for princely Lucumoes, at the

* Rome was founded after the founding of Tarquinia 434 years; before Christ, 753 years.

† Authorities for this history,—Livy, i.; Dion. Halic. ii. and v.; Plut. in Rom.; Ancient History, xvi.; Müller Etrüsker.

‡ These are the dates of the birth of Romulus.

college of Gabii, under the Presidentship of Tancius, the Tuscan. It is even said, that the Usurper sent to the oracle of Carmenta in Tuscany, perhaps in Cære, in order to inquire the destiny of the young princes, and on being told that they would rise to empire, he resolved on their destruction. It seems that Mars, or Mavors, whose temple was outside the walls, was the patron divinity of their house; for they are called his children, and are said to have been nourished by his wolf, provided for by his bird, and trained from the cradle, to attend the feasts of the Larentalia, in which his priests sacrificed. At the age of eighteen, they assisted Numitor to regain his rightful power, replaced the Sylvii in their original position amongst the Latine Princes, destroyed the abused authority of Tyrrhenia, by slaying Tarchetius, and then, as the heads of a fresh colony, left Alba for ever.

As they were born amidst the horrors of war, and quitted their native town with an Augur, and the following of a thousand families,* well provided and armed, and as they went forth, at the age of eighteen, with all the honours of peace, to seek a fresh settlement; instead of remaining to uphold and consolidate the power which they are said to have re-established; we suspect that their birth took place in one of the Sacred Springs of Latium, and that they were then vowed to be the founders of a holy city.

* Plut. in Rom.

They journeyed about twenty miles to the north-west, when they came to a spot upon the Tiber, then the Rumon river, where seven small hills stood near each other. They were named the Palatine, Esquiline, Viminal, Quirinal, Tarpeian or Saturnian, (afterwards the Capitol) Aventine, and Lucerum, afterwards the Cœlian. Of these, the Lucerum or Cœlian belonged to the Tuscans,* or Luceres of Ardea. They were under a Lucumo, and belonged to one of the Etruscan Lucumonies. Niebuhr, in his first edition of the Roman history, thought they belonged to Cære. Probably they were under the same rule as the Janiculum and the Vatican, two small hills on the opposite side of the Rumon river, and both of them Tuscan,† subject either to Cære or to Veii. The Palatine and Esquiline were Alban, the Tarpeian and the Quirinal, Sabine. The Aventine seems to have been common to the three nations, whose dominions here met, and it was a sort of asylum and site of their common shrines. There Tatius, the Sabine king, was buried; and there, in later times, Tiana of the Latins, and Juno or Kupra of the Tuscans, stood side by side. The Viminal belonged to the Sabines, and was the one least inhabited, and of the least consequence.

We cannot help observing, that in reality, each of the three nations had three hills in this locality. The Tuscans possessed Janiculum, the Vatican, and Lucerum; the Sabines possessed the Tarpeian, the Qui-

* Festus, 5; Dion. Halic.

† Müller.

rinal, and the Viminal; and the Albans, or Latin nation, the Palatine, the Esquiline, and the Aventine. However, only seven of these lay within the Rumon river; and only three of them, i. e. the Palatine, the Esquiline and the Lucerum, seem to have united in sacrificing, as brothers, at each other's shrines. None of the hills were uninhabited; all contained shrines or temples, and some resident noble families; and Quirium, Tarpeia, and Lucerum were regularly garrisoned and fortified.*

When the young Alban colony reached these hills, each was anxious for the blessing of giving a home to the sacred band; and those families who had kindred among the wanderers, would naturally think they had some claim to a preference, whilst the honour was undecided.

Livy (i. 7) tells us, that the Pinarii,† who were Sabines of the Gens Valerius, and the Potitii, who were Sabines of the Gens Volesus,‡ were established as priests of the Tuscan Hercules upon the Palatine, and when they opened their arms to Romulus, he thanked them by sacrificing at their shrine. Romulus and Remus were accompanied by families from Bovilla, Medulia, Pallantium of Alba, Saturnia of Alba, and Remuria, a small town about four miles§ from the Aventine. Romulus seems to have headed one division, and Remus another; and when the cordial welcome of the seven hills enabled

* Niebuhr i. n. 1338.

‡ Dionysius Halicar. ii.

† Plutarch in Pop.

§ Dion. Hal. i.

them to choose a home, Romulus wished to fix his colony upon the Palatine, the shrine of Hercules, and Remus upon the Aventine. Each brother had an Augur with him, and they decided to refer their dispute to augury, in order that the new colony* might be founded according to the divine will, so as to ensure its future prosperity. Remus's Augur first saw six vultures on the Aventine, promising, as the Tuscans interpreted the sign, six centuries of glory to that hill.† But before the matter was quite concluded, Romulus's Augur saw twelve vultures on the Palatine, promising to that city twelve centuries of rule and dominion. The first augury was, of course, nullified by the second and stronger augury; and the Rumon city was decreed to rise with Tuscan pomp and circumstance upon the Palatine. This hill was given up in perpetuity to Romulus; and it cannot but surprise us, that in marking out his boundaries, and raising his first walls, he should have chosen for his instruments, not the Alban Augurs, nor any of the Latine priests, but the famed land measurers and Augurs of the Tuscans. The nobles of Lucerum came and drove his furrow, and consecrated his Pomærium, and marked him out an agger, which gave two acres of arable land, as Dionysius of Halicarnassus tells us, to each head of his thousand families. They followed the rules of their own people, and joined the new tribe and its agger to their own agger, and to the nominal thou-

* Plut.

† Varro.

sand families of which their border colony consisted.

All this Plutarch tells us they did, according to the *written* rules of their own people, and the laws of Tages, which, henceforth, in great part, became the sacred laws of the sacred Tyrrhene city of Rome. The day chosen for the important ceremony, (and no Augur then foresaw how important,) was the day of Pales, the Etruscan Genius of husbandmen. The shepherds of the Palatine and Esquiline kindled their fires at night, and danced in his honour; and the Italian artists kindle their fires, and dance in memory of this day still. Rome was founded upon the 21st of April, 753 B. C., and her founder's feasts took the name of the Tuscan shepherd's, patron saint, and were called Palilia. Varro* tells us that many cities in Latium were founded with these rites, and those so founded were probably called cities of the Tyrrhene Latins.

The Alban Latins and Tursene Luceres were now in religion and government one people; and so far from fearing this young, colonizing band, the Tuscans believed that they could do nothing more acceptable to heaven, than adopt them as their brethren, and crown their prince, as one early chosen and blessed, to govern themselves and the sacred colony.

The legend says, that whilst the Pomœrium wall was building, Remus, in uncontrollable anger, leapt

* Lib. iv.

over it, saying, contemptuously, "Thus will the enemy leap over this wall of Rome." The Tuscans were helping on the work, and Celer their commander knocked him down, and killed him, saying, "Thus will the citizens repulse the enemy." From him, Romulus named all the Knights Celeres. Niebuhr, however, thinks that Celeres was the Tuscan name for Patricians in general. Remus was buried in the Aventine, which, from him, was afterwards often called Remuria.

Before the arrival of Romulus, a sacred league or brotherhood had existed between the inhabitants of the Palatine, the Esquiline, and the Lucerum, (afterwards the Cælian,) who had divided themselves into guilds or fraternities, very possibly in memory of the seven first families who had settled there, and of their first union by intermarriage. These seven clans called themselves the Septem Montani,* and down to the time of the Roman Emperors, for eight hundred years, continued to hold their yearly feasts and sacrifices in their seven temples, where none but Montani might assist. These clans adopted Romulus and made him and his followers Montani also. Hence seven became the sacred number of the Romans, and never could be changed, however multiplied, in the lapse of ages, the hills and regions and fraternities of Rome might become.

Romulus was now sole prince, and head of the new colony; and Etruria did not know, and in her

* Varro, iv. 5; Niebr. i. n. 930.

might and affluence, probably did not care, whether she had gained a town to her already extensive empire, or yielded a border fort to piety.* We have already seen, that at this period, she spread herself from the Alps to Cape Garganus, in one direction, and from sea to sea in the other, in wide and flourishing dominion, with rich and mighty towns, all strongly fortified, abundantly peopled, and increasing in commercial importance and domestic skill. She had an influence which was felt in Italy from one extremity to the other. With abundant colonies, numerous outposts, and, as far as appears, a united, though not strongly cemented policy. Even then, Etruria was three Etrurias, and not one Etruria; besides the Turrhene settlements, which were so loose in their dependance, as almost to constitute a fourth Etruria.

The profound Niebuhr says, that the Turrheni, or Turseni, and the Etruscans were a different people, and are only confounded together by mistake, being in reality no more one and the same, than the present English and the ancient Britons. We bow to his decision, and acknowledge it to be to a certain extent, true. The Etruscans Proper were no more the whole inhabitants of Turrhenia, than the Britons Proper are, or ever were, the whole inhabitants of England; but as no man mistakes what we mean, when we speak of "The British dominions" in Asia, Africa, or

* A site for the colony of the Sacred Spring, having been yielded by the Tuscan Luceres, the original inhabitants.

America, so need no man stagger at the Etruscan or Turrhene dominion, in Italy or elsewhere. We perplex no understanding, when we say that the Duke of Wellington gained the battle of Waterloo, though in truth the Duke may have never drawn his sword. It is in the self-same terms, that we speak of the conquests of Tarchun, and that we understand, under his name, all who were subject to his sway. The might and power of Turrhenia were beyond all question Tuscan; and when we name the Tyrrhenians, we mean all the inhabitants, of whatever blood, who dwelt as natives within Tyrrhenia, or who, as the children of Tages, colonized from her borders.

The "Turrhene Latins" were the Latins under the power of the Tyrrheni; and at this period, when Alba had revolted from them, and secured her independence by treaty, their empire still extended* in an uninterrupted line from Ardea (colonized by Mezentius) to Terracina, and to the ports of Antium. Livy (i. 2) says, that Etruria possessed such consequence before the dominion of Rome, that she filled with her fame, the length and breadth of Italy, reckoning from the Alps to the straits of Sicily, and ruling not only by land, but by sea." Indeed, at this period, her commerce was very flourishing with Carthage, to which, for some centuries, she was alternate friend and foe:† and she visited, for purposes of trade, Naxos, Megara, and also several ports

* Niebuhr, vol. ii. n. 28.

† Niebuhr, vol. i. n. 403.

in Sicily, without allowing the vessels of these cities, in return,* to navigate the Tyrrhene sea.

Müller believes that Tarquinia and Cære traded with Corinth a few years before the foundation of Rome, and that they sent ships to Cuma, with which they had formed a strict alliance; besides other treaties which they made with the few Greek towns then established in Opica, or the southern part of Italy.

Whilst Alba was a Rasenan city, being, according to tradition, subject to Veii, and ruled by Deheberis, and others of her kings, several of her colonies bore the strongest marks of union with Etruria, not only in their institutions, their temples, and their colleges, but even in their names. Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 773, &c. tells us, that *Castrum Inui*, *Fidene*, *Collatia*, *Cora*, *Nomentum*, *Gabii*, and *Pometia*, were colonies of Alba. Now *Castrum Inui* was dedicated to the Etruscan god of that name, the same as *Pan*, in whose honour the Roman feasts of the *Lupercalia* were celebrated. *Fidene* remained true to *Veii* after the fall of *Tarchetius*, or *Amulius*. *Collatia*, in the reign of *Tarquin*, opened her arms to receive an Etruscan garrison; and *Cora* derived her origin from *Cortona*. *Nomentum*, *Gabii*, and *Pometia*, boasting the same Alban origin, were also half *Tursene*, according to the old legend; and each of these towns would rejoice in the new half *Tursene* and sacred colony of *Romulus* from *Alba*, established upon the *Rumon*, and would give it the right hand

* Müller's *Etrüsker*.

of fellowship and protection, together with their cordial support.

Romulus, according to his own notions, and those of his time, could not govern legally without a Senate, and one which must be chosen entirely from the sacred colonizers. Accordingly, a hundred persons were elected out of his nominal thousand families, and stood as his constitutional advisers, without whose approbation nothing could pass into law. They were elected by the whole body of *Patricians*, *Tuscan* and *Roman*; and this body first decided in all cases, upon the matter and expediency of the laws proposed, and then they were laid for final decision before the *Senators*. In later times, no man could be a *Senator* under the age of forty-five; but now the *Tuscan Augurs* must have given a dispensation and blessing to the first body of *Senators*, and permitted them to sit at the age of twenty-five; otherwise, no *Alban* cotemporary of *Romulus* in the colony of the *Sacred Spring*, could have been eligible to senatorial office, until within ten years of the death of their prince; as, having been eighteen years old when he led his colony, and having reigned thirty-seven, he must have died when he attained the age of fifty-five.

The seven *Montani*, *Romulus* now divided into thirty *Curiae*, or parish divisions; either from the *Tuscan* sacred numbers of three and ten, or else because thirty was the fundamental number of all the *Latins*. Rome had now three gates, the *Porta Rumonalia*, towards the *Rumon* river, or *Tiber*, the *Porta Carmentalia*, facing the *Janiculum*, in

honour of the Tuscan goddess, Carmenta, who had been consulted on the birth of Romulus,* and the Porta Mucionis. She had also many shrines, amongst which those of Jupiter, (the Tianus of Latium, and Tina of Tuscany,) were prominent. And the division of her people was perfected into tens, by electing a hundred for the Senate, and a thousand to represent each tribe, that of the R.M.N.S., and that of the Luceres, who constituted the patricians, and governing powers of the Curiae; and again by appointing Decuriones, priestly officers, and judges, after the manner of the Rasena, who were constituted, with their own temples and sacrifices, to watch over and superintend every ten households.

Rome is expressly said to have taken these divisions from the Tuscans, and she may either have incorporated with herself, the existing divisions of the Luceres, or she may have followed the previous forms of Alba, which were established there by the Rasena.

Romulus, the young and brave prince of the united Luceres and Roman Albans, had the right of intermarriage and commerce, and was on a footing of friendly equality with all the Alban and Turrhene Latin cities. His treaty with Alba and her dependencies is referred to by the Feciales in the reign of Tullus Hostilius, and is proved by his sacrificing in the temples of Lavinia.

But opposite to him, rose the Sabine town of Quirium, now the Quirinal, and the Sabine fort of

* Müller on Templum.

Tarpeia; and neither they nor their kindred in Sabina would enter into any such bond of brotherhood or treaty of equality with him. All that he could obtain from the Prince of Quirium was, that the asylum on the rock Tarpeia should be open to his people and the Luceres, as well as to the other allies of the Sabines; and that the slaves and debtors who took shelter there, should not only be considered safe, but should be eligible to become soldiers and citizens of the new settlement.

The new colony and the old nation were so close together, that the prohibitions which separated them became a constant source of irritation and annoyance. And as all men wish for the thing which is denied them, and wish for it with irresistible vehemence, when the obstacle is without reason, it is very likely that the prince of the Senate, or some other distinguished Roman, fell violently in love with the Sabine lady, Hersilia, and insisted upon being allowed to marry her. Romulus had no way of satisfying his discontented follower, except by inviting her and as many other Sabine matrons and virgins as would attend her, to a grand feast, with games, which he proposed to celebrate in honour of the Tuscan god Neptune, from whose altar he removed the earth which covered it, and to which he gave the name of Consus. Possibly the meaning of the name is, that this divinity was a "God Consens," a race of deities peculiar to Etruria.*

* Dion. Halicar. says that this took place in the fourth year

The Sabines came to the games, and Hersilia, with many of her virgin companions, was carried off by the Romans. Some authors give the number at thirty only, and others at more than five hundred; but they were all patrician women, and were made the wives of none but patrician men. When the Sabines, in great indignation, demanded the restitution of their women, and satisfaction for the outrage committed, and were refused it, war * was, of course, the consequence. If before this time, the Luceres had been prohibited from intermarrying with the Sabines, we can understand how it was, that they so warmly espoused the cause of Romulus, and how the Lucumo of the Cælian, and the King of Ardea, and the forces of the Janiculum, the Vatican, and Veii, perhaps also those of Cære and Fidene, should so heartily have made the cause their own. Tatius was created Dictator of the Sabines, and immediately Quirium, Tarpeia, Crustumerium, Cenina, and Antemnæ, all small towns, either close to Rome, or within twelve miles of her, whose women had been seized, girded themselves to take vengeance upon the perfidious colony and her allies. The legend says, that Romulus met his enemies with 25,000 foot besides horse, which supposes a very great accession of allied power. A war of importance is

of Rome. And Livy says that it took place in fourteen months after Rome was finished.

* Plutarch says that Romulus made war on the Sabines in order to gain their alliance.

likewise intimated, when so many of the Sabine towns were engaged; and they were forced to act under a Dictator, who ruled the kings of the petty states. Acron, king of Cenina, was killed by Romulus, and his spoils were hung up at the shrine of Jupiter, being the first Spolia Opima of Rome, and being followed by the first triumph.

Notwithstanding the powerful aid of her allies, the injured Sabines were victorious over Rome, and it is said that the women who had been honourably received into all the thirty Curiae, mediated between the contending parties, and caused them to conclude a peace. The advantages and concessions of this peace were so mutual, that we cannot doubt its having been the work of a third party, probably the allied Tyrseni, and not either of the people so immediately aggrieved. The Sabines yielded the points in dispute, and granted the right of commerce and intermarriage, which they had so obstinately and unreasonably opposed. But it was upon condition that the sacred colony should not only in return, unite with the Sabines, as it had done with the Luceres, and make them an integral and essential part of its government: but also that the kings should rule together, each having his separate Senate, and that upon the death of either, the Senates should unite under the survivor, who was to be king of both, and his successors on the throne, should be chosen alternately by the one nation out the other. This was faithfully carried out in the

successive elections of Numa the Sabine, Tullus the Latin, and Ancus Marcius the Sabine again, who followed each other regularly, at least according to the legend. There may have been other kings besides them, during the years assigned; but this tradition is sufficient to assure us that the treaty of Tatius was kept.

The two people were henceforward, to be called "Romani et Quirites," to show that the Quirites were equal with the Romans; a confession extorted at the point of the spear; and it implied that these Quirites would not merge into any colony of another people, however sacred it might be. The laws concerning land and property were to be Quiritary, and not Tuscan. In short, the Quirites had to change their habits in nothing, whilst the Romans were to adopt the Sabine gods, their laws, and their customs, wherever they did not harmonize with the previous forms of the Albans or the Luceres. The three elements were to be mixed as intimately as possible. The religion, dress, calendar, and general forms of life were Etruscan. The Etruscan Nones were the market-days, and measure of weeks; and the Ides and Calends divided their months. The Etruscan name of the sacred colony prevailed to stand first in public documents, but the dominant civil power was intended to be Quiritary or Sabine.

At the same time, the three tribes were now united, and named; 1st, the Ramnes—or as we pro-

nounce it, Romans. 2nd, the Tities, or Sabines: and 3rd, the Luceres,* or outpost of a Lucumony either Cære or Ardea. All these names, Varro (iv.) tells us are Tuscan; and so are almost all the names of early Rome; and the higher we ascend in antiquity, the more prevalent we shall find the Tuscan form of names at any particular period, in the history of Italy. Even "Latinus" itself is a Tuscan name, and derived from the family of the Latini, whose sepulchres are at Arrezzo.†

When the Tities were received into all the thirty Curiae, which are said to have been named from their women, the Titian Agger was added to that of the Romans and Luceres, and all the portions were marked out according to the Tuscan rules. The land of the united patrician body extended as far as the Fossa Cluilia, six miles beyond the Roman gates, and no farther. Festus (v.) expressly says, that during the period of Romulus, Rome extended in no direction, excepting towards the sea, embracing a tract of land to the east of the Tiber, and opposite to the Rasena, which was very difficult to manage or defend, and, probably on that account, secured, alike by Albans, Latins and Tyrrhene Latins, to this new sacred colony. It formed a triangle between Ostia, (then belonging to Veii) and Alsium, Rome being the apex.

* Festus says that Lucer was the Tuscan king of Ardea. Dionysius Hal. and Varro, say that the Luceres were so named, because their ruler was a Lucumo.

† See Müller's Etrüsker Hypogeum.

The Sabine women, though they had been united by force to the Romans and Luceres, without any of the auguries and ceremonies indispensable to patrician marriages, were to have all the honours shown them, which were paid to the highest of the Etruscans; and, like the children of the Lucumoes, all the boys of these marriages were to wear the Bulla and the Prætexta, in token of their acknowledged rank. The towns of Crustumerium, Cenina, and Antemnæ, became Isopolite with Rome,* and had, equally with Quirium, the rights of commerce and intermarriage; but they were allowed no share in the government, and were not elected into any of the Curiae. Crustumerium,† in the year of Rome 200, was reckoned amongst the Tuscan towns, like Fidene, the Turrhene element having become predominant in her. The kalendar of Rome was, of course, that of the Rasena, *i. e.*, a sacred year of ten months, six of which years made a Lustrum. But as she is said to have adopted the Sabine kalendar, which, in its divisions, was the same with the Rasenan, but not in the names which distinguished each division, we presume that Romulus altered some of the Etruscan names, in order to please the Sabines. The divisions of the Roman month into Kalends, Nones, and Ides, which continued down to a late period of the christian æra, was altogether Etruscan.

Livy tell us that Romulus acknowledged the Sabine gods. They may have been previously wor-

* Livy.

† Müller.

shipped by the Tuscans, on the Lucerum; or the Luceres may, and probably did, bend at all their shrines on the Tarpeian. But they had not yet been adopted by the sacred band of Alba. Romulus bound himself and his people to worship yearly from that time, at the holy temples of Saturnia and Tarpeia. Tatius built there twelve altars, apparently out of compliment to the three tribes. The names of the gods who were there worshipped, were Vidius, Jupiter, Saturn, Vulcan or Sethlans, Summanus, Larunda or Vesta, Terminus, and Vertumnus; which were all Etruscan. Quirinus or Mars of the Sabine nation; Ops, Flora, Sol, Luna, Diana, and Lucina of the Latins and Sabines together. As these names are fifteen, while the altars were only twelve,* Müller concludes that some were dedicated to two or three deities. The road from the Palatine to these temples along the valley, which separates the hills, was called the "Via Sacra," because the kings met upon it, and there marched to sacrifice together. The kings also appointed two Vestals, as priestesses of the Roman and Sabine women, whose names were Gegania and Verania.† Romulus also instituted feasts of the Matronalia, in honour of the Sabine women, because he had appointed the Carmentalia for the women of the Ramnes and Luceres. He founded on the Palatine, a college of the Salii, or Tuscan dancing priests of Mars, and he dedicated the Campus Martius without the walls to Mars,‡

* Müller's Etrusker, iii. 8. † Plutarch in Numa.

‡ Dionys. Hal. iv.

the god, who as Quirinus, Mavors or Marte, was common to all the three tribes.

The kings also built two temples in common. One to Vulcan, or the Etruscan Sethlans, the god of protection from fire and other evils; and the other to the double-headed Janus, the demi-god of the Rasena, who now represented their union. Of this temple, which stood on the limits between the Palatine and the Saturnian, and which was revered alike by all the three tribes, it is said that its gates were always open in time of war, that the one people might pass through it to help the other; but that they were shut * in time of peace, in order that they might not pass through to quarrel with each other—a new form of the old allegory, that “Idleness is the mother of mischief.” It is further said,† that after the reign of Numa, to whom many attribute this law, it was only shut twice during eight centuries—one time, at the end of the first Punic war, under the consulship of Titus Manlius; and the second time, after the battle of Actium, under Cæsar Augustus. During these centuries, the Romans had many long periods of profound tranquillity, not to mention twenty years of peace, under Servius Tullius. It required, therefore, some other reason besides peace, to authorize the shutting of this temple: and this reason may have ceased to operate, and may have become obsolete, by Livy’s day, who tells the tale.

* Servius ap *Æniad.* i. 295.

† Livy i. 19.

This strange double-headed government of Rome continued for five years,* without attracting any attention, unless, perhaps, that of ridicule, from Etruria. Tatius was dominant, but he neither interrupted the commerce of the Etruscans, nor attempted, in any way, to molest them, on the western side of the Tiber. They therefore left him alone, and probably thought that the young Alban prince was properly punished by such a restraint upon his pride, for the violence and sacrilege which he had used in the games of Neptune.

All went on quietly, till an embassy was sent from Laurentum, the oldest of the Latin cities, to Rome, complaining of an inroad of the Sabines, and praying that they might be restrained. Whether the ambassadors showed more affection to Romulus than to Tatius, or what was the cause of offence, we are not told; but Tatius was angry, and on their return home, allowed them to be assaulted and robbed. The Laurentines complained, but Tatius expressed no regret, and gave them no satisfaction; we wonder, therefore, not to hear of war between Laurentum and Quirium. However, the time of the great Lavinian sacrifice drew nigh, for the thirty Alban townships, and the thirty Latine towns; when the sacred colony, and all connected with her, were bound to assist at the ceremony. Tatius and Romulus, with the Celeres, attended, and the Laurentines raised a tumult, in which Tatius was killed.† Ro-

* Dionys.

† Nieb. ii. n. 64, says, that this sacrifice was offered up by the Latin and Alban Dictators, alternately.

mulus treated this murder as justifiable homicide, and from this time, he became sole king of Rome and Quirium. But the pious Latins looked upon the deed as odious before the gods, and a violation of the holy meeting, holding the principle, that bad deeds in one man will not justify bad deeds in another. And they believed that a pestilence, which afterwards affected Laurentum, was sent as a judgment. Tatius was honourably buried on the Aventine, without the walls, probably near the spot where Remus was laid.

Romulus now united the two Senates, and their meetings were held in the Comitum, on the Saturnian hill. Niebuhr thinks that the Ramnes were considered as the *Majores Gentes* and the Sabines as the *Minores*, mentioned by Dionysius of Halicarnassus. But there are many historical proofs, some of which we shall adduce, that all posts of authority and honour were divided equally between them; and it is not unlikely that there may have been, at first, *Gentes Majores*, and *Gentes Minores*, in each of the tribes. Each had probably ten representatives, or *Decuriones*, who took place of the others, as a Scottish Duke still comes in rank before an English Marquis.

Tacitus tells us, that Celes Vibenna, or Cale Fipi, the great Tuscan warrior, came to his people on the Lucerum, and confirmed their alliance with Romulus; that he assisted him, whilst he lived, on terms of perfect independence and equality, and that he was buried, when he died, beneath this hill,

which had its name changed in memory of him. Others, with more probability, refer this event to the time of Tarquin the First, 100 years later. The mistake has, perhaps, arisen out of the fact, that the prince of the Luceres, the Tribune of the Tuscan Celeres, was always buried on this hill; and Tacitus may have given to this prince, the earliest name he found on record, that is, Vibenna. The Tuscan Lucumo is said to have taught Romulus how to form his camp, which may, perhaps, mean that the Roman forces had some discipline introduced amongst them, which did not prevail amongst the Albans and the Latins. Romulus's army was formed altogether on the Tuscan model, and he adopted all their armour. He provided for the payment of his men by a tax upon widows and virgins, and all beyond was raised by the Tribes themselves; each paying and arming its own contingent at a very low rate per head. The cavalry was all noble and chosen* by augury, three hundred out of each tribe; and the third part of these again was more noble than the rest, and formed a guard to the sovereign, being distinguished by the Tuscan name of Celer or Celeres. The age he appointed for men to serve in the field, was from twenty-five to forty-five; after which they were senior, and became guards to the city, and were only led against an enemy, in great extremities.

Livy tells us, that at this time, Fidene became a

* Livy i. 37.

Roman colony, and that Veii and her allies purchased a peace of a hundred years, by yielding the Septem Pagi and the Salines at the mouth of the Tiber; but Niebuhr disbelieves all these wars, and thinks them mere inventions of the old annalists. It is certain, from subsequent history, that Fidene did not receive a Roman garrison, and that neither Cære nor Veii, nor Tarquinia, yielded up any part of their territory to Rome. The Septem Pagi and the Salines were not in reality ceded until later. It is, however, probable, that these states gladly acknowledged Rome as an ally, and made with her treaties of peace.

The greater part of Etruria enjoyed profound repose during the thirty-seven years which are assigned to the reign of Romulus; and it was not disturbed, nor in any way affected by his sudden and violent death during an eclipse, on the 7th of July, 716 B. C. The Tuscan artists * made an image of him, which was set up in a brazen chariot, in the temple of Vulcan, and probably their Augurs advised his being associated with the Sabine demi god, Quirinus, and considered as the same person.

Plutarch does not ascribe one single invention to Romulus. But he speaks of kings, palaces, colleges, asylums, temples, shrines, men of rank, followers, clients, slaves, regiments, brazen instruments, armour, letters, writing, oracles, and in short, of the marks of social progress in general, as all drawn immediately from Alba, or as existing and taught amongst the Tuscans. This sufficiently proves that the early

* Plut.

and fundamental civilization of Rome, which was very considerable, was all derived either mediately or immediately from Etruria. It may not be unworthy of remark, in order to illustrate the comparatively recent origin of the Greek states and cities in Sicily and southern Italy, that it was only during this reign, that the town of Syracuse was founded by the Corinthians.

It would be almost wearisome to go through the different institutions of Romulus, divine and social, and to show that they were all Etruscan, and by various authors are referred to Etruria; though, excepting through Turrhene Alba, whence he sprung, Tancius of Gabii, who educated him, and the Luceres, who received him, or the men of Veii, or Fidene, or Cære, with whom he was in unceasing communication, it is hard for us to trace the connexion. Livy (i. 8) says that the kingly pomp of Romulus, his purple robe, his golden crown, his Lictors, his Fasces, and his throne, were from Etruria. Solinus says that they were derived from Vetulonia, then the queen of the northern cities. His Fecials and the worship of Janus were introduced from Falisci, or Ardea of the Luceres. Dion. Halicarnassus says that he brought into Rome the relations of Patricians and Plebs, patron and client. His town was founded by Etruscan rites; his time was measured by the Etruscan kalendar; his gods were the divinities of Etruria, with a mixture of Sabine and Latine. His auguries were interpreted according to the Etruscan fashion; and Livy says,* that until the reign of Tar-

* Livy ii.

quinius Superbus, none but the Tuscans ever interpreted a Roman augury. His young men were either sent into Etruria to be educated, or were brought up under Etruscan discipline, if we are to believe Cicero, who says, that this was the custom from the beginning. His artisans, who made his images and armour, and who built his forts and temples, were all Etruscan, if we are to credit the testimony of Fabius Pictor, that for 300 years Rome had no artists of her own. Romulus is said to have appropriated a street to these men, opposite to the Janiculum, called the Vicus Tuscus; but others refer this to the days of Celes Vibenna, or even Porsenna. He became an Augur after he was five-and-twenty, and divined with the Tuscan Lituus, and in the Tuscan manner. Dionysius tells us that Romulus allotted a portion of the state lands to the gods, and a portion to the crown. The pasture which, until otherwise assigned, was common to the whole patrician body, paid a tax of one-tenth to the government. All these institutions were undoubtedly Tuscan.

CHAPTER II.

PERIOD OF NUMA.*

B.C. 716. YEAR OF TARQUINIA 471.

State of Etruria in the time of Numa—Reign of Numa—Political parties in Etruria—Institutions, Sacred and Civil, of Numa—Profound peace all over Italy.

OUR next division of the Etruscan history is that period of forty-four years, comprised in the reign of Numa at Rome, reckoning from the death of Romulus, and making altogether eighty-one years for the length of the first Roman Sæculum, according to the calculation of the Etruscan augurs, who made the first Sæculum of Rome to terminate with the death of Numa; † a very short division of time, considering the usual length of that term in Etruria Proper, viz., one hundred and ten years, and by no means prefiguring the duration which has since developed itself, as one of

* Authorities for this period are Plutarch in Numa, Livy i. from 18 to 22, Ancient History xi. xvi., Niebuhr's Rome, vol. 1.
† Nieb. i. p. 257, &c. &c.

the characteristics of the Eternal City. Etruria considered Rome in the light of a thriving border fort, which should be protected as common to herself, the Latins, and the Sabines; and she little dreamed that it resembled the grain of mustard-seed, and would, ere long, overshadow with its branches, the whole of Italy, and cause the sun of every other state to withdraw its shining.

Numa came into the world the year that Rome was founded, and was the longest liver of all the male patrician children born in that year. Such being the law of the Tuscan Sæculum, that its first duration in any state should be always determined by the longest liver amongst the Patricians who were born at the precise time of its establishment. The Latin and Sabine Senators chose Numa Pompilius to be king, and the united Curiae of Romans, Querites, and Luceres, confirmed the election. His name of Pumpili or Pumpu is Etruscan, and was Latinized afterwards into Pompilius and Pomponius.* According to the Tuscan and Sabine customs of annexing the mother's name, we believe Pumpu to have been the name of Numa's mother. He was a prince of extraordinary piety, and Etruria was at peace throughout the whole period of his reign; and she is supposed now to have reached the highest pinnacle of her greatness and strength.

Sardinia† was at this time added to her empire, and colonized, but from which particular state, whether

* Müller. Etrüsker Hypogeum.

† Paus, x. 17.

Volterra, Vulci, or Tarquinia, we are ignorant. The Greeks founded Gela, in Sicily, and being allowed, for the first time, to enter the Tyrrhene sea, and to have commerce with Cuma and its vicinity, they made their settlement at Phistu, which in time, they called Posidonia, now Pæstum.* The Phocians obtained permission to trade on this side of the Mediterranean, and Müller believes† that they came in their own ships, so that the Tyrrhene sea was no longer navigated solely by the Carthaginians, but also by the Greeks of Sicily, Lucania, Peloponnesus, and Asia Minor. This must, however, have been within very strict bounds, and only by the Ispolitan ports, and with a very small number of vessels, for Scylla and Charybdis did not cease for two centuries, to terrify the Grecian mariners: and the constant fear which they entertained of the Tyrrhene corsairs makes us doubtful whether their trade and privileges were not limited to certain states only of the League, such as Cere, Tarquinia, Cosa, and Pisa; and whether Volterra, Populonia, and Vetulonia may not have refused to admit their vessels, and allow their intercourse.

Coreyra, now Corfu, was settled about this time, by a colony from Corinth, and therefore, must have become a station of Etruscan commerce. The Greeks had some great impetus given, during this period, to their enterprises by sea; and they came over in considerable and very increased numbers to

* Vide vol. i. 402—412.

† Müller, Colonien.

the coast of Italy, no longer fearing the one-eyed Anthropophagi of that land, as they had done in the days of Homer. Their peace and alliance with the Tuscans rendered their path easy, and gave them the security they required. Accordingly, Crotona* was colonized from Achaia, and became famous for its walls and fortifications, more like those of Volterra, or the fortresses of Egypt and Canaan, than anything which in these days, existed in Greece; and a seaport and small territory, somewhat exceeding twelve miles in circumference was assigned to it in the bay of Tarentum. Here Pythagoras afterwards established his schools; and in the vicinity at Siris, the later Greeks said that the Palladium, brought by Æneas from Troy, was kept. This Palladium was a statue of Pallas, four and a half feet high, the eyes and head of which moved. She held in her right hand a pike, and in her left, a distaff and spindle, by way of showing that firmness, energy and active courage, so far from being inconsistent with female labours and employments, should be joined to them in every perfect female character. The safety of Troy was allegorized to depend upon the patient, industrious, homely labour of the women, united to the quiet bravery of the men; and the safety of every city and every state may be allegorized in the same manner. They go together in the female character, more frequently than is supposed, and affectation and false principles separate them much oftener than nature.

* Dion.

Silius Italicus* tells us that Vetulonia was, at this time, the chief of the Etruscan states, the richest, the finest, and the most illustrious of her cities. And how beautiful and civilized she must have been, we may judge from her ruins now; from the mosaic pavements, the baths, the broken statues, and the enormous amphitheatre, all destroyed in less than a hundred years subsequent to Numa's reign, and the remnants of which have endured through three and twenty centuries. Vetulonia could not have been remembered in Silius's days, had she not once been a leading city of the League, and probably the theme of many a poetical lament and moral reflection on her sudden and irrecoverable fall. Like Tyre, her doom was decreed, at the time when the sceptre was strongest in her hand, and when she believed herself to sit as a queen among the nations, and to be the lady of kingdoms in Italy.

It was at this period, and during the days of universal peace in the reign of Numa, that the temple of Eluthya, at Pyrgi, accumulated her immense treasures, the offerings of rich patricians and opulent merchants, who grew wealthy upon her trade, and whose prosperity they believed to arise from the protection of the Bona Dea.

Seasons of profound tranquillity like the forty years now under our consideration, furnish much food for national gratitude, but few materials for national history, because human immortality is

* Punicor. viii.

rather the record of great calamities and of great crimes, or of virtues produced and called forth by calamity and crime, than of private happiness and widely extended well-being. Who notes down the beams of sunshine that gladden the monarchs of the forest? or the calm seas that let the trading vessels glide smoothly along the shores? Who does not hear of the uprooted trees, the ruined landlords, and the shipwrecked mariners? Who does not join the shudder of sympathy, and the cry of woe to the howlings of the hurricane, and the ragings of the tempest? "History," says Müller, "takes much account of the wars of nations, but notes nothing of their seasons of peace." Public splendour and national victories are constantly counterbalanced by private misery and individual ruin; and on the other hand, public tranquillity and national repose—we might almost say national unimportance—are usually compensated for by individual comfort and general safety.

We are not to suppose, however, because Etruria was formidable by land, and, as Livy, i. 23, says, *VERY POWERFUL* by sea, that therefore all was so quiet within the League, as outward appearances indicated. The flame of human passions never bursts forth until it has been for some time, and often for a long time, smouldering and working under the compressive agent. As a few years after the reign of Numa, civil war swept through Turrhenia, and so shook, as nearly to dismember her, we must believe that the cause was working now.

As her population consisted of patricians and plebeians, equally landholders and citizens, but with very unequal rights, and sometimes very unreasonable distinctions; and as it was evidently a struggle for equality on the one hand, and for a continued caste predominance on the other, we must believe that the pride and arrogance of the men of rank and wealth, and the envy, misrepresentation, and discontent of the men of middle station, were at this very time, felt in all the trading cities, and that they threatened a violent collision upon every fresh election to the offices of power.

We do not believe that there existed in Etruria, any developement of the democratic principle, so decided as that which distracted the Greek republics, or the Italian towns of the middle ages, and which forms the bane of modern Europe. The government of all the Etruscan Lucumonies was a strict aristocracy. The offices of power and of trust were in the hands of the noble families, of the heads of them the Senate was composed, and from the midst of them the sovereign of each state was elected, and on seasons of emergency, the Embratur or Emperor of the League was chosen at the fane of Votumna. Nevertheless, there were some states in which the principles of a more exclusive aristocracy predominated than in others; while in the less exclusive governments, it must not, on the other hand, be imagined that equality of ranks was vindicated, or even admission of the Plebeians to high command and important office was sought for; so much as addi-

tional facilities for Plebeians to be gradually raised to the rank and dignity of Patricians. All the governments were strictly patrician; but in some, the Patrician caste was less jealously guarded than in others, from the approaches of Plebeian merit or good fortune. Hence, a spirit of rivalry and hostility sprang up between the states; and it is too probable that the more liberal states, though at home aristocratic, may have fomented popular discontents in the more exclusive ones, and lent themselves not only to facilitate the extension of the patrician caste, but even to encourage the assaults of plebeians against the established order of the patrician government.

It was this shortsighted and weak policy which begun about the present time, to sow the seeds of those disorders which, as we shall hereafter see, burst forth in the flames of civil war, and weakened, and at length ruined, the great Etruscan commonwealth. We will not anticipate the facts of this history; but we may remark, that Tarquinia was, from the earliest times to the death of Porsenna, when her authority over Rome was destroyed, the predominating aristocratic power, while Volsinia and Clusium advocated, what we should call, the liberal side. This we shall find, hereafter, illustrated in the lives and acts of the Roman sovereigns of the two Tarquinian dynasties; in the Volsinian military chief, Cale Fipi, and his Lieutenant Mastarna, whose long and powerful reign in Rome gave a blow to the aristocratic interest throughout Etruria; and finally, in Lars Porsenna himself, who, although

Emperor in the League, was nevertheless a chief on the liberal side, and as little friendly to the exclusive despotism of the Tarquinian sovereigns, as he was hostile to any unreasonable demands on the part of the Italian Plebs.

Meanwhile Etruria looked with undiminished satisfaction on the new border fort of the Rumon river, the home and asylum alike of Luceres, Ramnes, and Titius, the increasing, well-governed and sacred city of Rome. Etruria, foremost of the Italian nations, was inclined to support and confirm her power, because, through the Augurs, it seemed entirely under her own jurisdiction: and Livy tells us, that in Numa's days, Rome was called "The Holy City." Like all the Lucumoes, Numa was himself a priest, and from his devotion to all the Etruscan rites and ceremonies, we are inclined to believe that he was strictly educated by the Tuscans. After his election by the three tribes, he desired to be set apart for his office by an Augur, (Livy 1,) and until that was done, he refused to clothe himself in the kingly robes of Romulus, or to use the ensigns of the Tuscan sovereigns. Livy (l. 18) minutely describes the ceremony. He says, that Numa consulted the gods, in like manner as Romulus had done on the founding of the city, that is, in the Tuscan manner. That he went with the Augur, Spurius Vettius,* to the citadel

* The Spurina was an Etruscan family of Vulci; and many articles have been lately found in the Vulcian sepulchres, marked with their name. Spurina is the Latin Spurius.

of Saturnia, and sat down upon a stone, with his face to the south. The Augur, holding the Lituus or divining rod, placed himself upon his left, with his head covered, and in this position, looked over the city, and marked out the regions of the sky north, south, east, and west, fixing, as a boundary, the furthest limit that his eye could reach. He then moved the Lituus with his left hand, and laid the right upon Numa's head. He next offered up this prayer—"Father Jupiter, or Tina, if it be thy will, that this Numa Pompilius, upon whose head I have laid my hand, be king of Rome, show us, we beseech thee, clear tokens thereof, within the limits which I have marked out." Afterwards he named his sign, and it was granted, whereupon Numa put on his royal garments, and was received by an applauding multitude, as their consecrated king.

One of Numa's chief cares was to confirm, in a manner more solemn and binding than Romulus had done, his union with the Tuscans, by making a special, holy and Isopolitan league with the Janiculum, the hill and fort peculiarly dedicated to Tuscan Janus. We have already stated the probability, if not certainty, that the Janiculese joined every year with the Sabines in the feasts of the Saturnalia; and now Numa bound the men of Saturnia every year to celebrate, in return, the feasts of Janus. He induced the Tuscans to allow a wooden bridge,* called the Pons Sublicius,† to be thrown

* Plin. xxxvi. 15.

† Dion. Hal. ii.

across the Tiber, so as to connect the Janiculum with the Saturnian and the Palatine, and he appointed a set of priests to take charge of it, called Pontifices, of whom he was the first and chief. Marcius, the noblest of the Sabines, is named as one of the body, and to him he gave a written and sealed copy of all his institutions.* These Pontifices, Roman and Tuscan, were bound every year to keep a feast of union on this bridge. It is likely that Numa appointed the feast to be observed on the anniversary of Janus, and with his priests, because Janus presided over gates and roads, both of which this bridge would represent; and because he is said to have built a temple to Janus, besides the one built by Romulus and Tatius, meaning, doubtless, a shrine, which might easily be confused in later times and after its disappearance, with the permanent and enduring building of the kings. This bridge is one of the most famous works of Numa, and we must suppose that no character less venerable than his, could have persuaded the Janiculan Tuscans so far to have committed themselves in an intimate union with the Sabines and the Albans. But with him they not only felt safe in the transaction, but believed that with the Tuscan faith, they were securely extending the Tuscan power. They were like the Roman Catholics of our day, when they zealously plant their religion and its rites, in some new region. Though they elect no

* The Marcii descendants of Ancus Marcius, and the Valerii descendants of Numa, bore the cognomen of Rex among the Romans.

king, and appoint no general, they know that they are producing a much more important and lasting effect. They are carrying forward what they consider to be the world embracing domination of Rome. The Holy City of Numa rules as the Holy City still, and her continued existence and her lasting pre-eminence have been much more owing to her Lituus and her Mitre, than to her bloody laurels and her two-edged sword.

Such was the marked honour which Numa paid to Janus, that he consecrated to this demi-god * the first month of the year, naming it Januarius. Before this time, the Roman,† like the Alban year, had begun in March. Numa dedicated February also to the Tuscans, and made it sacred to their evil genius, Typhon, and to the gods of the shades, in order that they might be propitiated in favour of the infant city, and be induced to bless the triple union which he sought to establish. Varro says of this month, "Ab Deis Inferis, Februarius appellatus quod tunc his parentetur." These two months were intercalary with the Latins, without any especial dedication.

It was after this great work of a solemn league with the Janiculum, that Numa erected his famous temple to Fides, or public faith, with a number of minute allegorical observances. Fides was the same as Jupiter Atistius, or Sancus, in whose temple public treaties were afterwards hung. The treaty between Tarquin the Second and Gabii remained

* Plutarch in Numa.

† Macrob. Satur. i. 12.

there until the times of the empire. This god was Fides to the Romans, Sancus to the Sabines, and Atiste to the Tuscans; and Polybius testifies of the triune people, and of the three nations which they represented, that they were educated to respect their word once given, as much as any written engagement; and that it bound them, without bail or witness, more than twenty promises or twenty witnesses could bind the Greeks. The Roman expression was, "Medius Fidius," "upon my honour."

Plutarch informs us, that Numa also erected an altar on Saturnia to Jupiter Elicius, that is, to Tuscan Jupiter, who hurls the thunderbolt, and from whom the Tuscan priests drew lightning for their auguries. Numa seems to have filled this hill with altars to the gods of the Luceres and the Janiculese.

Numa made several ordinances, binding upon the Ramnes and the Tities, which Romulus had left to their discretion. For instance, he introduced several colleges or brotherhoods from the Tuscans. He appointed Flamens, or hereditary priests of particular gods, such as the Flamen of Quirinus and Romulus, the Flamen of Jupiter, and the Flamen of Mars. Their wives were priestesses.*

Another of these ordinances of Numa was a college of Feciales, twelve † in number, over whom, as Festus informs us, he set a Pater Patratus, that is, a commander who had both a father and a son alive

* Ancient Hist. xi. 297.

† The colleges of twelve in Etruria represented the twelve states.

during the period he remained in office. A third was a college of Arvales, a Tuscan word from *arvare*, to curve or surround. These were also twelve in number, and it was their duty every year, to go round the borders of the patrician Agger, which was limited by the Fossa Cluilia, six miles on the road to Alba Longa. Romulus would never fix the patrician boundaries. Numa had them limited, so that they never afterwards could be infringed; and from the Fossa Cluilia to the Tiber was the augury ground of the Rumon nation, ceded to them, and guaranteed, by all the Italian people.

Numa doubled the numbers of the vestal virgins, making two for each body of senators. The names of the two fresh ones were Canuleia and Tarpeia, the latter was a Sabine, and the former a Tuscan; and he created all of them priestesses of Vesta,* and built to her the first round temple, of which we read in Italian history; commanding that the sacred fire should stand in the midst of it, and be kept ever burning. This fire was kept in some other temple before his time, for had it been sacred to Vesta alone, neither Romulus nor the Luceres could have avoided building her fane amongst the very first which were erected.† He insisted upon the feast of Terminus being observed

* The holy fire in Egypt was kept by the Pharaoh's daughters in the temple of Ammon; at Tyre, in that of Hercules; at Athens, in the temple of Minerva; and at Delphi, in that of Apollo; and in both these last cities the keepers were old widows.

† Plutarch calls her Vesta, or Larunda; and Larunda is the Tuscan name for this goddess.

by all his subjects, at the end of the Tuscan month of February; and the man who should move a boundary stone, placed and numbered after the Tuscan fashion, was guilty of sacrilege, and was to be punished by death.

During the time of Numa, Plutarch says in the eighth year of his reign, there was a pestilence in Italy, from which the Holy City suffered severely, and was in danger of a great diminution of the number of her inhabitants. Numa, to turn the thoughts of the people from these ills, and to cure them by infusing new courage and hope into their dispirited minds, displayed in Rome a beautiful bronze shield, of the kind called Ancyliā;* and said that it had fallen to him from heaven, and that he was commanded to make eleven more like it, and to institute a college of twelve priests, the handsomest patrician youths he could find, to take care of the twelve shields, which were to hang in the temple of Mars. The use of the eleven was to prevent the possibility of any one knowing and stealing the sacred one sent by the gods. Though the legend tells us that there were many artisans in Rome, in the Vicus Tuscus and other parts, and though Latium was open to him for the acquirement of any luxuries or weapons he might have desired, it is said that no one could imitate the shield, excepting Veturius Mamurius, a Tuscan, settled in Velitri, from whom he may pos-

* The Ancyliā was a shield of an oval form, fitting to the elbow, so called from the cubit, (*Αγκων*), the part of the arm between the wrist and the elbow.

sibly have bought the original. This man, with his workers, he established in Rome, and caused to make the eleven Ancyliæ. It is not unlikely that Velitri may have been written by mistake for Veii, a city, in every way, more probable, and famous at all times, for its bronze manufactories.

We learn from Plutarch, that some authors affirmed the name of Veturius Mamurius to mean only, "Vetus Memoria." But it comes to the same thing for history, whether by this name, we indicate some particular Tuscan, of whom we know no other fact, than that he settled in Rome by the king's desire, to accomplish some labour of delicate skill; or whether we preserve the ancient tradition, that in the year 700 B. C., there were no artists in Rome or Latium, who could work in the finest bronze; and that all these productions were obtained from the Tuscans, either out of Etruria Proper, or from their colonies and guilds settled in other places. Velitri, whether Latin or Volscian, at this period, is intimated as being under the power of the Turrheni, and as containing a flourishing school of Turrhenian art. The account, moreover, intimates a general spirit of monopoly and exclusiveness amongst the Tuscans. Otherwise, what was to prevent the Latins and Volscians from learning of them, and becoming as eminent in that department as themselves? The extraordinary proficiency* and early celebrity of Etruria in the manufactory and workmanship of metals, is proved by the price set upon them by the Greeks,

* Müller on Etruscan art.

and the tradition that the most valuable ornaments in the houses of the great, at Corinth, were some gold cups of Turrhenian fabric.

Numa, though despotic, knew mankind well enough, carefully to conceal his despotism; and in every new ordinance, he professed to command no more than he had been bidden to do by a superior power, and one to which he bowed as reverently as any of his subjects. He retired to the shrine of an oracle within the sacred Agger, and said, that the nymph Egeria* met him there, and communicated to him the will of the gods.

Among the many beautiful legends by which the early history of the nations of antiquity is illustrated, there is none more elegant than the story of Egeria; and even we, the children of another race, and the believers in a different religion, respond to the sentiments of veneration, which the ancient lawgiver excited among his own people, by the sanction of a higher intelligence, which he thus claimed for his pure and holy institutions. Egeria was the safeguard of Numa and his people; because nothing corrupt, cruel, or tyrannical, could spring from an authority so gentle and loving, and, at the same time, so elevated. And thus his laws and institutions reflected immortal honour upon himself, while they secured the happiness of his subjects.

The only other time that the name of this nymph occurs in Italian history, it is under a more real, if less elegant and lovely shape. It is introduced

* Dion. Hal. ii. 91.

under the form of Egerius, as belonging to a Tuscan of Tarquinia, the brother's son of Lucius Tarquinius, who removed with him from his Etrurian home, and settled in Rome. Hence, we are justified in believing, that Egere, whether in the feminine form Egeria, or the masculine Egerius, is an Etruscan name; and that this nymph was a Tuscan Larthia, perhaps a Bona Dea to Numa and to Quirium, or perhaps a Genius or Penate of his maternal clan.* The mythology of Etruria is rich in such demi-goddesses or patron saints; and Egeria calls to our minds Carmenta, Elythya, and Bygoë, the nurse of Tages. The Tuscan Mastarna, in after times, called the goddess Nortia, his Egeria, who communicated to him the mind of the gods, and led him to wisdom and success.

All the slaves of the three Tribes and the rich *Ærarii* in Rome were permitted by Numa to join in the Saturnalian games, and to have days of liberty and hilarity, whilst the feast lasted. Plutarch tells us how diligently Numa laboured, during his whole reign, to do away with every feeling of rivalry and inequality, and of jarring interests and preferences between these three tribes, and between the different classes of settlers who formed the population of his Holy City. He wished to make them all Romans, and to annihilate their old distinctions, by creating new ones. Accordingly, he ordered all the *Ærarii* artisans to form themselves into nine guilds

* Pumpu, the Etruscan form of Pompilius.

or companies, which will give us some idea of the state of the arts in Rome at this era; and of the predominance of the Tuscans, or at least of their civilization.

Numa's nine guilds were,—1, musicians; 2, goldsmiths; 3, masons; 4, dyers; 5, carriers; 6, tanners; 7, braziers, or coppersmiths; 8, potters; the ninth guild comprehended every other trade. We see from this that the beautiful Tuscan manufactures of the flowered, palmated and purple dresses were not introduced into the city; and that the flax and woollen were spun and woven, as now, by women in their own houses. From the Tuscan drawings upon the vases, we have reason to believe that the men, during peace, wore straw hats, which were doubtless also the labour of women.

Plutarch says that Numa permitted no images of any Deity in Rome, which seems to imply the existence of such images in her immediate vicinity; perhaps in all the other settlements of the Turrheni. He is also said to have permitted no bloody sacrifices. But this is evidently a mistake; and we should either read that he permitted no *new* bloody sacrifices, or none besides the three always observed by the Tuscans, of a bull, a sheep, and a pig. The latter was the sacrifice of the *Feciales*, and of the feasts of *Terminus*.* Numa sacrificed a sheep upon the Aventine, and appointed the slaughter of a cow with calf, when an elderly widow married again.

* Varro.

The laws of Numa were written down like those of Tages, and the priests of the Holy City were required to get them by heart; and Numa had so many proverbs and wise sayings, that they never perished from the memories of a grateful people, and were considered by later sages, as the sayings of Pythagoras, and as his teaching; whereas, in fact, they should have been stated as the sayings of ancient Italian wisdom, which were equally learned, by Pythagoras and Numa. One was, "Never to give to the gods wine from a vine unpruned;" i. e., never to give them the worst of our substance; or, in scripture language, "Never to offer to heaven that which costs us nothing." "Not to sacrifice without meal:" i. e., never to come empty-handed. "To turn round whilst we worship, but, having worshipped, to sit down:" i. e., to exert ourselves to the utmost, whilst we pray for anything which we earnestly desire, but, having done all, then to submit quietly to the Divine will. All this was the Etruscan method of teaching in parables, derived from the East. Again, Numa commanded the heralds, when they announced the new moons, and ceremonies, and holidays to the people at the market-times, always to make them clear, so that the most unlearned might understand.

Plutarch mentions a tradition of an enemy at his gates, of which when he was informed, he smiled and answered, "I am sacrificing;" as much as to say, "The gods will protect me." We have no hint as

to whence this enemy came, and we presume that it was some trifling city broil, before his authority was quite established. In his days, Italy was at peace, and her various nations were friendly and hospitable, occupied with games and festivals, sacrifices and entertainments. Plutarch tells us this; and he might have added, for Etruria at least, that she was occupied also with commerce and legal reforms.

When Numa died, he desired to be buried after the manner of the Tuscans, in a stone coffin, and not burnt. Copies of his twenty-four books upon religion, law, and government, were also buried with him. They were written upon Egyptian papyrus, which the commerce of the Etruscans would naturally bring into the Tiber.*

Plutarch informs us that the kings of the neighbouring people—Latins, Sabines, and Etruscans—attended this great benefactor to Italy, and peacemaker among the nations, to his grave. Most singularly, he desired his sepulchre to be under the Janiculum; and neither with his own people on the Quirium, nor among his many shrines on the Saturnian, nor with Tatius on the Aventine, nor in any portion of the Ramnes,—but with the people whom he had joined to Rome, and whose priest and patron he seems principally to have considered himself. The body of Senators carried him to the grave, and the priests walked in procession, whilst a train of women and children closed the pageant, and lamented him as a common father and a heaven-sent prince.

* Plin. xiii. 13; xvi. 37.

Plutarch says that he drew down lightning on the Aventine, a science known only to the Etruscan sages, and that he divided the Roman territories into Pagi, each having its own priest and government; an idea which he took from the Lucumony of Veii, whose seven Pagi lay in the immediate vicinity of Rome.

In this reign, or in that of Romulus, the four latest of the Eugubian tables were written, containing a liturgy to be used in the feasts of Jupiter, by the Tuscans, the Latins, and the Umbrians. And we may be sure that the pious monarch regularly attended these feasts, as the representative of the sacred Roman colony, and the friend of all devotion.*

* Sir William Betham believes that these tables record the invention of the compass by the Turrhenes, and the discovery and colonization of Ireland. But this is not the view which has been taken by Italian antiquarians; although such events and discoveries were certainly most worthy of being celebrated and kept in remembrance in all the Etruscan temples.

CHAPTER III.

PERIOD OF TULLUS HOSTILIUS IN ROME.

Reign of Tullus Hostilius in Rome—Comparative authenticity of the first three Roman reigns—War with Alba Longa—Various accounts of this war, and explanations of its origin—Destruction of Alba Longa—Revolution in Corinth—Arrival and settlement of Demaratus at Tarquinia—Greek artists established in Etruria—State of the arts in Greece and in Etruria—Death of Tullus Hostilius.

B. C. 672. YEAR OF TARQUINIA 515.*

WE now commence the second Sæculum of Rome, and review the transactions of the Etruscans during the first thirty-three years, which are comprised in the reign of Tullus Hostilius, the Latin king of the Eternal City. Veii and Fidene do not appear to have been at peace with Rome for any length of time throughout this reign. The aspect of things on the eastern side of Etruria was quite changed, and Etruscan troops either helped to destroy Alba Longa, or did not prevent her destruction. Towards the north-west, as far as we know, the internal ad-

* Authorities: Livy, i. 22, 23. Dion. Halicar. iii. Ancient Hist. xi.

ministration of Etruria was quiet, and her commerce prospered, being carried on actively with the Græco-Italian ports and colonies. The political position of Veii and Fidene, and their relations with Rome and Alba, are involved by Livy and Dionysius in inextricable confusion and absurd contradictions. But this arises from the law which all the Roman historians thought themselves obliged to follow, of always making their mother city right in her actions, and triumphant in her wars. We shall attempt to disperse the mist as far as lies in our power, and give those strong outlines of the proceedings of the people of ancient Italy which may still be discerned through the gloom of distant ages.

After the death of the priestly king Numa Pompilius, the disciple of Janus, and the friend and follower of the Tuscans, Tullus Hostilius, a prince of the Ramnes, ascended the Roman throne, according to the treaty with Tatius, that a Latin and a Sabine should always succeed each other alternately. His grandfather was a patrician of Medulia, who emigrated thence with Romulus, as one of the sacred colonizers. Niebuhr, who esteems all the preceding period of Roman history to be mythic, in so far, at least, as regards names, dates, and order of events, looks upon Tullus as a real personage, and believes in the main facts which are related of his day.

We cannot, however, avoid thinking that this distinction is somewhat arbitrary. Why should

Tullus be regarded as a man, while Numa and Romulus are to be considered merely as mythic personages? There seems no solid reason for this. Whereas, if we allow history and legend to run on together in a parallel line, we shall probably arrive at something nearer to the truth. Let not Romulus and Numa be looked upon as wholly mythic, neither let us pin our faith to the exact historical order of names, dates, and events, during the reign of Tullus. A considerable latitude must be allowed to fable during the whole of the earliest period of Italian history; and we can give only a measured belief to the annals of times even considerably later than the reign of which we are now treating.

It will be seen, as we advance, that we do not strictly follow the usual course of Roman historians concerning the later reigns. For instance, we do not consider it necessary to regard either the first or the second domination of the Tarquinian dynasty over the sacred city, as merely comprised in the lives of two men. And we are disposed to ascribe many of the popular measures of Ancus Marcius to the liberal Etruscan monarch, Mastarna. But while we allow a considerable latitude to our faith, we must, in like manner, set bounds to our incredulity. And we will not follow even the most profound authorities, where they would perplex their readers with unfounded distinctions.

There can be no doubt that a colony was led from Alba Longa to the seven hills where Rome now stands; and that it was joined to two other commu-

nities belonging to different nations, Sabine and Tuscan, already settled there. And we have no reason to question the probability that the name of the leader of this colony may have been Romulus. We are certain also, that many religious rites were given to the rising commonwealth, borrowed indeed, for the most part, from the neighbouring nations, and principally from Etruria, and thus in themselves, being a portion of ancient and firmly-established forms of worship, although new in their juxtaposition, as now forming the sacred code of one and the same state. It is plain that all these sacred laws must have been collected and enacted by some powerful chief, who revered the Deity, and who was anxious to promote the moral well-being of his people. And there seems no sufficient reason to question the probability that the name of this pious prince was Numa. The same reasons which would make nonentities of Romulus and Numa would also expunge from the list of those that have been, their successor, Tullus; with this difference, however, that he could be more easily spared than either of them. If we are to annihilate, let us rather reduce to nothing the hot-headed disturber of the world's tranquillity, than the wise and vigorous founder of states, and the pure and holy minister of the gods and benefactor of men.

Alba had now recovered her strength during the first Sæculum of Rome, and especially during the profound peace which Italy enjoyed in the time of Numa. But, like other rich states, in the enjoy-

ment of uninterrupted prosperity, she had become arrogant and domineering, until, by some one outrageous act, claim, or demand, she inflamed against her all the Latins. Niebuhr conceives that she especially irritated the Turrhene Latins, in front of whom stood Rome.* We dare not invent, where history is wholly silent, and we may not fill up such gaps by imagination; but it plainly appears that the Latins and their allies, before this time, always met every year to sacrifice at Alba Longa under the Alban prince; and after this time, for many years, these sacrifices ceased, and in their stead, new meetings were appointed at Feronia and at Rome, and the old ones continued as before, at Lavinium only. The cause of the war, therefore, we think must have been some dissension that took place at the Alban solemn assemblies; some insult offered to the Turrheni, or some irritating assumption of superiority which the other Latins would not brook. Very likely, a demand was made by them to offer up the sacrifices at Rome alternately with Alba, as they did at Lavinium, and it was haughtily and contemptuously rejected. The only parties which Livy names in this quarrel are Tuscan Veii, and Fidene, Turrhene Rome, and the Latins in their immediate vicinity.

The war began by mutual inroads between the Latin and Alban peasants, which the Feciales of the two people failed to prevent or atone for; and when they took the field against each other, Veii and Fidene armed, in order to profit by whichever

* Nieb. ii.

should prove the weaker in the contest. We may well ask what particular interest Veii and Fidene had in this matter, and why they could not leave two Latin states to settle their own disputes, or why they were brought in as umpires rather than any of the Sabine cities equally near? The reason we presume to be, because Tullus excited their jealousy; for he strove to destroy the Tuscan influence by its very root. He was not a religious prince, according to their estimation, and he did away with all the institutions of Numa as far as he could. Tullus was reckoned by the Tuscans as impious, though he showed the strongest general regard to the gods. We may therefore be sure that he was opposed to their peculiar religion; and in proof of it, he is said to have been killed by drawing down lightning from heaven which he did not know how to manage. Therefore either they refused to teach him, or he refused to learn, they being his instructors."

Tullus was bound to the Janiculum by treaty, and to peaceful, commercial Cære in some league of such mutual advantage, that he had no inducement to break it. But every Tuscan tie which did not bear daily profit upon its front, seemed to him a thrall. He wished the sacred colony to be Latin and not Turrhene, Alban altogether, rather than Tuscan. This it was which roused Veii and Fidene to curb his ambition, and to weaken his power. Niebuhr* believes that Tullus at first joined the Turrhene Latins in a general war against Alba, as

* Nieb. i. 362.

one only of the allies; and that his forces advanced no further than the Fossa Cluilia, his own boundary. There Mettius Fuffetius,* or Suffetius, the Alban Dictator, entreated of him to withdraw from the Turrheni,† who were so powerful that they would overwhelm him and his dominions, after having crushed Alba and her offenders. Tullus yielded to the argument, and was willing to withdraw, agreeing that the difference between Rome and Alba should be decided by single combat, between champions for each Tribe of the two cities. Upon this, a solemn covenant was entered into, and the three champions were called Horatii and Curiatii; but the Roman historians did not know which was which.

Livy (i. 24) gives us a most interesting account of the manner in which the treaty was concluded between the Albans and the Romans, and it is so thoroughly Etruscan in all its parts, that as our chief aim, in the absence of native Turrhenian details, is to show the Etruscan influence over the manners of Rome, and Italy, we cannot resist extracting it entire. The patrician Fecial or herald said to the king, "Dost thou, oh king, command me to form a treaty with the Pater Patratus of the Alban nation?" On the king replying in the affirmative, he continued, "Then, oh king, I demand Vervain from thee." The king answered, "Take it pure."

* This name sounds singularly like Suffetes, the supreme rulers in Carthage, and make us suspect that it is derived from an Etruscan or Phœnician word, meaning Prætor or Prince.

† Livy i.

(We have already remarked that this Vervain was sacred to the Phœnician god of citadels.) The herald then brought clean stalks of that herb from the citadel, and asked, "Dost thou, oh king, constitute me the royal delegate of the Romans to the Quirites, including in my privileges, my attendants and equipage?" The king answered, "I do so constitute thee, but without prejudice to myself, the Romans, and the Quirites." The Fecial then proceeded to make Spurius Furius (who, from his name, was probably a Tuscan) Pater Patratus, or head of the Fecials, by touching his head and hair with Vervain. This Pater Patratus then took into his hand the tablets upon which the conditions of the treaty were written, and read them all out loud. He then said, "Hear, oh Jupiter; hear, thou Pater Patratus of the Alban nation; hear, ye people of Alba. All these conditions, from beginning to end, have been publicly read, without fraud or deceit, as they are written in these waxen tablets, and according to the sense in which we clearly understand them. From these conditions the Romans will not first depart; and should they do so, do thou, oh Jupiter, in that day, strike them as I now strike this swine; and do thou smite them with so much more severity, in proportion as thy strength and power are greater."

The three Curiatii strike us as representing the thirty Roman Curiae; but Livy elects the Horatii for that office, because many Patricians of that

name appear in Roman history. The earliest Roman historians related, that in the nicely balanced contest of these champions, victory at length declared in favour of their own country, and that Alba being defeated, her prince agreed to make Tullus Dictator in his room, and to serve under him against the Tuscans.

In the tale of the Horatii and Curiatii, we cannot help remarking that the victorious Horatii had to pass under the yoke, a punishment probably introduced into Italy from Syria, by the Tuscans, and that the Augurs erected expiatory altars to the Tuscan deities Juno and Janus.

Mettius strove to save Alba and himself by uniting with the Tuscans, and with Veii and Fidene, in order to destroy the Romans. His design was defeated by the Roman and Latin bravery; and Tullus vowed to establish a third college of the Salii, if he should prove victorious. Thus making three colleges, one for each tribe.

Mettius was taken, and, as a traitor, was condemned by the royal Dictator to be torn in pieces, being attached to two chariots driven different ways. This is an eastern punishment for a double-minded man. The Latins then sent an overwhelming force of cavalry to Alba, took captive its inhabitants, and rased its walls and military defences to the sound of the trumpet,* desecrating it so that it never could be built again.

* Serv. Æn. ii. 313.

The Dictator, in deference to his allies, ordered the temples to be spared, and these are enumerated by Strabo as being dedicated to Janus, Minerva, Mars, Vesta, and Carna, besides the great temple of the triune Jupiter,* the sacrifices of which were for many years suppressed. The population of the city, judging of her by the cities of Canaan† at this hour, may have been 40,000 souls.

The power of Alba was destroyed four hundred years after her foundation, and her territories were divided amongst the conquerors. Many of the towns which had belonged to her, became, in time, sovereign Latin cities, whilst others rose into some consequence, though we do not know to what governments they owed allegiance. Pliny (ii.) tells us the names of the thirty Alban townships, and Dionysius (v.) enumerates the free and sovereign Latin towns that in A.R. 226, or B.C. 487, concluded a treaty of alliance, with Sp. Cassius. In this manner, we find that Bubenta, Corioli, Peda, Querquetulanus, and Toleria, which in 653 B.C. had been dependencies of Alba, were now become leading cities; and that Apiola, Bovilla, Polluscum, Velia, and Vitella, had a separate existence, under some of the Latin states, but not under Rome. We do

* This may perhaps with greater propriety be termed the Great Triune Temple of Jupiter. It was not properly the Temple of Jupiter or Tina only, but it was dedicated to the Triad, (in which he stands first,) of Tina, Talna, and Menerfa.

† Robinson's Palestine, ii. 525.

not know that either Rome or any of the Turrhene colonies gained an accession of territory in this war.

Tullus is said to have taken a number of Albans with him to Rome, and to have settled them on the Cœlian Mount.* But Niebuhr has very ably proved that what he did, was to form an Isopolitan league between the Cœlian and some of the Alban townships, giving to them a home there, and securing to the Luceres and the two other Tribes their share of the Alban territory or spoil; thus endeavouring to force a more intimate union of the Luceres with the Latins, from whom they had, probably, kept too distinct until this time, regarding them as a race less pure and less civilized than themselves.

Amongst the townships of Alba, we find one called Fidene, and without doubt, some transactions of Alban Fidene have been transferred to Tuscan Fidene; and thus, and in similar ways, many of the perplexities and inconsistencies of early history have been occasioned. Tullus was so resolved to destroy the exclusiveness of the Luceres, that he lived himself, upon the Cœlian, and there protected the five or six Alban families whom he had introduced into the Curiae, and made equal in privileges and condition with the original proprietors and dwellers upon that hill.

The destruction of Alba by the Latins is so certain a fact, and the account of it in Livy is so incre-

* Livy names six families, the Tullii, Servilii, Geganii, Clœlii, Quintii, and Curiatii. These two last Müller gives as Etruscan names.

dible, seeing that the Romans do not appear to have gained any advantage by their victories, that the Ancient History (xvi. 77) endeavours to explain it by imagining Veii and Fidene to have been, in Romulus's days, subdued by Rome, and to have struggled, after the death of Numa, to set themselves free. That, for this purpose they fomented the quarrel with Alba, which Livy represents to be of Tullus's own seeking; and that they hoped during the strife, to regain their independence, and perhaps subdue both the disputants.

Tullus, Livy says, after a year, commanded Fidene* to answer before the Roman Senate for treachery, and on its refusing to do so, declared war, and Fuffetius, jealous of him as Dictator, promised to desert the Romans in fight, and to join the Tuscans. The armies met near the confluence of the Anio and Tiber: Fuffetius being opposed to Fidene, and Tullus to Veii. At the beginning of the fight, the Albans retired, and the day would have been lost and Rome conquered, had not Tullus with ready wit, spread through the host an assurance that the movement of the Albans was a manœuvre of his own, to draw the enemy into a snare. The Tuscans heard and believed the invention, suspected treachery in the Alban general, were seized with a panic and fled. Tullus then gained the day, and as the crown of his victory, judged and condemned Fuffetius.

* If there is any truth in this tale, it must have been Alban Fidene.

All this is nonsense,* Veii was never at any period dependant upon Rome, but often threatened Rome with dependance upon her. She could not even have been in danger of such a situation, without rousing the rest of the Etruscan league to her relief; and Niebuhr does not allow that Fidene had any quarrel with Rome until after the fall of Alba, when it is very likely that she may have disputed a share of the spoil, or some other points, with the violent and excited Roman leader.

Let us pause here one moment, to think upon the lovely spot which so many of our countrymen now visit, and where Alba Longa once stood. Can anything be more awful than to gaze upon the ruins of a desolated city, and to view the green grass and the upturned stone, where, for ages, the busy streets, and the crowded Forum, the holy temples, and the lordly palaces, teemed with their eager multitudes? It is awful even in imagination, to picture the smoking roofs and the wasted property, the wild cries of unpitied woe, the groans, the wounds, the unheeded poor, the helpless orphans, the wretched widows, whose hearts were breaking amid the songs of tri-

* When Livy calls Fidene a rebellious Roman colony, Niebuhr has shown that he can only mean that the Fidenates drove out the Roman garrison. And we may well ask, why Rome waited a year before she called them to account for such an act, supposing she had the power to call them to account at all? The war of Rome with Fidene and Veii was one caused entirely by the dislike of Tullus to the discipline and influence of the Etruscans.

umph and the shouts of victory! To think of the ties that were severed, and the struggles that were made in vain; the domestic hearths, where never more a family will assemble, nor a meal be taken; the altars where never more a sacrifice will be offered, nor a prayer be said. Beautiful Alba! the holy and the powerful! In the morning she swarmed with inhabitants, whose faces were pale with fear, but whose bosoms yet beat with hope. She had within her, the delicate virgin and the gallant youth, the feeble old man and the sucking child. In the morning she was full of life; in the evening she was gone, and all that remained of her was black and smoking desolation. She had been a queen among the nations, therefore she continued to be renowned and remembered, when fifty other cities, as Pliny tells us, when all her dependencies, and when more than all that ever owned her sway, were annihilated and forgotten.

She must have terribly excited the fury of the Latins, to have undergone such a doom. Did the Turrheni lay their hands upon her?—or was she overthrown by a Latin confederation only? Did Veii and Fidene blow their trumpets beneath her walls, and charge with all their cavalry, aiding the Latins by the superior skill and discipline of Etruria?—or did they, when they had drawn out their armies against her, accept the submission of Fuffetius, and intend to join him, and overpower the very inferior forces of the Romans? Why did they not attack Rome whilst Tullus was in the field, and the city unprovided for

defence? And why did they appear so incomprehensibly and without purpose, upon the ground, connected with the fall of Alba, but not knowing which side to choose? We believe that they came, and were welcomed at the call of the Latins, and that Latium and Turrhenia were united, in order to effect that singular destruction, which, whilst it spared the temples of the Tuscan faith, blotted out proud Alba from the map of Italy for ever.

After this dreadful deed, the Tuscans quarrelled with the Latins, and their forces retired to Fidene, where Tullus and his allies besieged and blockaded them.* But they found some effectual means of delivering themselves from this situation, for they made an honourable peace. Tullus was very anxious, after the fall of the sacred Alba Longa, that the "Sacred Rome" should take its place, and he strove to persuade his allies that the Latia or Feria, the peculiar feast of the thirty Latine nations, would be most conveniently kept there. But notwithstanding his nationality and his great wish to unite Rome more closely to the Latins, and to dis sever her as far as possible from the Turrhenians, the other Latins would not agree to this proposition. They formed a new league of thirty towns, into which they adopted the Sabine Crustumaria and Pometia,† and they consecrated the grove of Aricia or Feronia, near San Marino, to be their new place of council, and of sacrifice. It is not to be over-

* Dionys. Hal. iii. ; Livy i. 27.

† Cato Origines, Nieb. ii., note 31.

looked that Feronia is the Tuscan goddess of free-men, and when Alba was overthrown, the assemblies of the Latins were held at her shrine.* At one of these meetings a quarrel arose between the Romans and Sabines, and the latter having the advantage, seized and led captive some of the Roman people. The Romans in revenge, seized and imprisoned some Sabines, who had sought refuge in the asylum of Saturnia.

War was the consequence, and the Roman annals represent it as one of general importance. Veii joined the Sabines against Tullus, who was assisted by a great body of the Latins from Cora, Lavinium, Tusculum, and Anagnia. Medulia, the native town of Tullus's grandfather, suffered much in this war, but was not destroyed; for it is represented afterwards as standing a four years' siege under Ancus, the next king.

After the fall of Alba, Tullus had made a league with the Latins and Hernicians, and their troops, with those of the other allies, advanced to help Rome under the Dictator Ancus Publicius,† of Cora, and his Magister Equitum† Spurius Vecilius, Prince of Lavinium. The troops of Tusculum and Anagnia, under Livius Cespian, the Marsian, encamped upon the Esquiline, where Santa Maria Maggiore now stands—a hill not then within the Roman walls, though a fort of the united Roman people; and they lay there to support and perhaps to defend Rome against Veii. This war was concluded by a peace, in which both

* Livy i. 50.

† Dion. iii.

parties seem to have remained as they were at the beginning, neither having gained any decided advantage. Tullus defeated the Sabines at Eretum, upon which they agreed to a long truce. The Sabines binding themselves to deliver up the Roman deserters, to give back the prisoners of Feronia without ransom, and to pay for the ravages they had committed during the war. We believe this battle, and the conditions of peace which ensued, to have been real, because they were inscribed upon the pillars of a temple in Rome, probably the temple of Jupiter Fides.*

About the twelfth year of this reign a great revolution took place in Corinth, a city which its own legends represent as being Isopolitan with Tarquinia. Müller says that the tradition which we are about to relate is Corinthian, and not Tuscan; nevertheless, it is interwoven too closely with Etruscan history, not to form an important part of the annals of this period. About 667 B. C., and in the year of Tarquinia 520, Cypselus overturned the ascendancy of the Bacchiadæ, at Corinth, and drove them from the state.†

* The wooden bridge over the Anio, mentioned by Livy i. 37, was built to celebrate this peace.

† Niebuhr says that the name of Demaratus is added by later writers, and that all the Grecian element of the story arises from a wish on the part of the Greeks to provide some suitable home for the Bacchiadæ; and from the old tradition, that the *Eucheir* and *Eugrammus* of the Tuscans proceeded from Greece. Little did the Greeks dream that a race of scholars would in time arise, who would declare that the *Eucheir* and *Eugrammus*

Demaratus, one of the chiefs of the Bacchiadæ, gathered his followers around him, and having secured what property he could, set sail in a Tuscan vessel for Tarquinia. He took with him the artists Eucheir and Eugrammus, and received the welcome to which he was entitled, when he, a rich and honourable citizen, abandoned his own country, and took up the franchise of Tarquinia. He had every privilege which a native of rank could claim, but he had not the rights either of a Patrician or of a Tribesman. He was an equal match for a Lucumo's daughter, and he accordingly married one of the Tuscan ladies, a woman of high rank and ambition.

Though a Greek, the legend does not connect him with Cuma, Parthenope, nor with any of the Græco-Italian cities. He preferred the manners, the education, and the government of the Tuscans; and he brought up his sons, whom the Tuscan historians name after their fashion, Lucumo and Aruns, in the schools of Tarquinia. The artists that he brought in his train, "Eucheir and Eugrammus," "clever hand," and "cunning pencil," are adjectives, expressing the qualities of men, and not substantives, denoting their persons. It strikes us that the Greeks, 300 years later than this, when praising the Philotechnoi, or lovers of art, as they called the

of the Greeks themselves came from Hindustan, and that Greece had no alphabet whatever, and no literal characters, until two generations after this period, when Tarquin the First reigned at Rome. This is now the creed of a learned school of orientalists.

Tuscans, may yet have given vent to their national vanity, by maintaining, that the finest subjects of their clay and bronzes, the finishing strokes and life-like touches, "the Eucheir and Eugrammus," amongst them, came from Greece. And although in the first part of this work we have stated, and in the last we trust we shall prove, that the Tuscans did not derive their letters and arts from the Greeks, we willingly admit that they owed to them, "the Eucheir and Eugrammus," even as we admit concerning our own literature and art, that our finest models of poetry, whether expressed in verse or in marble, are derived from the same stock.

As Pliny tells us that there were paintings in Ardea and Cere older than Rome, and as we have no evidence of painting existing in Greece at all, so early, we must feel satisfied, that whatever improvement in taste and subject, in grouping or in form, Greece might introduce into Etruria, she did not teach the Etruscans an art which they practised before it existed with herself. The famous Dodwell vase, which came from Corinth, and which has upon the lower part of it, the figures of mystic animals in the early fashion of Etruria, and upon the upper part, the rude yet spirited figures of the Iliad heroes, may, without any great marvel, have an antiquity as high as the date of Cypselus. For what lapse of time is noted in the sepulchre? The buried urn knows as little of the progress of ages, as the buried body beside which it lies. But we have no evidence that it can boast of so long a duration; and the only

probability in its favour is the intimate commerce which the story of the artists of Demaratus implies, between manufacturing Etruria and colonizing Greece. A vase of this period from Egypt; that is, a vase of the 25th dynasty, would be almost too modern to have any great value. How few reflect on the wonderful and instructive truth, that Egypt, "the first of nations," was in her dotage, and that her arts were decaying by reason of age, before Greece was out of leading strings, or had made a single step forward in advance of the rest of Europe.

Whilst Etruria, like most other known and celebrated nations, had one long day of unequal light, Greece shone forth with one grand burst of meridian splendour, not only surpassing in lustre every other nation, but reflecting a warmth and glory upon all within reach of that bright and gilding beam. But the sun of Greece rose grey from Egypt, waxed brighter as it was reflected from Etruria, and when its burning power had ceased to glow and kindle, it paled before the mists of the west, and finally set in Saracenic darkness.

Himera was the only town in Sicily that the Greeks founded at this period, by a colony from Zancle. All the Græco-Italian towns were then at peace with the Etruscans.

Towards the end of Tullus's reign, some volcanic disturbances occasioned a shower of stones at Alba, which terrified the Roman king, and induced him to consult his Augurs, as to what it might portend.

They commanded a nine days' feast to be observed, giving a day to each of the nine Etruscan gods, who had power over thunder; and they decided that the former worship on the Alban Mount must be revived. Tullus, believing himself to have acted impiously in abolishing or disregarding the rites and ceremonies which he had found adopted in Rome, when he came to the throne, now began to study the books of Numa, in order to restore whatever he thought might be observed, with safety to his own design, of making the Latin, and not the Turrhene element, paramount in the Holy City. But his mind could not bend to the point which was necessary. He was no priest of Janus, though he confirmed the treaty of Numa with the Janiculum.* He had not studied the Etruscan mysteries, and yet he would himself act as an Augur, and draw down lightning from heaven. The spark came, indeed, at his command, but he knew not how to direct it. His palace was burned, and he perished in the flames which his ignorance had kindled.

Tullus, at his death, left the territories of the Romans much as he had found them on his accession to the crown, in point of extent. Their Agger went as far as the Fossa Cluilia, and their strip of land reached the sea. But, politically and socially, he left Rome very different from what he had found her. She was now no longer the peaceful city, the holy place of refuge to the three military nations,

* This we know, because the new king, the successor of Tullus, is said to have broken this treaty.

which were represented by her patrician tribes. She was in the front of those who had destroyed Alba, notwithstanding the favour which she showed to the Albans; and she had become an object of irritation and jealousy to Veii and Fidene, which continued with little interruption until it became necessary that one of the contending parties should utterly fall. Rome herself dreamed not, when she was destroying Alba Longa, that she should one day inflict a similar ruin upon the lordly Veii, the southern bulwark and stronghold of Etruria.

CHAPTER IV.

PERIOD OF ANCUS MARTIUS IN ROME.

Reign of Ancus Martius—Arrival of Lucius and Tanaquil at Rome from Tarquinia—Political parties in Etruria—Popular tendency of the northern states, and aristocratic tendency of the southern—Cale Fipi, the leader of the liberal party—Zeal of Lucius for the aristocratic cause—Disappointed in Tarquinia, this zeal leads him to Rome—Power of Lucius in Rome—Ceremonies of the *Feciales*—Rome becomes the scene of the struggles of political parties in Etruria.

B. C. 639. YEAR OF TARQUINIA, 548.*

OUR next period of the Etruscan history extends over twenty-four years, during which Ancus Martius,† a Sabine, ruled in Rome. His mother was of the clan Pumpu, or Pompilius, and her influence may be traced in the religious bent of this prince.

* Authorities: Ancient History, xi. xvi. Livy i. 32 to 35. Dionys. Halicar, iii.

† His descendants in Rome were called the *Rex Marcii*.

He immediately restored all the institutions of the venerated Numa. He had his laws written out, and hung up in the Forum,* in order that all might read and know them, and that the knowledge of them might not be confined to the patrician priests alone. He restored the ceremonies of the Pons Sublicius, and perhaps added some ornaments to this bridge; for he is said to have finished it, which, as Numa year after year, continued to sacrifice upon it, cannot be understood in a literal sense.

Perhaps he accomplished the intentions of Numa, which were to make the Janiculum, like the Cœlian, a part of Rome, by including it within the Augury ground, and placing its patrician families in the thirty Curiae. He is said to have included the Janiculum within the walls or sacred bounds of the city, because the Tuscans,† unless in union with him, were dangerous neighbours, and rendered the navigation of the Tiber unsafe. Dionysius says that he seized upon the Janiculum, contrary to former treaties. But it is evident that his seizure of them might as well be called their seizure of him, for they became Roman citizens, with a right to all the privileges enjoyed by the Luceres.

In the eighth year of this reign, (631, B. C.) a grandee of Tarquinia, appeared at the gates of Janiculum. He was seated in a chariot, with his wife by his side, a long train of attendants following him, and an eagle, the sign of empire, fluttering over his head. He, a Tuscan, left his native city, and came

* Dionys. iii.

† Ib. iii.

to his own people living by the Tiber, in order to take up his franchise along with them. He might have fixed his dwelling with the Ramnes, or Priscan Romans,* but Livy says he joined the Tuscans become Romans, and cast in his lot with theirs. This man was the renowned Lucumo, afterwards known as Tarquinius Priscus," or "Lucius Tarquinius the ancient," his title of Lucumo gradually losing itself in the Latin form of Lucius. Livy makes him the son of Demaratus, the Corinthian chief, whom Cypselus overthrew and banished, and of the Tarquinian noble lady whom he married. Niebuhr thinks, from his cognomen of "Priscus," that he was one of the Priscan Latins; but we might as well say that King Edward the elder belonged to the family of the Elders, and King Henry Beauclerc to that of the Beauclercs. Niebuhr's idea is quite contrary to express and united historical testimony, and to the monumental evidence of Tuscan rule which remains in Rome to the present hour; and it must rank among those strange, paradoxical opinions sometimes put forth by great men, and which they alone dare to advance, or know how to maintain. We should have been constrained to attribute to Niebuhr an inspiration more than mortal, had he not sometimes advanced opinions such as these.

Livy (i. 34) tells us that this Lucumo was a man of great wealth and soaring ambition, and that he emigrated to Rome because he failed to obtain at Tarquinia those high honours to which he aspired.

* Nieb. 1, n. 829.

His wife, Tanaquil,* was a woman of elevated rank, of distinguished talent, energy, and courage, and was tormented by an ambition as insatiable as his own. She accordingly fomented all the desires of her husband, and would not let him rest.

It is likely that he could not gain admission into the Senate, and therefore was shut out for himself and his descendants, from all hopes of the Tarquinian throne: and feeling himself equal in all other points, in rank, in wealth, and in talents, to the highest of those nobles, amongst whom he was educated, his pride could not brook the exclusion. Tanchufil's feelings were similar to those of the Roman matron in after ages, when she saw her sister's husband Consul, and her own plebeian spouse ineligible. Tarquin's feelings, on the other hand, were those of the "Gentes minores," when they turned against the leading houses from jealousy of their precedency, and of the chief offices which were confined to their class. To judge from his title and following, he must have been admitted into the Patriciate at Tarquinia, and yet may have been excluded from the Senate. We think it very likely that so decided, though large and high-minded, an aristocrat, with great military talent, a courage not to be daunted, and an energy not to be repressed, may have felt himself better qualified than any one else, to be the general of the Tarquinian armies against Celes Vibenna and the demo-

* In Etruscan, Tanchufil.

cratic party, who were now threatening their opponents with a great revolution.

We gather, though with pain and out of darkness, that about this period there was a general strife throughout Etruria, in which Clusium, Volterra, Arezzo, Vetulonia, and Volsinia espoused the liberal side, and were inclined to favour popular privileges;* while the haughty and exclusively aristocratic states of the south obstinately refused all concession to the democratic party. We have already stated, in a former chapter, that the northern and more liberal governments were not in themselves democratic, and that, on the contrary, they ruled by means of a strict aristocracy. But they were inclined to open the door of admission into this body, to the struggles of plebeian merit or ambition, which in Tarquinia, Veii, and many of the southern states, were jealously repressed.

Thus two violently opposed political factions arose within the league, and party strife was kindled with a vehemence which sowed the seeds of dissolution, and which, in the end, though not indeed for a long period, proved fatal to the Etruscan commonwealth. The matter in debate was not the overthrow of the patrician party in any of the states, but the extension of important privileges to the plebeians and the minor houses; so that each class should be placed more upon a level with that which was immediately above it, and the general tone of government should be altered in a degree that would en-

* Müller's Etrusker.

able men of eminence to find their own level. This is a right which the strict institutions of caste forbade, but which yet, by the irrevocable law of nature, must ever remain the privilege of merit, the inheritance of the princes of the people, whatever be their birth.

No human institutions ought to oppose this law; and in proportion as they do so, in that proportion are they radically vicious and near to decay. The towering, boasting demagogue may be buoyed up by vanity, and may soar, like the balloon inflated with gas, without any real weight. But the mighty spirit is created to command, and, for good or evil, *will* make his influence to be felt. Such a one will either be the fertilizing river or the desolating flood, and blessed are they who know in time, how to make channels for its waters. It is the preservation of eastern governments, that the slave, though a slave, may and will, if a man of talent, take his place upon the steps of the throne.

Notwithstanding these remarks, it is the common order of Providence in this world, and one of those crooked things which no man can make straight, that the superior spirit, low in station, should submit to the inferior, born to rank and riches. And when masses of men can see that this is the will of the unerring Father of all spirits, and not the effect of caprice or arrogance in their fellow-men, they will not only submit, but feel a sacred pleasure in submitting from a sense of duty. "A lofty mind," to borrow the words of a beautiful writer, "will be kept in its subordinate position when it bows itself

to still loftier convictions;" and this it is which gives moral splendour to loyalty, to filial obedience, and to all the reflective virtues.

Cale Fipi, or Celes Vibenna, one of the nobles of Volsinia, gradually became the chief of this struggling liberal party, headed its troops, carried through its battles, and remained true to the cause, when all the rest of Etruria had either become lukewarm, or had acquiesced in the permanence of the old order of things. Nevertheless we cannot but believe that different states at this very time, underwent and submitted to different changes and compacts with their own people. Clusium was always more liberal than Tarquinia; and Lars Porsenna placed himself at the head of the party which was now led by Cale Fipi, when, some generations later, he conquered Rome. Allied with Clusium, we constantly find Perugia, Volterra, and Arezzo; and the spirit developed in this civil war never died at Volsinia, which, two centuries later, underwent a dreadful revolution in consequence, when the slaves, (by whom Niebuhr understands the Plebs,) were said to have assumed the government, and to have murdered or enthralled their masters. Veii* was continually changing her government, owing to popular or patrician discontents; and Vetulonia, the richest city of the league at this period, was soon made as desolate, and laid as low, as Alba Longa.

Lucius Tarquinius, however, this lofty Lucumo, and

* Livy.

his great-minded, but ambitious wife, in their sense of the injustice of their exclusion from office and political power, and in their perfect consciousness of ability to fill high office and wield extensive power, with honour to themselves and advantage to the state, were restrained by no bonds of self-denial. Their high and confident convictions of merit and ability only urged them the more irresistibly forward, to snatch what their evil fortune had denied them.

Of what use were high birth, extensive possessions, and numerous retainers, to one whom these advantages could not raise to those political privileges which were possessed by numbers whom his pride regarded as his intellectual inferiors? Of what use was pre-eminent talent, or zeal which would lead him to employ that talent in the service of the state, (that is, of the aristocratic party,) if the door of admission was closed against him, into that privileged circle, where alone his zeal and his talents could find a fitting exercise? We may believe that the son of Demaratus inherited from that aristocratic exile, a hatred of the popular party, more deeply rooted because more just, than that which existed in any, even of the proudest chiefs of Tarquinia, of the ancient Etruscan blood. The ruin of his house in its original native home had been effected by popular violence, and by that which generally succeeds it, a despotic usurpation. And he probably transferred with interest, to Cale Fipi, and the heads of the liberal faction in Etruria, the just aversion which he had inherited from his father towards Cypselus and Periander.

To such a man, hating a party, whom he felt he had ability, not only to injure, but to curb, and being forbidden to do it by the very aristocratic laws which he himself fondly cherished; loving and venerating those institutions, which he had vowed to defend, but which very institutions excluded him from the power to do so; to such a spirit, the home of his father's adoption and of his own birth, must naturally have become intolerable. He felt, that by law, he was placed in a state of political insignificance which he could not endure; and he felt, moreover, that the only chance he could ever have of being raised to eminence, was the triumph of those very principles, to which his father owed his ruin, and which, from his cradle he had been taught to abominate. For these strong reasons, he resolved to quit Tarquinia for ever, and to seek a new field, whereon, with honour and profit to himself, he might maintain the cause of aristocratic ascendancy, to which he was heart and soul attached!

We certainly cannot deny to this illustrious Tarquinian the praise due to the most thorough-going political consistency. How often do we not see among our ambitious, restless, and pushing countrymen, the strangest apostacies from a political creed, which has been professed by themselves, and inherited from their fathers, on account of some disappointed ambition, or even some more frivolous ebullition of wounded vanity!

Such was not the line of conduct adopted by

Lucius. He was true to his principles amid good report and evil report. When refused the place to which he aspired in Tarquinia, he did not turn against his excluders, but went elsewhere to fight his battle and theirs with dauntless fortitude.

Lucius Tarquinius came to Rome, and when in the precincts of the Janiculum, an eagle fluttered over his head, stooped gently, took off his cap, hovered over him, and then replaced it on his head. His wife, Tanaquil, who was well skilled in the science of Etruscan augury, and who, most likely, was a priestess, immediately embraced him, and told him that the bird had been sent by the gods, to predict to him a crown by divine right, and an eagle-headed sceptre, which he should wield in that very place. Tarquin was joyfully welcomed by Ancus, and the Romans, who were then at war with the Tuscans. Lands were given to him and his Clan,* he was elected into the Senate, and placed above the Luceres and Albans of the Cœlian, and his great riches increased the wealth of the patrician treasury. His nephew Egerius,† and all his kindred, were received with honour also, and he became

* These lands were situated near Crustumeria, on the other side of the Anio, and on the banishment of the Tarquinian Clan, were given to the Sabine Claudii.—Livy, ii.

† Egerius was the orphan son of Aruns, the brother of Lucius Tarquinius, whom he adopted as his own, Aruns having died at Tarquinia. These two names of Lucumo and Aruns constantly go together in Etruscan houses, to express superior and inferior rank among the nobles. Niebuhr even suspects that they sometimes indicate the Patricians and the Plebs.

the chief adviser of King Ancus, in peace, and his most distinguished leader in the front of battle. Livy says that he was courteous, hospitable, and generous, and that he conciliated the favour of both high and low.

Lucius joined heartily in the war against Veii and Fidene; first serving on foot, and then becoming master of the horse and head of the cavalry. To him and his men, we must attribute the device by means of which Fidene was taken,* and became subject to Rome. It was blockaded, but being well victualled, it was likely to hold out long, and the Tuscan prince conceived the idea of taking it by undermining. The soldiers, accordingly, dug a mine from the camp, under the walls, into the city. This was a work with which every Tuscan was familiar. It succeeded, and Fidene fell. Ancus placed in it a garrison, and called it a Roman town, giving to it the franchise of his own subjects. In this war, Veii was implicated, but we know not wherefore, and the warfare continued, until, owing to the bravery and discipline of Tarquin, she was at length obliged to purchase peace, five years after the taking of Fidene, by the cession of the seven Pagi near the Janiculum, which henceforward became Roman territory; and by giving up the Mælian forest, and the Salt Marshes near the mouth of the Tiber. Ancus built Ostia on this spot. It was the oldest colony and first port of the Roman people. He also established the salt works of the Lacus Ostiæ,

* Dion. iii.

most probably on the ground where they now exist. The port of a city like Rome soon became opulent, and Ostia flourished greatly. In the time of Aurelian, it had already declined, and its site, which is a little elevated above the surrounding sand and marshes, is now only distinguished by heaps of ruined buildings, which cover a considerable space. Ostia received the Cerite franchise; that is to say, its citizens were considered Romans, but were without a vote in the government. Tarquin immediately built ships in this port; and thus may be said to have originated the commerce of Rome.

Lucius Tarquinius being so very powerful and prominent a person, seems to have introduced more of Tuscan architecture into Rome than had hitherto developed itself there. Under his influence, Ancus made a deep ditch, called the Fossa Quiritum,* to complete the defences of the city; he built also the Marcian or Mamertine prisons, in the Forum under the hill Saturnia, near the Plebeian Comitium, in order to preserve internal discipline. Lucius ruled under the name of Ancus for sixteen years, when the violent death of this king opened his way to the vacant throne, and Rome passed from the Latins and Sabines entirely to the Tuscans. Thus, according to tradition, each of the three Tribes bore rule in turn, within the Holy City.

* Niebuhr (i. n. 937,) believes this fossa to have been the Mar-rana, an imitation of the Fossa Cluilia, which drained the valley of Murcia, and extended as part of its course from the Aventine to the Porta Capena.

The Greek and Etruscan commerce * in Campania was, during this period, very lively, and Tarquinia and Cuma stood in so intimate a relation with each other, that when Lucius retired into banishment, we wonder why he did not rather emigrate to Cuma than to Rome. At first sight, this wonder is increased, if we receive the story of Livy, that he was the son of Demaratus, the exiled Corinthian chief. Why did he not rather join himself to his father's countrymen, in one of the most flourishing of their colonies in the south of Italy, in a city, which, as we shall afterwards see, became the ultimate place of refuge of his ill-fated descendant? The fact of his having selected Rome as his residence, and the conspicuous part which he acted there, serve to bear us out in the view which we have taken of him, as the devoted Etruscan, and uncompromising champion of aristocratic principle and rule. Though sprung from Greece, and from one of its most eminent houses, he had become entirely Etruscan and Tarquinian. And here we may remark the well-known peculiarity in Etruscan institutions, which attached singular importance to maternal descent, in affixing a name and station to individuals. The family name of the mother was always added to the patronymic,—and this we may take as a fair specimen of the maternal influence which was exercised over the mind of an Etruscan.

* At this time the Phocians began to cross the Mediterranean, and traded with Tartessus, now Cades. But Müller says, that they had little, if any, influence in Etruria.

Demaratus wedded a noble Tarquinian lady, and his children, brought up amid all the memorials of the grandeur of their maternal ancestry, may well be imagined to have imbibed the tastes, feelings, and prejudices which distinguished the only relatives whom they had an opportunity of knowing. They were not Greeks, but Tarquinians. Hence Lucius, with his brilliant talents, daring courage, and prosperous fortune, stimulated by consciousness of high birth, and retaining only enough of Greece in his constitution to remind him of the unpardonable injuries which his family had sustained from the popular party, stood forth the willing and zealous defender of the rights of his caste, in the country of his birth and affection. And when he found that this very caste, to which he was conscious that he belonged, and of which he was resolved to defend the prerogatives, was, nevertheless, constrained, by its exclusive rules, to reject his further advancement, he did not, on that account, abandon its interests and turn his powerful talents against it, to effect its overthrow. He did not even renounce his country, abandoning, in disgust, Etruria, her politics, and her social distinctions, and seek to regain that footing among Greeks, either in Greece or in Southern Italy, which his father had renounced. He continued a loyal Etruscan, and an uncompromising aristocrat. If debarred from serving Tarquinia at home, and advancing the interests of her ruling caste, by holding high offices in the state, he sought out a theatre of active and honourable exer-

tion elsewhere, and joined himself to the already powerful Etruscan element, in the new city of Rome, where, by the addition of his influence, he made that element to preponderate.

There can be no doubt that the Tarquinian rulers saw the immense advantage to be derived from the presence of this active and devoted partisan in the border fortress and sacred city of Romulus and Numa. They probably counselled him to show his zeal in their cause, in that new field, which was, in fact, under existing circumstances, a more important one than their native city. They pointed out to him the advantage to be derived to the good cause, by turning the Etruscan interest in the sacred city into a Tarquinian and exclusively aristocratic channel. They flattered him with the hope of obtaining higher honours there, than even his ambition could have looked for at home, had he been admitted to all their privileges. They assigned to him the difficult and honourable task of counteracting the spreading and dangerous influence of the popular party, in a most important stronghold, and converting that stronghold into the bulwark of the Tarquinian Patriciate. That Lucius received such encouragement, and was actuated by such views, when he emigrated from Tarquinia, is borne out by his subsequent conduct, as well as by the circumstances of the case. His whole life was a struggle against the liberal and democratic influence, until, as we shall see, at its close, he, or the king who repre-

sented him, was finally compelled to succumb under it. Is it not evident that his departure from his native city, and his arrival at Rome, was one of honour and peace? There was no hurried flight, no disorder, no confusion, there were no martial preparations. He came in his chariot, in a sort of peaceful triumph, with his noble lady by his side, and attended by crowds of clients and servants; and were we not unwilling to throw a shade of ridicule upon the acts of so truly great a person, we should almost be inclined to find marks of collusion, and of a way made ready for him, in the story of the eagle. It seems not improbable that Lucius was beforehand destined by Tarquinian Lucumoes and priests, to wield the Roman sceptre. And it is not impossible that the bird of victory and of royalty had been previously trained to accomplish adroitly the augury!

If we suppose the states assembled at Voltumna, about this time, to have reviewed their position with regard to the sacred colony upon their borders, during the last quarter of a century, they had every reason to be satisfied with it. Their religion was re-established there in all its integrity and power, and Ancus had not endeavoured to press upon the Luceres such a mixture with the Latins, as was attempted, and indeed forced upon them by Tullus. He granted to many Latin cities the privilege of belonging to the Plebs of Rome. They submitted to her dominion, and became partakers in her government; and to these cities, which are named

by Livy, he gave assignments, not on the Cœlian, but on the Aventine, which henceforward was regarded as sacred, in a peculiar manner, to the Plebeians and to the Latin Romans.

Livy says that Ancus took Ficana, Tellene, Politorium, and Medullia, the latter after a four years' siege, and Politorium twice by storm, which is not possible. Tellene could not have joined the Plebs of Rome, for we find it as one of the free Latin cities, making a league with Sp. Cassius, after the expulsion of the kings. Medullia is again free and again taken by Tarquin, when king.* But it does not hinder Ancus from being the father of the Roman Plebs, that Livy's names are incorrect. Before attacking the Latins, Ancus sent to them the Feciales, and Livy again gives us a very interesting account of the ceremonies of Etruria, used by these Etruscan officers. He says, Ancus copied them from the Equi; meaning, we presume, that it was to the Equi they were first sent, for why should Ancus take this institution from the Equi rather than from the Sabines, the Albans, or their originators, the Turrhenians? And how could he *first* establish those ceremonies, which had been used before with Alba, in the most solemn form, and which were the law and custom of all Central Italy?

According to Livy, (i. 32,) the herald or Fecial, when he came to the frontiers of the state from whence satisfaction was demanded, covered his head

* Livy, i. 38.

with a fillet of wool, such as we see on many of the Etruscan statues, and cried out, "Hear me, oh Jupiter; hear me, ye frontiers: let Justice hear. I am the authorised herald of the Populus, (i. e. Patricians only). I come with the forms of justice and piety. Let faith be given to my words." He then stated his demands, and called Jove to witness; saying, "If I, the herald of the Populus, require unjustly or impiously, that those men, or that property should be given up to me, then let me not again enjoy my native country." These words he repeated when he passed the boundaries, then to the first man he met beyond the frontiers, then as he entered the gates of the city, and again as he entered the Forum, changing a few words when necessary. If what he demanded was not complied with, he gave a delay of three-and-thirty days, and then declared war, in this form:—"Hear, oh Jupiter, and thou Juno, and thou Quirinus, (i. e. Mars of the Romans,) and all ye gods of heaven, and earth, and under the earth, hear; I call you to witness that this Populus is unjust, and will not do right. Therefore, concerning these things, we will take counsel in our own country of the major houses, by what means we may obtain satisfaction." The Fecial immediately returned home to consult his nation, and the king took counsel with the fathers of the Senate, thus addressing them—"Concerning the strife and debate between our Pater Patratus and the Pater Patratus and men of our opponents, what they should have given, or done, or atoned

for; say, what thinkest thou?" This he addressed to the first whose opinion he asked, (and if Tarquin was then Tribune of the Celeres,—i. e., Master of the Cavalry, he would be the man). The other Senators were singly asked in order, and each answered, "I think that justice should be sought by needful war, and therefore I consent and vote for it." The Fecial then took an iron spear, burnt at the point, and dipped in blood, to the frontiers, and said, in the presence of three grown-up persons, "Because this Populus and nation have behaved ill to us and our nation, therefore we conceive war to be just against them; and our Senate and Populus have accordingly voted that war should be made against them. For this reason, and by this token therefore, I and my Populus declare war against the Plebs and the Populus which refuse us justice." Saying this, he threw the spear into their territories and retired.

Ancus, the fourth traditional king of Rome, is commonly regarded as the father of the Plebeians. And Rome now represented four different nations—1, Alba; 2, Sabina; 3, Etruria, that is, some portion of a Lucumomy and Turrhene colony; and 4, Latium. The three first dwelt within the walls, and were patrician and ruling, comprising the Senate and Populus, without whom no king could act; and the last was an inferior and supplementary adjunct, settled without the walls, possessing certain privileges, and forming an integral part of the nation, but being of weight only when the patrician tribes disagreed.

Niebuhr fully explains the conditions of the new Latins, when they became Roman Plebs. They were not conveyed to the Aventine, for they were too numerous, and the removal of so large a population would have left the remote lands waste. But those who chose to remove had the privilege of doing so, and were permitted to live upon the Aventine under their own laws. Most of them remained at home, but they were no longer independent, and their lands were divided into three parts. One part was returned to themselves as Roman subjects and plebeian tribesmen. Another was common to all the Patricians of the Roman state, and the third belonged to the crown, and was in the power of the king, to use for his government, or to portion away.

Veiï is represented as having yielded part of her territory to Ancus and Tarquin: and Fidene was taken by mining. But they only submitted to Rome when she was governed by Etruscan art, and led on by Etruscan valour: and that only at a time when the states of the Central League were all distracted by civil war, and when, as we have already hinted, it is a matter of great probability, that Tarquinia sent forth her Lucumo to become that, which he certainly succeeded in becoming, viz., Ruling Resident in Rome. Such a resident as a Briton frequently now is in the native courts of India.

Livy says that Ancus always followed Tarquin's advice, and placed his children under his protection. He

may have been Prince of the Janiculum, and may have joined the Ramnes in their struggles with Veiï and the Latins, upon condition of succeeding in his own person, or in that of his house, to the next vacancy of the Roman throne.

Our knowledge of Etruscan history is mainly derived from the light which is reflected upon it from the annals of early Rome, confirmed or corrected by deductions and collateral evidence: and it is possible that from our lack of historical materials elsewhere, we attach an unmeasured importance to the part which Rome acted in the great events of this period. Yet there seems to be no reasonable doubt that at this time, the City of the Seven Hills was a sort of common ground, whereon the different political parties in Etruria struggled for the mastery; an arena in which the great battle between aristocracy and democracy was fought. And according to the success of either party there, was its influence throughout the states of the Etruscan League materially determined.

The party at that time dominant in Etruria, of which Tarquinia may be accounted the head, was obliged, in the first place, to have a Resident, and in the next, a Governor, beyond the Tiber; because Rome was becoming a dangerous support and refuge for the discontented and struggling Etruscan Plebs. It is probable that in this sense, as head of the plebeian party, and fomenter of their divisions, Ancus Martius obtained the title of King of the Commons, which, on every real and valid ground, he seems to

have merited so much less than his successor, Servius Mastarna.

Tacitus (*Annals*, iii. 26,) tells us that the four first Roman kings were all authors of a portion of the Roman laws; though the great legislator was Servius, who even caused the king himself to submit to a power more sacred than his own. The laws of Romulus were Tuscan and Quiritary; those of Numa were religious; and those of Tullus related to the introduction of international rights.

We are told by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, that in Rome, there were Plebs from the beginning: and therefore the assertion which has been made, that Ancus Martius was founder or father of the Plebs, must have some other signification; and one probably in reference to his making common cause with the party favourable to the Plebs in Etruria. The belief that about this time, Rome had become, in a considerable measure, the theatre whereon was displayed the great struggle of political parties for pre-eminence in Etruria is confirmed by the observations of Livy, (ii. 1). He says that Rome was forced to submit to monarchical rule, during a lengthened period; and could not have existed without it, because she was an inviolable asylum for the fugitives and discontented of Italy, and a place wherein all strangers might find a home. Of this we have just had one notable instance, in the aristocratic emigration of Lucius and his retainers from Tarquinia; and we shall have another in the following

chapter, treating of the settlement of Mastarna, with the remains of the partisans of the Volsinian Cale Fipi, the great leader of the democratical, or rather of the liberal, party.

CHAPTER V.

FIRST TARQUINIAN DYNASTY IN ROME.

PERIOD OF THIRTY-SEVEN YEARS; FROM 615 TO 578
BEFORE CHRIST. YEAR OF TARQUINIA 572.

Accession of Lucius to the Roman Throne—Changes in the Senate—Circus Maximus—Arbitrary Changes of Lucius opposed by Attius Nævius—Royal Pomp of Lucius—Cloaca Maxima—Explanation of the expression "Tarquinian Dynasty"—More than one reign comprehended under that of Lucius—Inconsistency in the commonly received Account of the Succession to the Throne after the Death of Lucius—Latins and Sabines, aided by the Etruscan Liberal army, conspire against Lucius and are defeated—Triumph of Lucius—Account of Mastarna—Great power and extensive dominions of Lucius—Followers of Cale Fipi settled on the Cœlian Mount.

WE have two versions of this period,* by no means similar, and we shall give them both. First, the account of Livy; and secondly, the account of Dionysius of Halicarnassus; and then we shall deduce

* Authorities—Livy i.; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, iii. Ancient History, xi. 317, xvi. 82; Arnold and Niebuhr, in locis; Müller's Etrüsker.

from them such inferences as appear to us the most consistent with preceding and subsequent facts, and with existing monumental testimony.

According to the Roman legend, as transmitted to us by Livy, Tarquin the First was, in all his dispositions and in all his acts, Tuscan and Tuscan only. In his love of pomp, of art, and of amusement; in his strict and active government; in his moderation in war; and in his ideas of absolute power within the definite limits of established custom, senatorial approbation, and popular concurrence. Livy makes him at peace with Etruria all his days, drawing out of her his best workmen, his men of science, his models for all the great public works, and his entertainers and actors in the public games. According to this author, Lucius Tarquinius waged wars with only two Italian nations, the Latins and the Sabines, and conquered them both. One struggle was with the kinsmen of the Ramnes, and the other with that of the Tities; but he had no strife with that country which was the original cradle of the Luceres and of himself.

Livy again informs us that after the death of Ancus, Lucius set aside the opinion of the Senate, and the compact by which that body was bound to award the throne to one of its own members, Latin or Sabine, alternately; and that, in order to succeed, he availed himself of his great personal influence with the Curiae, in which the Luceres were a numerical third; and, in consequence of the recent addition, both of the Tarquinian house, and of the

Janiculese, they may have had a real preponderance. The Curia found it to be their clear interest to elect him; they therefore overawed the Senate to confirm the election, and Tarquinius rewarded them by raising immediately, and in virtue of his own will, a hundred of the Luceres to become part of the Senate, and to take their place ever after, in that body, by the side of the Ramnes and Tities. They now stood upon the footing of conquerors, and knew no other inferiority, excepting that of being called upon to vote last in order. But we think, even in this respect, that there may have been more equality than is usually believed, and that the second ten of the Ramnes may have voted after the first ten of the Luceres. We know that of the two great officers, the Custos Urbis, or Governor of the City,* and the Tribune of the Celeres, the first was always Prince of the Senate, and the second would necessarily and officially always be one of the Decemprimi. Now, in the reign of Tullus, Numa Marcius† a Sabine was Custos Urbis. Therefore, at that time, a Tities, and not a Ramnes was Prince of the Senate, and under Ancus, Tarquin himself appears to have been Tribune of the Celeres, and consequently a Tuscan must then have voted with the Decemprimi, and as one of their privileged number.

The Senate now, for the first time, consisted of

* On these officers, see Niebuhr.

† Numa Marcius is said to have been father of King Ancus Marcius.—Tacit. Ann. vi. 11.

three hundred members; each tribe furnishing an equal proportion: and Tarquin felt that the stability of his power depended mainly upon the support of the Luceres. Livy makes him engage twice in war with the Latins, and twice with the Sabines, without giving any reason for either. In his Latin war, Apiola, one of the freed townships of Alba, was taken and destroyed, and its spoils were dedicated to aid in building the most stupendous fabrics which have ever been raised in Europe. His first work was the common sewers, and his second the Circus Maximus, down in the Murcian valley, for horse races and wrestling, and for worship, like the other circusses, all over Etruria.

According to Niebuhr, the ground for the Circus had to be drained by the Cloaca Maxima, before its foundations could be laid; and the pleasure which his Circensian games afforded to the people, made them forgive the tremendous labour by which they were attained. The actors in these games, were, like our actors for public entertainment, and (contrary to the the spirit of the Greeks, all hirelings,) when not slaves. The Turrheni, like the Easterns of the present day, had no respect for those who spend their lives in mere amusement, and had a freeman throughout Etruria, or any of her colonies, joined in these games, he would directly have forfeited his honour and franchise. The charioteer, the public performer, and the gladiator, were held in no esteem, and the races were usually competed for by slaves. The only

exhibitions permitted to citizens without disgrace, were the war dances, which were often composed of noble boys, and the Attellanæ, moral plays, which were probably of a later date. The great games in this Circus of Lucius, Pliny tells us, were held only in honour of the great gods, especially the Triad, Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva; and these were celebrated every year in September, at the beginning of the sacred year. These games were also held in honour of Vertumnus, Neptune, and the Dii Penates of Rome; each one of these deities being originally Etruscan. Votive games to the other deities had no fixed season, and might be observed here as in the other Circuses of the Rasena, at any time. The Circus Maximus was three English furlongs in length, and one and a-half in width, and was made to contain one hundred and fifty thousand spectators.

Tarquin's dynasty not only began but finished this enormous edifice, and to celebrate his great games, he brought his horses, his riders, and his wrestlers from Etruria. He appropriated particular seats for the Senators and Vestal Virgins; and behind them he placed the knights, that is the Celeres and Decuriones, giving them seats supported by timber, and raised twelve feet from the ground. He had ranges of shops in arcades built round the Forum, and it is not unlikely that he portioned them out to the different guilds, after the fashion of the regular Etruscan cities. He had a vast quantity of stone squared and prepared, to build a wall round the Septimontium, and all the

inhabited hill and valley besides, that then constituted the sacred and united city of Rome. The Aventine was appropriated to the Latin Plebs, and was never walled in; neither was the Capitol, which was sacred to the Patricians; neither, according to Niebuhr, was the Janiculum, which continued an independent fort.

Lucius was interrupted in his works by the Sabine war, and as he was resolved to increase the power of his own tribe and nation, he made that a pretext for creating nine hundred knights, all to be taken from the Luceres, and each Century of whom would have a separate vote among the Populus, so as, in fact, to overpower all the other votes, and throw the elections to office completely into the power of this one tribe. The Ramnes offered no resistance; they seem to have been crushed and nullified. But the Sabines, whose influence had not been set aside, (for Tarquin protected the Marcii, the house of the late king,) stoutly resisted the innovation. One of the Roman Augurs must always have been a Sabine, that is a Titius; and Attius Nævius, the Titius, who now filled the office, was a man of a bold, determined character, and resolved to maintain the privileges of the Quirites. He firmly told the king that he was going beyond his power, and was infringing on the sacred laws of the sacred city, in that thing which he was then attempting. In fine, he proclaimed that Lucius was acting not only arbitrarily but impiously, inasmuch as the Tribes, the Knights, and the Celeres, had all been established

by augury, and therefore no man could change them. Their fundamental number was the Etruscan Three, and it could neither be increased nor diminished by any after fancies, whether of royalty or priesthood.

Tarquin, not accustomed to contradiction, and having carried so much with a high hand already, mocked at the Sabine augur's plea, and told him that, with all his pretensions to interpret the divine will, he could not even guess the thoughts of a man like himself, nor say, whether the thing which he, Lucius, was at that moment meditating, was possible or not? The augur said, unhesitatingly, that it was possible; and on Tarquin answering with a laugh of triumph, that he was thinking if he could cut the whetstone beside him through with a razor; the augur immediately took a razor, or sharp broad knife, and in an instant cut it through. Whatever may be the truth of this tale, he, at all events, amazed and frightened Tarquin, who saw that he must push matters no further, and who, with the tact of wisdom, bowed reverently to the minister of the gods, and said that he would not increase the centuries, nor oppose himself to the divine law.

But neither did he abandon that plan on which he had set his heart, and on the success of which he probably rested the final stability of his rule. He distributed his nine hundred new knights amongst the old ones, making three double centuries, so that one half of all the votes were not only

those of his own countrymen, but of his own creatures; and out of the six half centuries, four were Luceres. Each of those double centuries now consisted of six hundred men. Arnold* conceives that he wished to create three new tribes, to be named after himself and his supporters, and that these three tribes would have furnished three new equestrian centuries. When he added to the original tribes, those houses which he was resolved to exalt, he made them the second class, or the class "*Minorum Gentium*" in the old centuries and *Curiae*, the numbers of which were never altered. Niebuhr conceives† that such was the irritation produced by this violent act, that the third tribe in the Senate, until their members had filled some Curule office, were only *Senatores Pedarii*,‡ and were not suffered to speak, but only to reject in silence, or to walk over to the side which they supported. They afterwards gave Consuls to the Republic as well as the other two tribes. Cicero tells us§ that Tarquin the First assigned to the poor knights, horses and pensions from the state.

According to Livy the noble stand of Attius Nævius increased greatly the respect of the Romans for auguries; so that henceforth nothing was done without them, no officer was elected, no public assembly was held, and no peace or war was declared, unless the gods had been first consulted. We doubt not that the outward reverence of the prince, and the inward

* In loco.
† ii. n. 243.

‡ Nieb. i. n. 1014-15.
§ Dion. vii. 4.

reverence of the nation were both increased; but as to the causes for which augury was consulted, and the times at which it was used, they remained exactly the same as before. No Italian of these ages would have acknowledged the authority of any council, or have followed to war any leader without its sanction.

Tarquin defeated the Sabines, and enjoyed an Etruscan triumph, going up to the chief temple of Saturnia in a chariot, with a crown of gold upon his head, composed of oak leaves and carbuncles, a purple mantle worked with a border of golden palm leaves over his shoulders, an ivory sceptre in his hand, and his prisoners of rank and spoils of war following. In the second Sabine war, Tarquin vowed, that if victorious, he would dedicate part of his spoils to the Etruscan Sethlans, (the Roman Vulcan,) or god of fire, whom we might almost imagine, from the marked manner in which he comes forward in early Roman history, even from the day that Romulus and Tatius built his temple, near the Comitium, down to this period, to have been the chief of the Roman and Sabine deities; while we might suppose that Jupiter had been more entirely Turrhene. - Probably Vulcan was only one of the forms of Jupiter, which is implied by his being his son, an emanation from him, an attribute of him, and not his power in full. The rest of the spoil, including the revenues of the conquered territory, Tarquin dedicated to build a temple to the great threefold Jupiter of the Tuscans; to the three deities, Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva under one roof, typifying the three sacred at-

tributes and powers of wealth, strength, and wisdom.

Tarquin was successful by means of his well-appointed and devoted cavalry, and he signalized the war by burning down the wooden bridge over the Anio, which, during the peace of the two nations, had been built in the time of Tullus. Collatia, a beautiful and powerful town of Sabina, he took by storm; and Livy gives us the form of Deditio, which is interesting, because it is the form which Rome herself was afterwards obliged to subscribe to Porsenna; and we therefore find that it was common to the Tuscans with the rest of the Italians, and we have no doubt that it was introduced by them into Italy. The king asked the heralds, "Are you ambassadors on the part of the people of Collatia, to surrender yourselves and your city?" They answered, "We are." "Are the people of Collatia at their own disposal?" "They are." "Do you then surrender yourselves and the people of Collatia; your city, lands, waters, boundaries, temples, utensils, all property, both sacred and common; and do you yield them to my dominion, and that of my nation?" The heralds answered, "We do surrender them." The king replied solemnly and publicly, "I do accept them;" and then, all, of whatever nature that had once been possessed by the vanquished, henceforth belonged to the conqueror. Lucius appointed his nephew Egerius, the Tarquinian, to be the governor of Collatia, and this town was incorporated in Lucius's dominions, and admitted to communion and connexion with Rome, as is proved by the de-

scendant of Egerius, under Tarquinius Superbus, marrying Lucretia, a Roman princess. Egerius henceforth took the name of Collatinus. After this, Lucius warred with the Priscan Latins, and took seven of their principal towns, extending the dominions of Rome considerably towards the north; and indeed every one of the cities enumerated by Livy, excepting the Phœnix-like Medulia, are usually located in Sabina, but Cameria and Crustumerium had joined the new Latin confederation after the fall of Alba.*

The spoils and captives of these conquests were all dedicated by Tarquin, like the others, to further public works. He commenced the great wall, portions of which still surround Rome; and he continued the stupendous common sewers, which have been the wonder and admiration of every succeeding age, and which will continue to command the homage of mankind for their magnitude, utility, and skill, so long as the eternal city shall lift herself above the Tiber. The purpose of these vast canals, which ran in right lines under the streets, was to drain the many marshes which lay, with their stagnant waters, between the seven hills. We may say of Lucius, the Tarquinian, that no king in Rome before him could do such works, neither did any after him equal him in grandeur.

The great Cloaca which carried off the waters of the Velabrum, was built at a depth of forty feet,

* Livy names Ameriola, Corniculum, Cameria, Crustumerium, Ficulnea, Medulia, and Nomentum.

in three vaults, thus, the innermost forming



a circle of eighteen Roman palmi in width and height. The mouth into the Tiber is the same. All the Cloacæ are formed of hewn blocks of stone, tunnelled out of the seven hills, seven and a quarter palmi long, and four and one-sixth high. The stones are fixed without cement, and the greater part of them have never required repair. Pliny* examined this gigantic work seven hundred years after the time of its construction, and he gives us an account of it which exceeds all that we could have imagined of its vastness and substantiality. The Cloacæ were in many different branches, which emptied themselves by one main trunk, into the Tiber west of the Palatine. The arches of those which drained the Palatine, and the Saturnian, the Quirinal and the Cœlian, where the waters in winter used to run like rivers, were so high, that a cart of hay could pass through them; so wide that a navigable stream could run freely under them; and so strong, as to support above them the weight of many storied houses. They were cut through the hills and masses of rock, and when they had to be repaired, the Censors gave one thousand talents to the person who undertook to cleanse them. In A.D. 1742, one of these sewers was found passing under the Comitium and Forum, and up to the Saturnian, and it was one of the few which had undergone considerable repair, as Niebuhr thinks, about the end of

* xxxiii.

the first Punic war. The largest of all the sewers was the work of the second Tarquinian dynasty, and Superbus was execrated for the cruelty and disregard of life with which he carried it on. Though these sewers, begun by the first Lucumo, were not completed as a whole, for seventy or eighty years* afterwards, we yet know that those of the Velabrum, the Murcian Valley, and the Valley of the Forum, were devised and finished by the first projector, because the Circus Maximus and the Forum could not have been built, far less† used, until after their construction. The great Roman Forum was beautified by Lucius, at the foot of the Saturnian, after the drain beneath it was completed. The Forum of Romulus and Tatius must have been upon the hill, and not below it.

Nothing could be more natural than such an idea and such a performance, for a scientific, large-minded and rich Etruscan Lucumo, because draining, mining and tunnelling were the very spirit of his nation, and characterized its works from the valley of the Po and the Ticino, throughout the lakes, marshes and valleys of Italy, wherever the Tuscans had settled. If Livy had been in his heart, as he was by birth, a Tuscan; and if he had composed a *Romance* of a Tarquinian dynasty once ruling in Rome, the common sewers is certainly the first work that he would have attributed to the first Lucumo. As it is, the coincidence did not even strike him, and he relates it from the legend with all the cool-

* Livy i. 56.

† Niebuhr i. n. 936.

ness of one to whom the early Etruscan greatness was alike a thing of course, and a matter of the most profound indifference.

We suppose branches of these colossal sewers, and the Circus Maximus, to have been the only two great works commenced and finished under the first Tarquinian dynasty, because Lucius certainly only chose the ground, and collected the materials for the great temple, which was built by Tarquinius Superbus, and because the dynasty which succeeded his, carried on and completed the wall. It may be, that the people continued to labour in the sewers as well as at the wall, under the Volsinian chiefs. But Livy and Pliny speak of them as the works of the Tarquinii only. They say that because of the disagreeable nature of the employment, its comparative novelty to the Latins, the rigour with which it was enforced, and because the free men were compelled to labour along with Latin slaves under Etruscan taskmasters, they groaned with their toil and travail, and loathed it, and remembered it with horror.*

Tarquinius was, notwithstanding, a very popular and glorious sovereign, and the Romans remembered with just pride, how he had enlarged their dominions, beautified their city, and made Rome a great power in Italy, though he had set at nought their Senate, extinguished the influence of the Ramnes and the Titii, and forced all his own subjects, as well as strangers, to contribute to his public works. We

* Plin. xxxvi.

need not stop to prove that Etruscan men of science superintended all these vast constructions, vast even in mere idea, when it is from Rome's own early historians that we learn how, during the first ages, all her noble youth were sent for education into Etruria and how she had no native artists until after the building of the temple of Ceres.*

We should, perhaps, explain what we mean, when we say that the "Tarquinian dynasty" executed so many of these gigantic works, and that the "Volsinian dynasty" executed others, instead of the usual phraseology, that Lucius was the author of the former, and Servius Mastarna of the latter.

Niebuhr has unquestionably proved that the early Roman history was kept in memory, not so much by yearly annals as by popular songs and legendary tales. Hence we know only of seven kings of Rome during a space of two hundred and forty-four years, each one of these being an elective sovereign, and come to man's estate before he mounted the throne, and all but two of them quitting the world by a violent death. It is certain that during this period, there were many more sovereigns, not only in every state of Italy, but in every kingdom of the world. It is probable that Rome had at least twenty monarchs during this period; but, as in the monuments of Egypt—the stone of Abydos, for instance—we frequently find only the head of a dynasty put for the whole; so, in Rome, the less prominent and famous kings died

* Cicero.

without any enduring record; and those only were remembered who were the authors of great changes, the others, as it were, merging into their shadows.

Thus we have Romulus, the sacred founder of the new sacred colony; Numa, the lawgiver; Tullus, the father of the conquered Albans; Ancus, the patron of the Italian plebeian party, to which Rome was a refuge and support; Tarquin, the establisher of Tuscan rule; and so forth. Each of these names including within it, the less noted followers of the paths which these princes marked out. Lucius denotes the Tarquinian rule; and probably not less than four Lucumoes in succession, governed in that interest, during the thirty-seven years given to their actual sovereignty, and the sixteen years attributed to the Resident Lucumo before that actual sovereignty commenced.*

Livy makes the last acts of sovereignty in Lucius

* It may throw a gleam of light upon this subject to observe the inconsistency in the ages of the so-called father and son, Lucius Tarquinius the ancient, and Tarquinius Superbus, the eldest son of the murdered monarch; who, when Mastarna succeeded, was only nine years old. Tarquinius Priscus, according to the legend, was upwards of five-and-twenty when he took up his franchise on the Janiculum, or he could not have contended for a place in his own Senate; and he must have been in Rome forty-three years before this child was born. It is certain that the ages of the princes usually styled first and second Tarquin do not harmonize in such a way as to admit of their having been father and son. They doubtless belonged to the same family, and the one was probably a more remote descendant of the other.

to have been marking out the ground for the great Triune Temple of Saturnia, and yielding up his power by treaty to the Volsinian prince, Mastarna, the captain of the Etruscan malcontents, and best known to us as Servius Tullius. According to the legend, the great Tanaquil herself superintended the education of this youth, who, like all the Italian princes in the early ages, was carefully brought up to fill stations of the highest power and trust. And when Tarquin and Tanaquil found (which they could only do by trial) that he was worthy of a crown, they set aside, in his favour, their own children, Lucius and Aruns, and helped him to ascend the throne in their place.

Human romance, affectation, and folly, could go no further. Let us note the inconsistencies of the story. The young Tarquinius, though fierce and unscrupulous, arbitrary and haughty, meekly submit to Tanaquil's superior judgment. On the other hand, the house of the Marcii, the race of Numa and Ancus, weary of the Tuscan rule, are made to conspire against the Lucumo and slay him, deriving therefrom no benefit to themselves or to the Latin and Sabine element in the state, but quietly retiring, after having done the deed, not even leaving the way of succession to the ambitious family of their victim, but to a stranger and foreigner, a man of a different political party, whom that family put forward, and to whom they yielded all their claims. Such was the turn of the Roman song, and it was pleasing and familiar to the ears of the people.

From Livy's account we may gather that in the early lay, Servius Mastarna was represented as a fiery-headed youth, who came upon the Tarquinian royal family as by miracle; that Tarquin hesitated as to what part he should act in opposing him, and how far he could do so with effect; and that Tanaquil,* or the queen who filled her place, insisted upon propitiating him, and bound him to them by marriage, by allowing his followers equal rights and privileges with the Romans, and by securing to him, on their decease, his own accession to supreme dominion. His mother was Ocrisia, a captive lady, wife to the chief of Corniculum, or more probably, according to the Etruscan tale, wife of the chief of Cortinessa, close to Tarquinia, who, in the civil wars which then raged throughout Etruria, was taken prisoner by Celes Vibenna of Volsinia; and thus the child was brought up by him, and became his disciple and companion.

Müller believes that during the first Tarquinian dynasty, Rome was the great border fort of Etruria, maintaining *her* supremacy over the Sabines and Latins, and that Celes Vibenna and Mastarna conquered the state, and thus introduced a hostile and independent dynasty, in which they endeavoured to work out their own beau ideal of a perfect Italian constitution.

* There is another queen, Gaia Cecilia, named by Roman historians instead of Tanaquil; and she must have been the second wife of Lucius, or, much more probably, the wife of one of the successors of Lucius, as head of the first Tarquinian dynasty.

Almost all this account which we have hitherto related, is from Livy. Dionysius * varies from him considerably, and adds much to our knowledge of what more the legends relate of the first Tarquinian rule. He says that after the Latin forces had been defeated at Fidene, an assembly of that nation was held at Feronia, in which they decreed to ally themselves with the Sabines and Tuscans against the arrogant and dangerous Tarquin. These Tuscans, with whom the Latins and Sabines allied themselves against the Tarquinian power in Rome, must have been the discontented or liberal faction headed by Cale Fipi. It is a question more easily asked than answered, whether Mastarna was actually engaged in this contest, or whether it took place before the Etruscans of his party had gained their settlement on the Cœlian Mount. It must suffice us to know that the army of the liberal faction, after an unsuccessful struggle in many states of the league, invaded the territory of Rome—then the stronghold of aristocracy—under their warlike leader, Cale Fipi, and his lieutenant, Mastarna. After several defeats, their ambitious attempts were, ultimately crowned with success; they first gained a footing on the Cœlian, and in time, obtained a predominating influence in the Holy City.

The united Latin, Sabine and Tuscan army was twice defeated in pitched battles, and then sued for peace, which Tarquin granted, as regarded the Latins, on condition of tribute, and that he should

* L. iii.

be admitted to share the command of their armies along with the chief princes of Latium. This we learn, because it is a claim advanced by Tarquinius Superbus, and not denied by the Latins. Lucius also at this time, doubled his six equestrian centuries; that is, he added to them an equal number of Latin cavalry,* and they served together in Maniples; for as the army was Lucius's army, he gave to it his own discipline. The Romans were at this time, in command of the Latin armies; for Tarquinian Rome, under the dynasty of the Lucumoes, was queen of the Priscan Latins. If Priscus has any other meaning than "ancient," or "elder," or "first,"—if it is a substantive, and not an adjective, Lucius Tarquinius Priscus must now have taken this cognomen, and must have won it as a title of honour, after his triumphant treaty with the Priscan Latins. Livy gives the name of "Prisci Latini," not to any particular tribe, but to all the Alban Latins, as well as to those whom Niebuhr wishes to distinguish from them; and we do not believe that this word in general is capable of any other translation than that of "ancient,"—a mere adjective, constantly repeated before certain substantives, in the old ballad form, like the "wicked Tarquin," the "false Sextus," or the "brave Herdonius."

Dionysius does not detail the terms of this treaty with the Latins, but says that their Tuscan allies sent themselves to the king to demand the release of their men who were prisoners; upon which Tarquin detain-

* Nieb. l. n. 892; ii. n. 35.

ed the ambassadors, and the twelve states were so angry at this breach of national law that they declared a general war against him, and decreed that any Lucumony which stood neuter should be cut off from the alliance. The Tuscans then ravaged the Roman lands, and mastered Fidene by treachery; but, upon Lucius coming against them with Collatinus and his new Latin and Sabine allies, they were defeated, first near Veii, and then near Cere. Fidene was re-taken, the traitors in it being whipped to death, and their lands forfeited. The Tuscans were a second time defeated, near Eretun, by the united army of Romans, Latins, and Sabines, and the war lasted, altogether, nine years. The Tuscan Lucumoes then concluded a peace with the Tarquinian Lucumo of Rome, and admitted him into their own alliance, giving him all the honours of a Tuscan king. They sent him a crown of gold, a throne of ivory, a sceptre surmounted by an eagle, a tunic embroidered with gold and adorned with figures of palm branches, and a purple robe embroidered in flowers of various colours; and these he wore at his triumph, and never afterwards laid aside.

When Lucius was admitted into the Etruscan league,—when he also could appear at the meeting of Voltumna, and put in his claim to lead the armies of Turrhenia, and to be saluted as Embratur, or Emperor, by her troops, he seems to have attained the summit of his ambition; and he used henceforth to appear in public in a gilt chariot, drawn

by four horses, and clothed, like the monarchs of the East, in purple and gold, with the crown upon his head, the sceptre in his hand, and attended by the twelve Lictors with the axes and fasces.

The great Tarquinian Lucumo, who, from a Resident, became a Sovereign in Rome, in order to check the rising spirit of the Plebeians, was lord paramount, not only of the Priscan Latins, but of Tyrrhenian Latium also. He governed Ardea, Antium, Circeii and Terracina; lands of the Rutuli and the Volsci, but which belonged to Tarquinian Rome when the second Tarquin was deposed, and which, not having been conquered either by him or by Mastarna, their acquisition must necessarily fall within this period. Their subjection is monumental as well as historical; for their names were engraved upon the brazen tables seen by Polybius, which contained the Roman treaty with Carthage, made in the first year after Superbus's deposition. The whole western coast of Italy from Luna to Phistu, with the exception of Cuma and Parthenope, was at this time in the possession of the Tyrrhenians; and Lucius Tarquinius, under whose auspices Ostia was built, first introduced Rome into the Tyrrhenian maritime and commercial world. It was under his protection* that L'Aricia† and Laurentum sent forth their ships to sail in company with the justice-loving Cerites and the enterprising Populonians. Niebuhr (vol. i.),‡ in his critique upon the

* Nieb. i. n. 1131-1183.

† Dion. vii.

‡ vol. i. n. 929.

Tarquins and Servius, says that the union of Rome at one time with Etruria, is one of the few facts of the historic age,—that she received from that country her lasting institutions, and was the great and splendid capital of an Etruscan state, probably of an Etruscan king, who executed the gigantic works which still attest his power and magnificence, and who was identified with Tarquinius. Strabo (v. 220) speaks of Tarquin as a benefactor to Etruria; but it is not impossible that he may have confounded him with Tarchun, the original hero and leader of the Rasena.

What parts of the inconsistent story of Tarquinius Priscus and Mastarna are garbled and metamorphosed, and what are the true features of the case, it is difficult for us now to discover. But this is certain,—that when the Tarquinian dynasty in Rome opposed or yielded to Celes and Mastarna, it acted singly, and without compromising any state of the Etruscan league, unless, perhaps, Cere. Celes and Mastarna, both celebrated warriors of Volsinia, and patrons of the plebeian cause, were driven out of Etruria, at the time when they appeared before Tarquinian Rome, and by force or treaty, established themselves upon the Lucerum. This part of the city in consequence, changed its name, being given up to Celes Vibenna. It was his burial place, and thenceforth called the Cœlian Mount. The Tuscan troops who joined the Latins and Sabines, and helped them against Lucius, were the soldiers of these liberal chiefs; and the twelve states

of Etruria seem to have conferred great honour upon the Tarquinian and Roman prince who effected, though but temporarily, their discomfiture.

Müller draws from this story, that the twelve states of Etruria Proper at this period, owned Tarquinia as their head, and that Rome belonged to the league, whilst part of Latium, weakened by the destruction of Alba, was taken into the Tuscan Isopolity and alliance. The Tarquinian nobles were all Isopolite in Rome, and it became the great boundary city of Etruria beyond the Tiber, and was for this cause, strengthened beyond every city of Latium or Sabina. We have again and again, the Latin testimony that the glory of Rome at this period, was not the work of native artists, and also that under the kings, Rome was a far more regularly built and beautiful city than it was after its restoration, which followed the burning by the Gauls.* It was then meanly and irregularly reconstructed according to each man's fancy, for want of public funds and a compelling public authority.

* Livy v. 52.

CHAPTER VI.

FIRST TARQUINIAN DYNASTY IN ROME.

PERIOD THIRTY-SEVEN YEARS.

B. C. 615 TO 578. YEAR OF TARQUINIA 572.

Celes Vibenna and the army of the liberal faction gain an establishment in Rome—Tarquin prepares to build a temple to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva—Opposition and fate of Attius Nævius—Flight of the Marcii from Rome—Tarquin and Mastarna reign together—Death of Tarquin—Gaia Cecilia—Memory of Tarquin revered—Office of Quæstor—Idols introduced into Rome by Tarquin—Troubles in Etruria—Fragment of Etruscan history by Claudius, preserved in an inscription—Birth and early history of Mastarna—Northern states of Etruria politically opposed to the southern—Ruin of Vetulonia—The admission of Mastarna and the party of Celes Vibenna into the Roman state gives tranquillity to Etruria—The Etruscan league on the banks of the Po—Invasions of the Gauls—Settlement of the Gauls at Milan—Intercourse of the Etruscans with foreign states.

WE have now arrived at a most important period of Etruscan history, when the struggles of political faction reached their height, and by their violence shook the League to its very centre. Discord, which

had for some generations existed between the different states, had now broken out in open war. The party who were discontented with the existing state of things formed themselves into hostile array, and sent forth bands, to compel the extension of those privileges which were denied to their demands. The army of the insurgents found an able leader in Cale Fipi, or Celes Vibenna, a noble of Volsinia; but we are unable to follow its progress, or to trace its martial achievements in any detail. We only know that war was carried on throughout the length and breadth of Etruria, and that the efforts of the insurgents were, on the whole, unsuccessful. The system of government in the different states does not appear to have undergone any material change; and the power of the aristocracy, though shaken, still continued generally to predominate.

Having traversed Etruria, Celes Vibenna and his army appeared before Rome, where, as we have seen, the aristocratic principle had established itself, as in a sure fastness, under the auspices of the Tarquinian Resident, now King, by the name of Lucius. Here, although with varied fortune, the liberal cause had ultimately better success than elsewhere. The Etruscan army, with their Latin and Sabine allies, had indeed sustained defeat from the able and powerful Tarquinian prince; but, notwithstanding temporary discomfiture, Celes Vibenna and his host obtained, either by force of arms or by treaty, a settlement in Rome, on the Cœlian Mount, and a

recognized status and position in the commonwealth.

When masters of the Cœlian, Cale Fipi, Mastarna, and their followers, were at first mere Plebeians, as concerned the Roman government, having Roman lands and rights, but not belonging to the *Populus*. The *Curia*, however, presently found that it concerned their own safety to elect them members, and to pronounce them eligible for the Senate, and possessors of all the rights and privileges which had formerly been conquered by the Sabines from the original Albans, and which never were yielded but to conquest alone. Mastarna, the fiery-headed, seems to have exacted the same terms from Lucius which Tatius did from Romulus,—he governed with him whilst living, and succeeded him when dead.

It is very unlikely that the aristocratic part of the twelve states of Etruria were ever at war with the Lucumo of Rome, and it is quite certain that they never did him homage. He never besieged one single city in that wide and flourishing domain, and the Roman troops never crossed the Mons Ciminus in Faleria, until three centuries after his reign. Nor did the Roman prince ever attempt to command the Tuscans as a Lord over them, or to make any progress, except in peace, through their country. He may have joined in the feasts of Ikuvine and Voltumna, but he never visited Arezzo, or any of the states of the north, which are said to

have been at strife with him, and which tried their strength against the states of the south during the war of liberalism carried on by Cale Fipi of Volturnia.

We doubt not that the great civil contests of Etruria lasted for nine years, as the legend says, and that Rome, during that time, supported Tarquinia, and fought until obliged to yield both rights and territory to Vibenna and the Plebeian party. In the second war with the Sabines, Dionysius makes the king divide his army into three parts: one under himself, the second under his younger son, Aruns, (instead of Egerius Collatinus,) and the third under Mastarna, now his colleague in everything, and filling to him the same place, of first in council and bravest in the field, which had formerly been occupied by himself to King Ancus Marcius. Thus his whole force was under the command of Etruscan chiefs. The Sabines, being vanquished, delivered up their strongholds to the king on honourable conditions—i. e., they became, in their turn, Roman Plebs—and the king gave back the prisoners without ransom, and entered the city in the glorious triumph of the Etruscans.

Lucius now desired to fulfil his vow concerning the great temple of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, and he consulted the celebrated augur, Attius Nævius, as to its most propitious site. The Sabine fixed upon his own hill, Saturnia, near the spot where Tatius and Romulus first sacrificed together. And doubtless there could not possibly be a more

imposing representation of the indissoluble union of the three tribes and nations, than that on this very spot the Tuscans should enthrone and worship their great god of gods. Lucius had the top of the Tarpeian levelled, and the ground plan of his temple marked out. But then arose a great difficulty. This part of the hill was full of shrines,—and by the laws of Tages, no nation was to put away its gods. Lucius may have hoped, by this unlooked-for obstacle, to remove his temple to some of the original Tuscan stations, to the Janiculum, the Vatican, or even the Coelian. But the immoveable augur again consulted his signs, and gave for answer, that all the gods were willing to move and make way for Jupiter, excepting only two,—Juventus, or Youth, and Terminus, the Etruscan god of boundaries, adopted and fixed there by Numa. These two would not move; for Rome was always to be young, and her boundaries were not to be invaded by her enemies. Lucius again bowed to the Sabine seer, and enclosed the two altars within his temple. But his purpose had been balked. Attius was too influential and troublesome, and he disappeared. The house of the Marcii said that the King had caused his death; but he proved himself innocent, and the Populus (the principal part of whom were his creatures) were so angry with the Marcii that they were obliged to banish themselves in order to save their lives. They retired to Suessa Pometia of the Volsci. Servius Mastarna summoned them in the king's name to answer for their malice, and on their

non-appearance, he declared their persons infamous, and their lands confiscated. He thus, by the happiest fortune for himself, got rid of those who might hereafter have been troublesome competitors for the supreme power. Lucius then erected a bronze statue to Attius, and the commotion was appeased.

Lucius appointed two Vestal Virgins to represent the women of the third tribe, which he had placed in the Senate, and he caused one virgin Pinaria, who had broken her vows, to be burned alive. From this we gather that he filled the office of Pontifex Maximus, and this punishment was introduced from Etruria. He erected schools for youth, and courts of justice in the Forum, and seems to have laboured zealously for the improvement and civilization of the state which he ruled.

It is somewhat difficult to conceive the position of the Roman government, and the degree of this king's power, during the latter years of his reign. Notwithstanding the uncompromising aristocratic spirit which had grown with his growth and strengthened with his strength, and by which he was actuated alike in the Tarquinian Patriciate, and on the Roman throne, he at length found himself compelled to yield, in a measure, to an opposite element. He received into his state a large accession of the liberal faction, and even was obliged to admit the chief of this faction to a share in his government. How the unbending aristocrat of Tarquinia and the Lieutenant and successor of Cale Fipi, the Volsinian patron of the Ple-

beians could act in concert, nay, even reign together, is one of those strange inconsistencies which seem impossible in theory, but which sometimes practically occur, which are matters of historical fact, but which, on account of improbability, would be discarded from well-regulated fiction.

Perhaps some solution of the difficulty may be found in the fact that Lucius and Mastarna were both Etruscans, and that the scene of their rule was a state, properly speaking, not Etruscan, though in it Etruscan influence predominated. It is possible that the great political differences which existed between them, may have been, in a measure, merged in the consideration of their ruling together over a foreign city. And the fact of the deadly animosity of the Sabine party, and of the retainers of the royal Marcian house, makes this still more probable. The threatening attitude of a common enemy often brings to unity those who otherwise disagree. Another solution of the difficulty, and one which, we confess, seems the most probable, is the theory which has already been adverted to, of the reign of Lucius Tarquinius Priscus in Rome, being the reign of a dynasty rather than of an individual. Under Lucius, several successive kings are probably comprehended. The Tarquin who admitted Mastarna to a share of his supreme prerogative was not the original founder of the dynasty, but one of his successors.

But to return to our story. The Marcii, from their banishment, plotted the death of Lucius, and

hired two peasants, one of whom killed him with a hatchet, whilst he was listening to the complaints of the other. Tanaquil is now again brought upon the scene, as a personification of courage, wisdom and strength of mind, an ideal of the educated and high-minded Etruscan woman. She ordered the palace to be cleared, and no one to be admitted, and she shut herself up with Servius Mastarna, his mother, and his wife, and desired him to assume the kingly authority, to administer justice in the king's name, and to mount the vacant throne. She then appeared at a window, and told the people that their monarch was merely stunned, and that his chief minister Servius would act for him until he was recovered. Servius, whom from this account, we must believe to have been the *Custos Urbis*, accordingly put on the royal robes, sat in the king's chair, was attended by the Lictors, heard cases from the throne, and promised to report them to the king. This conduct he continued until he felt his power to be secure, and then he proclaimed the sovereign's death as an event which had just happened, and gave him a magnificent public funeral.

He now appeared in public as king, clad in the royal robes, and under the protection of a strong guard. Livy says he had the consent of the *Populus* (or *Curiae*), which this guard may possibly imply; and Dionysius says that he had that of the Senate, but both agree that in his first acts he set at naught all the legal authorities, and that he owed his success partly to fraud, and

mainly to the favour of an energetic woman.* This woman could not have been the Tanaquil who came with the Tarquinian Lucumo to Rome. But it was the lofty spirit of that Tanaquil in the bosom of another, and perhaps of Gaia Cecilia,† wife to one of the dynasty, whose spindle was hung up and preserved in the temple of Hercules, at Rome.‡ Hercules was the Etruscan husband of Minerva, and this spindle in his temple forcibly reminds us of the armed Palladium with the distaff, at Siris, near Crotona.

Niebuhr says § that the name of Lucius Tarquinius is memorable because with him begins the real grandeur and splendour of the city; and he proves, as we have already remarked, that the common sewers must have been undertaken amongst the very earliest of his works, because it was on the ground thus drained, that he built the Circus Maximus and the arcades of the Forum. He likewise redeemed the land down to the lower Suburra, and embanked the Tiber. He believes that all these were executed by severe task-work, but yet that Tarquin strove to lighten and cheer the labour of the people, by giving them games and amusements, and interesting them with religious processions and war-dances.|| Certain it is that his memory was honoured and cherished by the children of those

* Dion. Hal. iv.

† Gaia and Caelia are both Tuscan names.—Müller Etrüsker. Hypogeum.

‡ Plin. iii. 7. § i. about n. 892. || Dion. vii.

who had endured these labours, and the Romans remembered him with so much fondness, that in time they imputed all their miseries only to the proud, though not less glorious Tarquinius Superbus. Livy (ii.) says, that had monarchy been abolished before the tyranny of the second Tarquin, it would have been the destruction of Rome, as the kings all reigned for the good of the commonwealth, and were necessary, in order to bring about its development.

One other reason why the Romans forgave Lucius the despotism by which he made them great, was, that all classes alike, his own Centuries, his favoured Luceres, his own clan, and his new subjects, were obliged to contribute their share without any partiality. The Patricians were forced to pay the tenth of their olive, vine, and pasture lands, and were not allowed to have any portion of their estates uninhabited and uncultivated. They were, indeed, not free during this dynasty, but they were equally and wisely governed; and though the sovereign insisted upon having his one-tenth of what the land ought to yield, the other nine-tenths were secured in full to the rightful owners, so that his despotism was that of a father, and turned most to the benefit of those who submitted to it most implicitly. Each head of a house was obliged to give land to every free husbandman amongst his followers.*

The common sewers and the Circus Maximus

* Niebuhr, vol. ii. n. 347.

were chiefly built from the spoils of the Latins and Sabines, and they furnished the provision which the Lucumo made for the great temple of Jupiter, and which Plutarch (in Poplicola) estimates at thirty thousand weight of silver, that is to say, the cost of the materials was equal to this value. Livy, after Fabius Pictor, says, with more probability, that their worth was only forty talents, i. e. £7750.

In order that the spoils might be fairly appreciated, and that the king and soldier might each receive his due portion, Lucius appointed two Patrician officers constantly to attend the camp, in whose presence every article was to be valued before any could be appropriated, and who were accountable for the whole amount to the public treasury, which belonged to the three tribes, in equal shares. They were called Quæstors, and after the expulsion of the kings from Rome, their term of office was limited to a year. It was their duty in the city to receive and attend ambassadors, and to provide them with lodgings and other necessities at the public expense. Tacitus says* that the sovereign or representative of the sovereign had alone the power of electing them until the time of the Decemviri. In Etruria, they would probably be appointed by the chiefs of each state. Some writers attribute the introduction of these officers to Tullus Hostilius, after the fall of Alba, and some would make them as late as Mastarna. But it is evident that Lucius, the funds for whose magnificent works were, in the

* Ann. xi. 22.

first instance, supplied by his spoils, and who is never accused of having withheld their lawful portion from his soldiers, must have had officers whose duty it was to see them fairly valued. That any ancient author should have postponed them to the dynasty of Mastarna is a clear proof that their existence cannot be established before Rome came under the dominion of the Etruscans.

Lucius Tarquinius, according to the legend, at his death, left two sons,* Lucius or Lucumo, and Aruns, and two daughters, one married to Mastarna, and another to Junius,† a Patrician of the Alban race, from Bovilla, whose ancestor came to Rome with the first colonizers. Besides many large private estates, the Tarquinii possessed a beautiful palace within the city near the temple of Jupiter Stator, with a fine portico, for which Tarquinius Superbus claimed compensation when he was banished for the crimes of his son. Lucius introduced idols in human form, as they were worshipped by the Tuscans. Before this time, the Romans adored stones, and birds, and beasts and voices, but not the figures of men and women. Lucius is said also to have introduced human sacrifices, but no instances are mentioned, and therefore we think it is a mistake. He did not sacrifice his prisoners, and the Tuscan offerings of a bull, a sheep, and a pig, were coeval with the founding of Rome, and were used under the sway of all her Latin and Sabine kings.

* Livy i. 39.

† Junius Brutus was the descendant of this marriage.

During the whole time that Tarquinia exercised her authority for good or for evil over this frontier city, Etruria Proper was distracted with civil commotions, and with the fear of an invading enemy. Her period of tranquillity and greatest prosperity was over, her youth was gone, and from this time, even though she extended herself furthest in Italy, and though she became the acknowledged and triumphant head of the Sabines and the Priscan Latins, she gradually began to decline. Livy no more speaks of her, as he did in the days of Hostilius, as a nation mighty by land and much more so by sea. This is no longer her state of actual existence, but when next he dilates* upon her greatness, it is as upon a thing which has passed away.

"If," says Niebuhr, "we had the Tuscan annals of this period, we should correct the Roman history by them, and accept of them as truth." Let us then review what fragments can yet be collected from the general wreck. The Emperor Claudius wrote the history of this nation, and one very curious passage, uncontradicted by any other testimony, has been preserved in a public inscription, dug up at Lyons, in A.D. 1528.

One of the most severe losses which historical literature has sustained is that of the twenty books upon Etruscan History, written by this emperor. And a single sentence of one of his orations which has been strangely recovered in modern times, opens up most important views of the politics of ancient

* Livy v. 33.

Etruria. It is recorded in the eleventh book of the Annals of Tacitus, that in the year of the christian era 48, the chief men of Gallia Comata presented a petition that they and their countrymen might be received into the number of Roman citizens. Claudius himself did them the honour to advocate their cause before the Senate; and as a motive to grant their request, he gave the instances of strangers who had founded the most illustrious Roman races, and who had ruled with honour the Roman commonwealth.

The account which Tacitus gives of this oration is imperfect, as he has omitted some of the most illustrious of the instances which the Emperor cited. But in the year 1528, some workmen digging near the church of Saint Sebastian, at Lyons, found a brazen tablet on which was engraved the imperial oration, which had thus been preserved by the gratitude of the Lyonese Gauls, for the instruction of remote posterity. That part of the inscription which bears more especially upon Etruscan history, is as follows:—

"Quondam Reges hanc tenuere urbem nec tamen domesticis successoribus eam tradere contigit. Supervenere alieni et quidam externi ut Numa Romulo successerit ex Sabinis veniens, vicinus quidem sed tunc externus; et Anco Martio, Priscus Tarquinius propter temeratum sanguinem, quod patre Demarato Corinthio natus erat ut Tarquiniensi matre generosa sed inopi ut quæ tali marito necesse habuerit succumbere. Cum domi repellere-

tur a gerendis honoribus, postquam Romam migravit, regnum adeptus est. Huic quoque et filio nepotivæ ejus, inertus Servius Tullius, si nostros sequimur, captiva natus Oeresia, si Tuscos, Cœli quondam Vibennæ sodalis fidelissimus omnisque ejus casus comes. Postquam varia fortuna exactus, cum omnibus reliquiis Cœliani exercitus Etruria excessit. Montem Cœlium occupavit, et e Duce suo Cœlio ita appellatur. Mutataque nomine (nam Tusce Mastarna ei nomen erat) appellatus est ut dixi, et regnum cum reipublicæ summa utilitate obtinuit."

Thus we are informed by the most authentic sources of Roman history, that Mastarna was a Tuscan chief, whom the Romans named Servius Tullius, that he came from Volsinia, and that he was the constant companion and friend in arms of Calpurnius Fibi, of Volsinia, that is, of Celes Vibenna, with whom he came to Rome. Mastarna was thirty years old when he ascended the throne, therefore he was born in the seventh year of Lucius's reign, and Niebuhr (i. n. 897) gives us three different accounts of his birth. 1. He was said to be the son of Oeresia, and the Latin Prince* Tullius, of Corniculum, born and brought up in Lucius's palace. His father fell by the hand of Tarquin, and himself and his mother were Tanaquil's slaves. 2. He was said to be the child of Oeresia and a Tuscan Lar; or of Sethlans, the god of fire. 3. His mother was said to be a Tarquinian, and his father a client of

* Dion. Hal. ii.

Lucius, and hence he was a servant of the Tarquinius, adopted and raised by them above their own children and all the proud houses of Rome. No king in Italy, however despotic, would have ventured on such a step, and no senate would have confirmed it. The Tuscans make him of Volsinia, brought up by the prince of that state, and both his father and mother may, very possibly, have been noble captives from Tarquinia, or Cortenassa; and Livy says he cannot believe the legend that he was ever a slave.

We must allow twenty years to pass before Mastarna could distinguish himself, fighting at his master's side, or make a brave stand for the slaves, the debtors, and above all, the Plebeian ranks of citizens in Etruria, whose cause he so enthusiastically espoused. He and Celes Vibenna were figuratively said to be married to Nortia, or Etruscan Fortune,* the patron goddess of Volsinia. Mastarna afterwards built altars to her in every part of Rome, erected in her honour a shrine upon the bounds of the Agger, where Coriolanus† afterwards halted his conquering Volsci, called her his Egeria, and placed his image in her temple at the foot of the Esquiline.

Mastarna and Vibenna probably carried her image about with them, and wore her scarabæus under some Egyptian form, and fought under her standard, at the time when, Dionysius (iii.) tells us, that the five northern states, Rusella, Perugia,

* Plut. Quæst. Rom. 281.

† Nieb.

Volterra, Aretium (now Arezzo), and Vetulonia, supported the Latins, or were supported by them, against the Tarquinian side. To these liberal states we must, of course add Volsinia and Clusium, because they were always anti-Tarquinian; and on the fall of that great Lucumony succeeded to the pre-eminence. Thus we should have seven of the Etruscan League arrayed for a time, against the other five, viz. Tarquinia, Vulci, Veii, Faleria, and Cere. Of the northern combatants, Dionysius tells us, that Rusella was powerful; Appian that Perugia was important, and Silius Italicus that Vetulonia was the most illustrious of them all. How true this is, and what she once was, how great, how beautiful, and how civilized, her ruins, with colossal walls, mosaics, amphitheatre, and even fragments of statues, still remain to show.

Those who are inclined to smile at the idea of giving those fragments so high an antiquity, may think of the ruins in Egypt one thousand years older, and still perfect, or may turn to the existing evidences of Etruscan durability before their eyes in Rome.

In the great contest which now took place between the aristocratic and democratic principles, or rather between the exclusive and the equitable, (for aristocratic and democratic, in our sense, scarcely existed in the ancient world)—in this contest, Vetulonia fell to rise no more. Her territories seem to have been portioned out amongst the League, some other great city, probably Rome, took her place;

and Vetulonia, the rich and illustrious, during the first hundred and fifty years of Roman history, is never mentioned again in the annals of Etruria.

It appears that Mastarna's parents were either Tarquinian captives, or else exiles after the fashion of Lucius himself, and hence, that wrongs felt in his own person or that of his family, made him so strenuous to extend and equalize the rights of Plebeians and freedmen, and to alleviate the miseries of the less prosperous classes. Cale Fipi, with his large army, which, like that of Napoleon, under despotic military government, fancied itself an army of liberty, was gradually beat out of Etruria, after the fall of Vetulonia,* and probably after separate treaties of peace made with the southern party by different members of the allied states. They passed through Sabina,† which occasioned Lucius's first war with that country, and, as we have noticed, they helped the Latins‡ and Sabines against Rome, and were mutually helped by them. Lucius's great battle under three Tuscan leaders represents the great engagement at the end of the nine years' war, which re-established for a short period, the Tarquinian supremacy. In this battle the troops, amongst whom were the Roman legions and the Etrusco-Roman Prince, are said to have been commanded by Lucumo, and Aruns, and Egerius. The two first were peculiar

* It would, from this, appear most probable that the destruction of Vetulonia was the deed of the aristocratic party, which increases the probability that the Roman Lucumony under Tarquin was admitted to supply its place.

† A. H. xi. and xvi. p. 270.

‡ A. H. xvi. p. 30.

Tuscan names for ranks, applicable to commanders from any state, and the last Etshre or Egere, for aught we know, may have been a third. Tarquinia was victorious. All the twelve states did her homage as they had ever done before, and Rome and her king were formally associated with the League, probably in the place of ruined Vetulonia. The Priscan Latins and the Sabines were admitted as subject allies, and perhaps were bound as well as permitted to attend the meetings of Voltumna and Ikuvine. This is Müller's view of the glimpses which we have into those regions beyond Rome, which came into contact with her early state, and it is quite in the spirit of other confusions of that perplexed legendary history.

The ancient bards sang the eulogies of Rome, as they did those of their deceased Patrons, and brought her in as principal, wherever her name could be traced. Where she fought as one of the allies, as in the case of Tullus Hostilius at Alba, they introduce her as the head. Where she was defeated, and on the brink of ruin, they retrieve her honour by fictitious victories and triumphs; and where Tarquinia is mentioned, they would, in the same spirit, transfer the glories of that state to their own Tarquinian Lucumo.

There is another view of this case, somewhat differing from Müller's. There are antiquarians who conceive that Tarquin at first was opposed to Tarquinia and Veii, and that he fought against them. He then made peace, and joined them against Cale

Fipi and the northern states. After this he was formally admitted amongst the Etruscan kings, and became at last, head of the southern division of the league. He was, however, after a long struggle, conquered by Cale Fipi and Mastarna, and he and his party were obliged to yield a portion of his territory and power to them, and to promise them the next succession to the throne of frontier Rome.

We have great difficulty in tracing out the history of Cale Fipi, and his powerful and well-disciplined army, and of reconciling it with the truths to which monumental history still bears testimony: more so, indeed, than we have in ascertaining through the mist, some grand and certain facts in the history of Lucius; such as his early triumphs, his conquests and glory, and then his strange and absolute submission to an adverse rule. It is certain, that after a desperate struggle, Cale Fipi and Mastarna were settled on the Lucerum, and had that quarter given up to them in perpetuity. Cale or Celes died there in peace, and Mastarna changed the name of the mount in his honour. Moreover, it was agreed to incorporate the noble families of the party of Mastarna along with the Luceran tribe in Rome; and to settle the succession to the supreme power after the death of Lucius, upon him as their leader, and as the representative of Celes Vibenna. It seems, therefore, that these were the concessions finally made to him and his party by all the governments of Etruria, who were probably glad to find an outlet with him and under his dominion, for all their discontented, restless, and innovating spirits.

In Rome, beyond the Tiber, the factious could breathe with freedom, and the Plebs could enjoy privileges which they might not obtain from the other states. A considerable portion of some province in Etruria was likewise yielded to them, as we learn from the Tuscan Plebeian tribes being equal to the Latin and Sabine. This view is confirmed by the long peace which endured in Mastarna's time. Hence, we believe that by means of his rule, the differences between the northern and southern states were composed. It was the great general Cale Fipi who took Fidene, and ravaged her lands, in punishment of Veii, and who appeared at the gates of Rome with a threatening force, when Lucius was unable to make head against him. And it was his Feciales whom Tarquin detained, treating them with contempt, as unauthorized ambassadors.

After the union of Mastarna and Lucius, or, in other words, the peace between Volsinia and Tarquinia, Mastarna is said to have joined Tarquin in all his wars, and to have gained one battle for him by tossing the standard into the midst of the enemy. He also governed along with him,* tempering his severity, and lightening his yoke. This he could effectually do by establishing an asylum on the Cœlian, during the rule of the Tarquinian Lucumo, and stipulating that those who took refuge there should be under his protection, considered as his subjects, and safe from persecution. Mastarna now became the courteous but despotic

* Nieb. i. n. 901.

Resident, and Lucius Tarquinius felt himself a conquered man.

We have no record of any communication having been held, or of treaties having been formed, between the two great leagues of the northern and the central Etrurias, from the days of their first colonization until now, though we have no doubt that such existed, and that the commerce between them was unceasing; but the northern states in the region of the Po were less maritime and mining, than those of Etruria Proper, and were, moreover, far more unwarlike. During the reigns of the Tarquinian Lucumoes in Rome, the French Gauls or Celts, pressed by famine and over-population, passed the Alps, and settled themselves in the heart of northern Turrhenia, the Rhoetian or Rasenan Padus land. Livy (v. 34) tells us that the Celts formed the third part of this mighty race of men, and that their common ruler, according to the tradition, (perhaps according to the Tuscan records of those times,) was Ambigatus, a Celt, a man of large capacity, and who was mighty and prosperous. This king, finding his subjects too numerous for the land of Gaul, sent forth an extensive emigration from six of his principal tribes, dividing them into two bands, under his nephews Bellovesus and Sigovesus, and making them choose their routes by augury. We suspect that this augury is the Tuscan manner of relating the tale, and that, in reality, the Gauls drew lots as to the way they should go.

It fell to Sigovesus, that he should turn north-

east into Germany, towards the Hercynian forest; and to Bellovesus, that he and his people should go to the south-east, which naturally conducted them into Italy. The barrier of the Alps stopped the warriors for some time, but finally want, caprice, report, or superstition, impelled them to proceed. They entered at last by the Taurine Alps and Taurinian Forest into that goodly and sunny land, and having once seen it, they were not likely to return. The Tuscans fought them on the banks of the Ticino several times, and with various fortunes. Plutarch says, that when the Gauls first invaded North Etruria, the Tuscans dwelt from the Alps to the Apennines, and possessed the land from sea to sea; and that within this space they had noble woods, wide rivers, fat pastures, and eighteen large and flourishing cities, rich in trade and manufactures. The records which have come down to us have not preserved the details of any one battle, and only state that there were many. Niebuhr* has proved, in his critique upon the Gauls, that at this time they did not conquer much land, nor materially affect the position of the Tuscans. Livy mentions three subsequent inroads from Gallia, which may not have happened for two centuries later; and he says nothing of a vast horde, or overwhelming host of them, at this time conquering any tract of land, or destroying a single city.

The Tuscans of the Po were, however, vanquished so far, that they could not expel the in-

* Lib. ii. n. 1129 to 1170.

vaders, and they allowed them finally to effect a settlement in the midst of their fruitful plains. They ceded to them a small tract of country where Milan now stands, which the Gauls named Insurbria, after the province whence they had come, and where they built a city, which they called Mediolanum. When this people, two hundred years later, disturbed all Italy by their appearance at Clusium, they expressly denied any wish to destroy or injure the Tuscans, but only demanded once more a settlement amongst them "to share their lands;" and we, therefore, presume that this object, and not destruction, was the spirit of the first invaders, who gradually settled down into a peaceful and quiet tribe; keeping the faith of treaties, following their own laws and customs, and allowing themselves to have their wants supplied by their more civilized and industrious neighbours.

The next band of Gauls who invaded Italy, Livy tells us, came after an interval of many years, (and perhaps not until the second Tarquinian dynasty.) They were under a chief named Elitovius, and they settled like the Mediolanese, partly by treaty and partly by force, in the country about Brixen and Verona. They did not, however, destroy or occupy those cities, for Pliny (iii. 19) tells us that these were both Rhoetian, and Livy says, that beyond dispute, the Rhoetian nations were originally Tuscan. The Umbri and Etrusci possessed the land as far north as the sources of the Inn and the Drave, and ruled from the Tyrrhene to the Adriatic Sea, until the

great irruption, when Rome was burnt by the Gauls; and then they swept, like a whirlwind, through the land of Ausonia, knowing no difference between Pelasgi, Siculi, Latins, Sabines, Greeks, Volsci, or Opici, but involving them alike in one common overthrow, and experiencing a determined and manly opposition from the Rasena alone.

The commercial Etruscans must have heard, in this their sixth century, of the fame of Cyrus, and of his conquests in Asia Minor; for Harpagus, the general of that great king, whose deeds are represented in the old Tuscan style, upon the Lycian marbles in the British Museum, drove out a large number of Phocians,* who, in seeking a new settlement, ventured into the Tyrrhene seas. They did not attempt to try the coast of Italy, nor trust to the generosity of their own race, either in Sicily or Opica, but they sought in what they fancied was the extreme north, a refuge for the destitute, beyond the habitations of fortunate men, and they landed on a shore claimed by a tribe of Gauls,—at the spot, where now stands Marseilles. They say themselves, that whilst one tribe of this people opposed, another helped them, and enabled them to make good their settlement; in gratitude for which, their leader gave his Greek daughter to the chief of their protectors, and Massilia arose, a Grecian settlement between Etruria and Gaul, probably tributary to the latter, but protected and traded with by the former, and occasionally perhaps by both.

* Herodotus lib. i.

The Carthaginians from Corsica and Sardinia, and the Tuscans from Pisa, Lucca, Populonia, and all the northern ports, would soon form treaties of commerce with, and carry their wares to, this infant colony. But though the Tuscans did not attempt to destroy Massilia, they would not suffer Greek colonizers in general to traverse their seas; and they had, at this epoch, the fearful reputation of being cruel corsairs towards strangers. Some Tur-rheni attacked the Dorians in Lipari, hoping for spoil and conquest, and when they were defeated, the happy victors dedicated a thank-offering to Delphi for their great escape, which offering Pausanias saw in the temple there.

Cuma maintained her close alliance with the Tarquinian division of Etruria Proper, but does not seem to have mingled in the distractions between the central north and south, in the great quarrel of the Plebeians and Patricians. How happy would many antiquarians be to deduce from these Massilians or Cumæans, or from the Asiatic Greeks, the magnificent and colossal works in which Etruria now abounded,—her tunnels and arched gates, her towers and amphitheatres, her stamped copper coinage, introduced by Mastarna into Rome, her sculpture, and manufactures in bronze, and clay, her beautiful armour, and her admirable skill in the workmanship of gold and silver,—but, above all, her gigantic masonry in the perfect vaults of the Roman Cloacæ, and in the architecture of the Circus Maximus! All these were abounding amongst the stran-

gers whom Greece distinguished and characterized as Philotechnoi, before we have any evidence of their existence in her own territory, or amongst her numerous and wide-spread colonies. Yet why should the Greeks alone, of all the people of the ancient world, have monopolized civilization and refinement? Surely it is enough for each people to rejoice in its own praise, and the sun may shine bright and warm on the rest of the earth, though he is vertical only in the tropics; nay more, he rises earlier, in moral as well as in physical nature, and sets later, amongst the people of other lands.

CHAPTER VII.

PERIOD OF MASTARNA IN ROME.

Exaltation of the Plebs—Dedication of the Temple of Tiana on the Aventine—Despotic military power of the liberal chief—Arbitrary measures against the Patricians—Plebeian tribes—Plebeian army—Census of the people—Despotic taxation—Arbitrary measures in favour of the people, and against the aristocracy—Irritation of the Patricians—Conspiracy of the Tarquinian party—Head of the Tarquinian party and his wife Tullia—Death of Mastarna—Commonly-received accounts of it, and its attending circumstances—Various inconsistencies—Intention of Mastarna to abdicate, or change the kingly power—Magnificent works of Mastarna—The wall of Rome—He continued those of Lucius—His memory venerated by the people and hated by the nobles—Funeral of Mastarna—Comparison of his career with that of Lucius Tarquinius.

PERIOD OF MASTARNA, OR SERVIUS TULLIUS, FORTY-FOUR YEARS. B. C. 578. YEAR OF TARQUINIA, 609.*

WE now come to the period of the exaltation and independence of the Roman Plebs, and probably, for the time, of the Etruscan, Latin, and Sabine Plebs

* Authorities: Livy i. 40; Dionysius Halicar. iii. 1, iv. 2; Niebuhr's Rome in loco; Müller's Etrüsker; Ancient History xi. 330; xvi. 34.

also, established by the despotic prince, Mastarna. After he had confirmed his authority, by means of possession, through the influence of the great queen whose name never died from the memory of the Romans, and of a strong military force composed of his own dependents, his first act* was to resist an attack from Veii. The death of King Lucius Tarquinius put an end to the peace between Rome and that great Lucumony. Dionysius and the Fasti Capitolini preserve traditions of three battles fought with the Veientes at intervals of four, and of thirteen years. Being aristocratic in their principles, they were opposed to Plebeian innovation, and therefore they continued to assist the discontented Roman Patricians. But they were defeated and triumphed over, and forced to conclude a peace, which lasted during the remainder of this reign, or dynasty.

When Mastarna died, he had enjoyed twenty years of uninterrupted tranquillity, without, however, shutting the temple of Janus; and there was no dispute again between Rome and any Etruscan state, until Veii espoused the cause of Tarquinius Superbus. It does not appear that territory was lost or gained on either side; but the renewed peace with Veii and with the rest of Etruria greatly strengthened Mastarna's power. In order to prevent any other wars which might have impeded his internal reforms, he renewed Tarquin's league with the Latins and Sabines in the most imposing manner he

* He had desired to renew the league with all the aristocratic states, but Veii treated his ambassadors with scorn.

could devise. He had a meeting of the allies to offer up a solemn sacrifice together, and he caused the names of all the thirty Latin towns, and of the allied Sabines, to be written on a pillar of brass,† which was extant in Augustus's days.

Mastarna persuaded the Latins to build a common temple to their great goddess Tiana, on the Aventine—that hill which seems always to have been mutual property to them and the Romans—and here they were every year to keep a common feast; each chief was to offer alternately the great sacrifice, and a Tuscan oracle was consulted as to the future destiny of this temple. The oracle answered that the nation which first offered the sacrifice should rule. So far we believe, but according to the legend, one of the noble Sabines, an augur, dictator, or high priest, (and probably all three,) brought for his people a beautiful heifer of uncommon size, and hoped, in virtue of the gift, to offer it first to the Latin deity. The Roman priest would not contest his right, but exclaimed against the indignity of his offering it with unwashed hands.* The Sabine went to the Tiber to wash them, and in the meanwhile, the Romans offered up the heifer. Had this really happened, it would have been an unpardonable insult offered to the Sabines, and would have originated a fierce war between the two nations. But as all passed over without even a remonstrance, we see that this is one of those fictions of the poets which flattered the Roman ears with omens and pre-

* Nieb. i. n. 901.

dictions, ascribed to the past days of their early insignificance, that they were, at some future period, to be masters of the world.

The Sabines joined at this feast, not as principals, but as allies; and though it is very likely that they may have presented the finest of their herd, on the opening of a temple which was meant to be to them a symbol of perpetual peace, it is certain that the Roman or Tuscan priest must have been the person to offer up in Rome sacrifices to the great Latin goddess. We have, moreover, a curious light given us here. The Tuscans and Albans joined the other Latins, not in sacrifices to the Latin goddess, Diana, of whom we very seldom hear, but both at Alba and at Laurentum, in sacrifices to the great Tuscan god, the Triune Jupiter. The Latins as principals, and the Sabines as allies, are said now to join the Romans and Tuscans in sacrifices to the great Latin goddess, Tiana or Diana. Is this so? or has the ancient Tuscan Talna been transformed into Diana,* when the language changed, and the temples of Rome were burnt by the Gauls? We doubt exceedingly whether, in the early Tarchonic times, Juno or Talna was not synonymous with Diana or Tiana, and did not represent the lesser light of heaven, even as Isis, the Diana of Egypt, is often transformed into Greek Hera and Roman Juno.

Dionysius says that Servius, wishing to be, the

* Livy represents the *Feciales* of the Latins as calling upon Jupiter, Juno, and Quirinus, but nowhere on Tiana and Tiana, unless the names are synonymous.

acknowledged head of the Latins and Sabines, as Lucius Tarquinius had been before him, called a meeting of all the chiefs, and proposed to them to erect a common temple to Diana on the Aventine, and to hold feasts and councils (after the manner of Voltumna, Alba, and Feronia.) The Roman dictator was to offer the sacrifice, and then should follow a political assembly, to settle all disputes and to concert measures for the common interest. A fair was to be kept at the same time, where each one might supply himself with articles of necessity or luxury; for through the long tract of coast subject to Lucius, and through the port of Ostia, built under his auspices, Rome was now become a place of commerce. The princes agreed to Servius's proposal, and added, that this Fane should be an asylum for all their nations, and each city should contribute to build it, the king being allowed to choose the situation. He fixed upon the Aventine, the hill of the Latin Plebs, and the burial place of the Sabines, Numa and Marcius; and the laws of the meeting were engraved upon tables of brass, such as we see at Gubbio, in the Latin language, and in Greek, i. e., in Tuscan characters. They were extant in the days of Augustus, though to little purpose, as they could not be read.

From this time, Mastarna being at peace with all his neighbours, his authority was firmly established, and he began to show his deep hatred of the Patricians, and his resolution to free Italy from the dominion of caste, by raising up a power

equal to them, which should keep them in constant check. From this moment, all the ancient influence of the Quirites seems to have ceased. They were levelled with the Ramnes, and put to silence. No Marcii struggled, and no Attius Nævius proudly raised himself for the rights of his people. No man ever ruled with more despotic power, or set the fundamental laws and institutions of a country, and the rights of its ruling classes more completely at defiance, than Servius Tullius. He hated the Patricians with a deadly hatred, which at last brought upon him his own destruction. He had no resource but to govern by the force of arms, and through the might of an army which he himself had created. He seized the throne by means of his strong guard in the first instance, and he kept it by his large Plebeian army in the last.

He had himself been twice a Plebeian. He was so, in the first instance, when a captive at Volsinia, where, though freed and made a citizen, and receiving a grant of land, he was not admitted into the Curiae, and could not be, until adopted by the Patrician Cale Fipi. He was, it is true, born of a princely house; he became immensely rich; he had received a learned education; he was a man of first-rate ability and undaunted courage. But all this did not enable him to rule. He was a Tuscan also, probably of Tarquinia, yet a Plebeian, first at Volsinia, and then, for the second time, at Rome. It is true, he became a Patrician by adoption in both instances. In the one case, he owed it to the good feeling of Cale Fipi, and perhaps to the early friendship of

that chief for his parents; and in the other to his sword. But he had suffered deeply in his proud and sensitive mind, and he had brooded profoundly over the injustice of institutions which excluded from office, on account of birth, many of those who could be most useful to their mother country.

Every officer of his own brave army, every relative of Cale Fipi's family, was excluded from office at Rome, until formally adopted into the Curiae. The descendant of any family not a member of the three first tribes, though he might be prince of his house, rich in lands, and lord of thousands of clients, could aspire to no place in the government; and, except as a captain in time of war, could never distinguish himself, or hope to rise to eminence, unless adopted into the Curiae.

Mastarna, though called Servius, as one of the Roman Consuls was, two centuries after him, because he pitied, protected, and relieved all the oppressed, yet made an aristocratic and not a popular axiom the basis of his reforms, viz. that property, taxable property, should be the standard of political influence. No one was farther than Mastarna from any idea of the equality of men, or the levelling of ranks, the liberty and equality of our day. On the contrary, one of his first acts was to create, first six, and then twelve new bodies of knights, with hereditary rank, who headed all the Plebeian assemblies, and who took the first place in virtue of their birth alone.*

* Niebuhr i. (on army) is persuaded of this, because Polybius (vi. 20) says, speaking of his own time, "The knights are now

We may easily believe that his own companions in arms formed no inconsiderable part of these newly-created bands. Each company was called a Century, but the number of which it consisted was undefined and ever varying. To each of these, he gave a horse, a slave, and a slave's horse, or an equivalent allowance to purchase them. And this was to be furnished, as far as possible, by the widows, orphans, heiresses, and unmarried women belonging to the eighteen centuries; the rest being made up by the state. Mastarna allowed these men to dwell upon the Cœlian, but he ordered every Patrician* to quit that hill; and to such as felt the order a hardship and burden, he allotted residences in the Vicus Patricius† in the valley. He also forbade all the Patricians in the city to fortify their houses, as they had been in the habit of doing. His great object was to raise up a political and military power which should be anti-Patrician, at the same time that he dared not oppose what the auguries had established, and what common custom had made men regard as the irrevocable order of creation. He did not attempt to wrench the offices of state from the Patricians; he did not essay to tax them, to impose upon them new duties, or to infringe upon their Agger. However, little belonging to them in exclusiveness of spirit, he was now the head of their class; and whatever

selected according to fortune." And Zonaras says that the Censors could reward distinguished Plebeians of the first class by placing them in the *equestrian order*.

* Varro. de L. L. iv.

† Festus.

infringed upon them, would eventually fall upon his own family and house, for Mastarna had no idea of hereditary kingship, and therefore could only, as a ruler for life, separate himself from the nobles. He left to the Patricians all their clients, and the power which they had of relieving any Plebeian from distress, by receiving him into their clans. But he ordained that henceforth, all the Roman infantry employed and paid by the state, should be Plebeian, and Plebeian alone.*

He divided the whole population of the considerable country which he ruled, into thirty Plebeian Tribes, answering to the thirty Patrician Curiae. He divided them by the sacred Tuscan numbers, three and ten, allotting ten to the Ramnes, ten to the Sabines, and ten to the Tuscans, as we learn from the ten Tuscan tribes being obliterated, when the temporary Tuscan rule under Porsenna ceased; and again, from four being added, when a portion of the Tuscan country was regained, soon after the burning of Rome.

A division of the people into tribes had before been made by Lucius Tarquinius, for the Plebeians voted and were taxed according to their tribes, and the army was selected in the order of the tribes, before Mastarna's accession; an order which he overthrew by his centuries and classes. What was new in the act of Mastarna, therefore, with regard to these Plebeian tribes, was *equalizing* the three nations of Latins, Sabines, and Tuscans, in political power, allotting ten to each nation, and appointing

* Dion. Hal. iv. 10, 13. Nieb. ii. n. 349.

in each tribe three civil judges. After the war with Porseuna, the Roman tribes were reduced to twenty, and so their Plebeian judges, their Centumviri, were reduced to sixty.*

Mastarna commanded a census to be taken of all the people according to their taxable property. Dionysius (iv.) says that he required all the citizens to give, in writing, their names and ages, together with the names and ages of their wives and children; and all the chiefs were to render an estimate of their personal property with the names of their abodes in town and country. The "Common's King, the good King James," as Arnold is pleased to call him, ordered the Plebeians to submit to this inquisition under pain of confiscation, slavery, and death.

He next divided the Plebeians, i. e. the non-Patrician landholders, into six classes; the first of whom were possessors of 100,000 Asses and upwards, and from this there was a gradual diminution to the fifth class, which was rated at 12,500 Asses, which was the minimum wealth, entitling a man to vote. The sixth class including all those who were beneath this value, were of no estimation in the eyes of the state, and were not suffered to offer themselves as soldiers.

In order to facilitate this census, which according to Fabius Pictor, gave 84,700 fighting men, the liberal Mastarna threatened all who should fail to attend and enrol their names, with imprisonment and death.

* Niebuhr, i. n. 994-5.

Not satisfied with the knowledge which these measures gave him of the number and wealth of his subjects, he likewise commanded that every Roman citizen should pay a tribute upon the birth of his child, in the temple of Lucina; upon the death of a relative, in the temple of Juno Libitina, or Inferna; and on reaching manhood, in the temple of the Sabine Juventus, or youth. Again, each individual, man, woman, and child, was required to pay upon attending the Paganalia. And although the sums at which they were taxed were very small, they must, in the aggregate, have poured enormous wealth into the coffers of the king. The Lucina of Rome was probably the same with the Eluthya of Pyrgi.

The small money used by the common people of Rome, at this time, was, according to Pliny, leather, shells, and bronze.

Servius introduced into Rome, the As grave, that is, the stamped As of the Etruscans, according to the series which, as we find from the tombs, was current in Veii, Cære, and Tarquinia, viz. coins with the heads of Janus, Talna, Minerva, Ercle, Mercury, or Turms, and Minerva again, all bearing a prow upon the reverse. This was the Turrhenian emblem of commerce, and supposed by the Latins to be a Turrhenian invention. The As unstamped, was current long before this, all over Italy; and after the rule of the kings was closed, when the value of cattle was fixed by law, at one hundred Asses for an ox, and ten for a sheep, a cattle stamp of an ox was per

mitted, and the characteristic Latin name for money, as the representative of fixed value, became Pecunia. From Niebuhr* we gather that the Pecus stamp was not used until the As, which, in Mastarna's days, weighed twelve ounces, was reduced to eight, and that it was originally introduced to commemorate the fixing of the cattle fine.

Every Plebeian soldier was required to equip himself, and those of the first class were bound to be fully and richly armed in bronze Etruscan armour. This class was always headed by the eighteen centuries of Plebeian hereditary knights, chosen on account of noble birth, and the six Suffragia of the Tarquinii. But as these six Suffragia, though minor houses, were all Patricians, we cannot believe that Mastarna would or could have suffered them to head the Plebeian assemblies. Instead of mixing the orders, he took pleasure in widening the distance between them, and in raising a complete counterpoise to the Patrician rule.

The second class had carpenters, armourers, and smiths attached to them; and the fourth had a band of wind instruments, consisting of horns and trumpets, of which the Etruscans are said to have been the inventors. The five classes altogether were divided into one hundred and seventy taxable centuries, of which the first class alone comprised eighty centuries, and the three first, one hundred and twenty. If they agreed, therefore, the votes of the others were of no consequence, and their decision could not be

* i. n. 1048, &c. &c.

reversed, because all the classes were called up to vote in order. In like manner, if the whole first class, including the eighteen centuries of knights, agreed, their decision was final, as their votes outnumbered all the others put together. Livy says, scarcely one instance ever occurred of the lower classes being called in to vote. Thus the influence of Mastarna's classes was in the inverse proportion of men and money. The largest property carried the most votes, and the greatest number of men by far the fewest.

These centuries, not including the hereditary knights, Mastarna again divided into equal numbers of major and minor, all the men above forty-five enrolling themselves in the one, and from eighteen to forty-five, in the other. The soldiers chosen out of the major centuries were a reserve militia, who staid at home to guard the towns and country; whilst those chosen from the minor bodies were at the command of the state, to march wherever they were required. These classes made up the great and formidable body of the Roman Plebeians; the Plebs being, as we have before said, an order of men adopted from Etruria.* Whether the Plebs in any other Etruscan state enjoyed so much power and distinction as was conferred upon those who occupied the frontier province, we very much doubt, since in Rome itself, they could not have maintained their ground for a period of more than forty years. But that they approached to this favourable condition, more or

* Varro.

less, in many of the other states, we must believe; and though Mastarna perfected his long-cherished scheme in Rome only, Cale Fipi did not fight and bleed in vain, from north to south, in his native land. Thucydides says, that Mastarna overthrew the whole constitution of Tarquin and changed all his maxims of policy, and instead of relying for victory upon his cavalry, he created the military power of Rome, by raising up this powerful body of infantry.

The arrangement and armour of Servius's order of battle does not differ, as far as we can discern, from any of the other Etruscan states. The difference consisted in the Plebeian principle, upon which all its advantages were based. The Velites, or light armed troops, were an order adopted from the neighbouring state of Falisci, and the armour of each class, the Galea or helmet, the Clypeus or Aspis shield, the scaled coat of mail, (seen in the Egyptian paintings,) the greaves which are sometimes found in the Tuscan tombs, the Scutum or buckler, and the Hasta or spear, were all, as we have before observed,* introduced into Italy by the Rasena.

Mastarna strove to bind the Plebeians together in one great brotherhood, by giving them common privileges, with which the Patricians should not interfere. He assigned to them their own courts and judges, and he ordered every tribe to be divided into Pagi, after the example of Veii, from whom seven of these divisions had been originally taken by Ancus Marcius, when Tarquin was at the head

* Vol. i. pp. 239 and 243.

of the Roman forces. Each Pagus was to have its own temple feast, called Paganalia,* its own asylum, and its own peculiar Lar or god, and priest, and magistrate. These institutions were introduced before by the holy Numa, but they assuredly were not in the genius of the Latins, and were abolished by Tullus Hostilius.

The four tribes of the city were divided into Compitalia, the temple being situated where four ways met; and of these Compitalia, the slaves, i. e. their own captive countrymen taken in war, or their debtors, or the descendants of these men, were the priests. They kept their sacred festival every year, on two different days, and at this time their masters could give them no work. Mastarna is said to have offered human victims to these Lares; but this is probably some allegorical allusion either to the slaves themselves, or to the taxing which took place at the time of these feasts. Servius, always mindful of his own youthful sufferings, raised the Liberti, that is, the freed captives of his own and of the Tarquinian wars, to be Plebeian citizens,† and enrolled them in the four city tribes, so that they were rated with the classes, and formed part of the army. The Senate highly resented this act, and Mastarna appeased them by placing under their cognizance, all criminal cases, reserving for the king's judgment only state crimes.

He forbade the Patricians to seize the persons of

* Dion. iv.

† Varro says that the Liberti and the Plebs are both Tūscan orders of men. Etruria introduced them both into Rome.

their debtors, and thereby gave a great blow to their power; and in the beginning of his reign, he paid the debts of vast multitudes of these men out of his own royal property. The Plebeians were to take charge of their own affairs; and for this purpose, were to meet in centuries in the Campus Martius, outside the city; and no law passed by the Senate and approved by the Curiae, was to be binding without their consent.

In order to give the first impulse to this, he required them to confirm his so called election to the which he had wrung from an over-awed Senate, and throne, upon their compliance, he declared himself a duly elected king, and governed by their means, and through their support. When this new constitution was completely established, Servius ordered that it should be commemorated at every Lustrum, when the people were to be assembled in the Campus Martius, a wide plain lying between the city and the Tiber, and not within the augury ground of the Patricians. Here the centuries were drawn up in order of battle, and the solemn Tuscan sacrifice of the Suovetaurilia, that is, of a bull, a sheep, and a pig, was offered for them. Tacitus says that Servius also offered sacrifices to Lua, the goddess of Lustrums, and built her an altar. Now as the Lustrum is an Etruscan measure of time, the goddess of Lustrums, unless newly invented by Servius, must have been an Etruscan goddess; but we find no such name in their mythology, and therefore presume Lua to have been a title of Mastarna's patron divinity,

Nortia, in whose temple, in several parts of Etruria, and especially at Volsinia, the nails of the Lustrum were always driven. At this ceremony, each man paid his quota of the tax, which was laid upon his century, and the more numerous the century in the lower classes, the lighter, of course, would fall the tax. One of Servius's best measures was a commutation of the poll-tax, formerly paid by the Romans, into this tax upon the century, of which each member only paid his share.

He prohibited the Patricians from living upon the Esquiline, whilst he induced the Plebeians to inhabit it, and he built a palace there, where he himself dwelt amongst them, as Livy tells us, with a view to do them honour. In all respects, Mastarna deserves, much more than Ancus Martius, to be considered as King of the Italian Plebs. How is it, then, that he has not thrown his predecessor into the shade? How is it that Ancus is still so much considered as the patron of the Plebeians? We would hazard the conjecture that this may arise from the grand object of Mastarna's ambition being to raise the condition of the *Etruscan* middle class, while the patronage of Ancus, being extended rather to the *Latins* and *Sabines*, the more native elements of Roman nationality, the memory of the latter was on that account more popularly revered.

But Mastarna's most obnoxious act, was his dividing amongst the Plebeians all the unallotted common land, which was the fruit of the wars and victories of Tarquin, and which, during the reign of

his dynasty, had been enjoyed exclusively by the Patricians. It was one of the most valuable of the Patrician privileges throughout Italy, to possess all the common land, until it was allotted; and it formed one great element of Patrician wealth and of their ability to provide for their younger children. When Mastarna took it away from the Roman Patricians, he put the crowning point to their ill-will against him and his government. They then plotted together to rid themselves of a military chief, who lived only to degrade them, and they thought that any one of themselves, however haughty, was better than a man whose sagacity was so far beyond the wisdom of his time, and who seemed as if he never could forgive them the misfortunes of his early youth. They had no sympathy with such measures of justice, and ideas of right and wrong, which, to selfish and exclusive classes of men, are generally incomprehensible.

The Patrician who headed their meetings, was the Lucumo of the Tarquinian house, now ingrafted into the tribe of the Luceres. He was fifty-three years of age, therefore no longer young, nor likely to have been carried away with a wild ambition. But he was lofty, haughty, brave, and of a despotic turn, and probably irritated by more than one of the wrongs which fretted his brethren of the Curia. He was forbidden to fortify his own castle; and if it was built upon the Cœlian, he was obliged to descend from it to the plain below, and he saw those fields and meadows, vineyards and corn-fields, which

he considered the peculiar conquests of his house, taken from him, and assigned to a Plebs, whom he cordially despised. Livy, however, doubts whether his own nature would have carried him to extremities; and says, it is certain that the confusion (by which he means either war or rebellion) was begun and continued by a woman.

Tullia, the wife of Tarquinius, was more restless and ambitious than himself; she felt the spirit of Tanaquil working in her. But whereas Tanaquil was wise and prudent in her deeds of boldness, Tullia was arrogant, reckless, and depraved. Tanaquil gained the kingdom for her husband, and conferred it on her adopted son. Tullia was resolved to gain it for her husband, and did not mind how much blood she waded through to obtain the prize. The Tuscan women were not cyphers. The Tarquinian dynasty was nobly founded, and the Mastarnian infamously destroyed, both by Tuscan women. Tullia besought her husband by the palace and possessions of the Tarquini, and by the gods and images of his fathers, that he would rouse, and head the Patricians to overthrow Mastarna, and to secure to himself his crown. Tarquinius, unable to resist the ever-increasing provocations of her temper and Mastarna's conduct, accordingly gained the Patricians by presents, and represented to the third tribe and minor houses, how greatly favoured they had been by the Tarquini, and how entirely they owed to them all the power which they possessed in this frontier state.

When sure of their support, he appeared with a body of his own troops in the Forum, and inveighed before the Senators upon the iniquity of any longer tolerating a government, which so peculiarly laid itself out, in order to oppress them. He said that Mastarna Servius was himself a Plebeian, and the sovereign and patron of Plebeians, and that he was not a fit ruler for them, the Senators and Curia. That he reigned neither by vote of the one, nor by the approval of the other, but through the influence and favour of a foreign woman. He then seated himself in the king's place, and on Servius's entrance into the Senate, a combat ensued, which ended in the old man being thrown down the steps of the Senate house into the Forum, and so much injured, that he died shortly after. His servants carried off the body, and on their way towards his Esquiline palace, laid it down in the Vicus Cyprius, or Good Street. Tullia had driven in her chariot to the Forum, where she saluted her husband as king, and she was on her return to her own house, when she came to this street, where the charioteer, on seeing the body, stopped, in pity, horror, and veneration. Tullia asked him why he stopped, and on perceiving the cause, desired him to drive on, and forced the chariot over the body of the murdered sovereign, whose blood was sprinkled upon her garments. In this state she went in to her domestic altar, in order to return thanks to her household gods, having, in perfection, that sort of devotion which is so common in an unrighteous and superstitious world, and which

may be called worldly religion, being utterly devoid of morality. It is a species of homage which the worshipper flatters himself will propitiate the King of kings, as it does the kings of men. But the Divinities before whom Tullia bowed, revenged their insulted righteousness in the misfortunes of her husband and her children. The name of the street where she would not stop, was henceforth changed from "Cyprius," which is the Sabine* for "good," to Sceleratus, which is the Latin for "wicked."

Tullia afterwards visited one of the temples of Fortune,† built by the late king, in which stood a votive image of himself, made of wood gilt, and when she saw it, something of her woman's nature returned, and she covered her face, and went away; for the excitement, which had formerly made her deaf to the voice of mercy, was now over. Mastarna was probably no more *her* father, than he was that of the state in general, and we may judge of the variation of the legends in this story, when we are told by one bard, that Tanaquil, who, ninety-seven years before, had come to Rome a full grown woman, was alive at this time, and witnessed this act of paltry and unnatural revenge: and by another, that Lucius Tarquinius sent away his heroic wife when he became the sovereign of Rome. According to Fabius, the oldest Roman historian, Tanaquil lives to see the unnatural act of Tullia, and the murder of her own son, Aruns, and

* Varro.

† Ovid. Fasti. vi. 613.

does not die until the 40th year of Servius's reign. In Plutarch,* Ocrisia or Tanaquil, exacts an oath from him, that he will not resign the crown. That is, she foresaw Tullia's crime. He marries Tarquinia shortly before Lucius's death, and has immediately two full-grown daughters, whom he marries to his wife's two brothers! This entire story is so inconsistent, that we can do no more than advert to its various versions, without attempting to reconcile or explain them. Tanaquil or Tanchil is said to have fostered the Plebeian Mastarna, and to have made him a Patrician. She then raised him to be prime minister to her husband, and finally gave him the crown. The presumptuousness, without the sagacity of her spirit, revived in Tullia, and she lived to see in her, the fatal fruits of ill-regulated ambition. Her favourite and protégée who had set aside, and who, in the judgment of all the Patricians, had wronged her husband's house, was destroyed, and along with him all his cherished and useful institutions.

Mastarna had given the Plebs their own tribunes, judges, asylums, priests, feasts, laws, and property; and his last outrage upon the authority and privileges of the ruling tribes, was his intention to secure to the Plebs still further, a joint or alternate possession of the crown. He knew that the same despotic power which had obliterated the constitutions of the first Tarquinian dynasty, could, with equal ease, obliterate his own; and therefore he wished

* De Fort. Rom.; also Nieb. i. n. 905.

that the absolute kingly government should no more rest in a single person; but that the double throne of Romulus and Tatius, should be filled by a Patrician and Plebeian ruling together, or alternately, the Patrician remaining chief. Indeed something of this kind was tried at Veii; and whether, in the present instance, this really was or was not the intention of Mastarna, it continued to be believed as such, by all classes, and it was a reason why the one party thought of him with coldness and aversion, and the other with veneration and love.

Thus ends the second Etruscan dynasty in the heart of Italy, and beyond the Tiber. At this time, one third of the Roman power was conventionally and politically Tuscan, besides the overwhelming weight of its despotic head. One Patrician tribe, the Luceres, and ten Plebeian, the names of which we do not know, were of that nation, and many of the Roman words and proper nouns still retain the Tuscan roots. This mixed nation bore the name of the first sacred colonizers, the Ramnes, but their religion, with all its ceremonies, and their science, with all its technicalities, was Tuscan; and their civil polity was Quiritary, or Sabine.

Mastarna executed one truly magnificent work after the same models, and by the same means as the Cloacæ of the great Tarquin: and this was the wall of Rome, which Arnold (i. 50,) says, measured seven miles round, and which was never enlarged till the days of Aurelian. It followed the edge of the Capitol, Quirinal, Aventine, and Cælian, down to

the Tiber, and then passed to the Esquiline. The Capitoline and the Aventine never were enclosed;* neither (according to Niebuhr) was the Janiculum.† The remainder of the circuit was completed by a rampart called the Agger, which connected the Esquiline, Viminal, and Quirinal.

This Agger of Servius was seven furlongs in length, and rose out of a moat one hundred feet broad, and thirty deep. Above this, he raised a mound fifty feet broad and sixty high, which he faced towards the moat, with a skirting of flag-stones, and which he flanked with towers. A similar wall connected the Colline with the western ascent of the Quirinal, where was the boundary of the ancient Sabine settlement. Niebuhr says that the great wall of Servius comprehended all that part of the seven hills which was not unhealthy, and that the inhabitants of the Lateran and other parts not included, talk of "going to Rome" to this day. Cicero de Rep. ii. 6, describes the Sacred City in his time, as modern tourists do now, "*Locum in regione pestilenti Salubrem*." The walls stretched from the Tarpeian along the Aventine, between the Circus and the river, and may still be traced in the Velabrum. Livy (i. 4) speaking of this work, says, "Servius surrounded the city with an Agger, ditch, and wall; and thus extended the Pomærium," and then immediately he adds, "the Pomærium was an Etruscan term and manner of laying out a city," as if in this instance, the whole work naturally carried his

* Dion. ix. † Vide Niebuhr, Completion of the city of Rome.

thoughts back to the original builders and tunnelers of Italy.

The Agger of Servius was so substantially built, that it is still to be seen in the gardens of the Villa Negroni, and portions of the wall exist in the gardens of Sallust, and in the Velabrum. The works of the Etruscans were very different from any that the Roman Republicans ever executed, after their rule had ceased. They were cast in the gigantic mould of an Eastern race, and were formed to last, like those of their ancestors and instructors, the men of the Euphrates and the Nile. Niebuhr* considers the erection of this wall to be quite as stupendous a work as the Circus or Cloaca: and that, like them, it could only have been effected by compulsory labour. Yet it is certain, that the memory of Mastarna bears upon it no such stain; and that the name of Servius was given to him in contempt by the Patricians, and preserved to him in affection by the Plebs, because he was the patron of the debtor and the slave. Moreover, no such welcome reproach as that of an oppressor was ever cast upon his fame in the reign that followed, when it required every possible precaution to prevent the labouring poor from openly and bitterly lamenting him. Besides the wall and the Agger, some of the minor branches of the Cloaca must also have been his work: for it is in the highest degree improbable that a public undertaking of such immense and visible importance and utility, begun by the first

* Vide Niebuhr, Completion of the city of Rome.

Tarquin, and ended by the second, should have remained exactly in the state in which Lucius had left it, for four and forty years. Niebuhr ridicules such an idea; and Tacitus* says that Servius carried on the architectural labours of the first Tarquin.

Mastarna was buried upon the Nones, or market-day; and as Tarquin would not suffer the anniversary of his death to be observed, the common people kept in his honour, the Nones of every month until the Senate broke the custom, by forbidding the Roman† markets to be held according to that Tuscan reckoning of time, lest their regret and veneration should break out into insurrection, and cause his laws to be restored.

Mastarna loved magnificence, if we are to believe the tradition, that when he triumphed over the Veientes, it was with all the pomp that the splendid Lucius had used before him. He appears in history, and he certainly was in reality, the vindicator of the liberties and privileges of the people, yet he never seems to have separated from that great object, the maintenance of his own supremacy, and the gratification of his own irritated feelings. Born, as we have reason to believe, in an elevated rank, although thrown by early misfortune, into a subordinate or even servile condition, he imbibed all the prejudices natural to the oppressed against the oppressors, while he retained the innate consciousness of an hereditary right, himself to rank among the princes of the people. Hence, in him, existed the not uncommon union of

* Hist. iii. 72.

† Macrob. Satur. i. 18.

‡ Vide Niebuhr, Completion of the city of Rome.

the personal aristocrat, and the partisan of democracy. He maintained the cause of the people, because he owed an early personal grudge to the privileged classes; and he moreover saw that popular favour was the surest means of gratifying the irresistible bias of his mind, which, like the aristocratic predilections of Lucius, had grown with his growth, and strengthened with his strength.

The career of these two chiefs exhibits a remarkable contrast. Placed as they both originally were, in a false position, the bent of their dispositions, which were cast in very different moulds, took the natural developement of the circumstances which surrounded their early years. Both of illustrious origin, and both endowed with lofty and noble feelings, they devoted their energies from the dawn of their existence, to the advancement of two great opposite principles, with which they identified their ideas of right and wrong, as well as their individual hopes of usefulness and worldly glory.

Lucius, the prosperous favourite of fortune, devoted to the maintenance of his order, when he found that his career at home was impeded by some minor distinctions, sought a field for the exercise of his talents more wide and free elsewhere, and enjoyed the well-earned fame of uncompromising political consistency. The same character no less duly belongs to Mastarna, whose lofty soul, spurning the trammels which galled its youthful aspirations, embraced with enthusiasm the cause of the oppressed, as his own cause; and carried the humiliation

of the privileged classes about with him through life, as his watchword, engraven on the tablets of his heart. When mounted on the throne of Rome, he could not forget the early servitude of Volsinia: and the dearest privilege among the many favours showered upon him by his patron deity Nortia, was probably the opportunity which he enjoyed of humbling and vexing the order, to whose injustice he owed his youthful obscurity and hardships. With the strong hand of a despot, he repressed what he considered as the overweening power of the few. And forgetting that rational liberty demands an equal justice to be done to all, he transgressed the bounds of moderation, which might have preserved him in power and in honour to the end of his days, and brought upon himself that destruction, which, under similar circumstances, is the unvarying result of rashness and exaggeration.

CHAPTER VIII.

PERIOD OF MASTARNA IN ROME.

Contests between the Etruscans and Carthaginians—Sardinia—The Phocians—Etruscan Offerings at Delphi—Divinities common under different names and in different countries—Travels of Pythagoras—His intercourse with the Etruscans—Letters—Progress of alphabets—General state of the civilized world—Decay of some nations before Etruria had reached her most flourishing period—Necessary intercourse between the Etruscans and the chief countries of the ancient world.

DURING the period of Mastarna, whilst the Tarquinian and Patrician despotism was overturned, and continued in abeyance in the Turrhenian Roman kingdom, the western states of the Etruscan league were actively engaged in war with the Carthaginians, for the supremacy in Sardinia. Luna Populonia, Cosa of the Vulci, and Tarquinia, were the four states most interested in the possession of that island, and whose soldiers were the most likely to have been there engaged. The Carthaginian General, Malcus, fought with them a bloody battle, and the fact of his having lost half his army,

notwithstanding the excellent armour and tried discipline of his country, affords no slight proof of the valour and good military tactics of Etruria at this date. No doubt the victory over Malcus tended considerably to confirm the Tuscan power in Sardinia, though we find from the treaty of Carthage, about twenty years later, that a great part of the commerce of that island was still Carthaginian.

The Tuscans, as well as the Carthagians, are accused of having behaved to the rude natives of the island in, a very different manner from what they did to the Umbri, on their first establishment in Italy. They drew from them their skilful bowmen, and many bands of hired soldiers. They erected ports in their harbours, where they observed a strict monopoly, and drew from them all their raw materials, to be manufactured in the Italian Peninsula. But they made no attempt to civilize them, and gave them no schools for education. They did not even introduce their religion amongst them; and they rather prided themselves upon keeping up the isolation of the Sardinians, by means of their reputation for rudeness and barbarity, in order to frighten away other nations, and ward off rival settlers.

The defeat of Malcus seems to have been followed by a treaty of peace and alliance: for between the years of Rome, 208 and 214, i. e. from the years of Tarquinia 642 to 648, we find the Etruscan and Carthaginian fleets in common, and as friends, encountering the Phocians, who had so lately built

themselves a fort at Alalia, in order to dispute with them the possession of Cynus or Corsica, and to drive them away from that island.

In this battle, strange to say, they were defeated; but they carried off a number of prisoners; and the upright Cerites, the constant allies of Turrhene Rome, who had joined in this action, carried theirs to Agylla, and stoned them to death.* A famine and pestilence soon after visited the place, which they attributed to the anger of heaven for this deed of cruelty, and as the men they had stoned were Greeks, they sent an expedition to consult the oracle of Delphi, as to what expiation they should make, and they accompanied it by gifts to the treasury of the deity. The Oracle commanded them, every year, to observe games and races, in honour of the slain, which were attended by Herodotus, 130 years afterwards. Were it not that these gifts at Delphi were seen by Pausanias, we should have believed all the games to have been ordered by their own Tuscan Oracles; and had not the victims of their rage been Greeks, we could not have credited any expedition into Greece on their account. It was probably in consequence of this, and another defeat which they sustained at sea, in the bay of Cuma,† in common with the Umbri and Daunii, that they permitted the Phocians to found a colony, or to establish a footing at Velea, close to their own Phistu.

From this time, the Etruscan maritime pre-emi-

* Herod. i. 167.

† Dionys. vii.

nence seems rapidly to have declined, and they experienced one defeat after another from the Opican, Sicilian and Ionian Greeks, until at length, the two people came to be on a perfect equality; so that each wished rather to avoid than to try the strength of the other. We may gather from the treaty of Carthage, that the help of Cuma was sought by Tarquinia and the Tarquinii, against the Volsinian party in the Etruscan league; and that it was Etruscans, in the Plebeian interest, with whom the men of Cuma strove. Notwithstanding the boldness of the Phoceans, and the increasing skill and valour of the Cumæans, the Greeks of this day commonly believed that there was no safety or peace for their vessels beyond the straits of Messina.* Cuma was an ally of Tarquin the Second, and Sardinia and Corsica were from this period, gradually abandoned by the Carthaginians to the Tuscans.

We have, unfortunately, no means of ascertaining whether Arimnos, a king in Etruria, who, according to Pausanias, (v. 12) was the first Barbarian† who offered gifts to Zeus, (i. e. Jupiter,) in Olympus, lived at this time or before it. If we believe him to have been the first who sent gifts to any of the temples in *Grecia Proper*, we must place him long prior to Mastarna, and assign to him a locality in some of those states which carried on the most uninterrupted commerce with Greece. But if the expression only means that he was the first who offered gifts to Iove, as contradistinguished from the sun

* Herodot. vi.

† Vol. i. 107:

god of Delphi, then his æra is more likely to fall about this time, or during the periods of the first and second Tarquins, when the worship of the corresponding divinity was extended by the Tuscans in Italy. If, as is generally allowed by ancient mythologists, the sun was first worshipped as the symbol of the Supreme being, and idols were afterwards made as a sort of earthly personification of the divine Sun, then Talna, Tianus, Jupiter, Zeus, Apollo, and many more chief divinities, were all, in their origin, emblems of one and the same thing, named according to the tongues of the different nations, and, in their early records, were often put one for the other. The Epul and Aplu of Etruria, the Apollo of the Greeks, is frequently translated by Dis-pater.*

Mastarna had the funeral of an Etruscan prince, though the Patricians would gladly have omitted it, and Livy says that the surname of "Superbus," was given to the Tarquinius who succeeded him, because, when consulted about it, he scornfully answered that Servius might dispense with a funeral, as Romulus had done before him. A tumult was threatened, when the people saw his image carried behind his bier,† but they were quieted by the face being covered over. Another legend says, that Tarquinius did not dare to bury him, for fear of a revolt, and that his wife took charge of his funeral, and laid him in his own sepulchre. His wife was a Tarquinian princess, and could command many

* Müller.

† Ovid. Fasti, vi.

sepulchres. Mastarna himself could have had none to call his own, in Rome, unless he followed the Egyptian plan of preparing it in his lifetime, which the legend of Porsenna's tomb makes likely to have been the custom.

His wife died very soon after, and was laid in the same grave, and the Plebeians kept an annual festival in remembrance of him, in the great temple of Diana Aventina.

During the forty-four years which we have been considering, the extraordinary philosopher Pythagoras taught in the south of Italy. Some Italian authors say that he was an Etruscan,* brought up at Samos; others, that he taught in Etruria; and others, that his parents were Etruscan, and settled in Samos. At any rate, his doctrines and manner of thinking have a striking coincidence with the Etruscan, but he added to them much Eastern wisdom, and elucidated consequences from the truths which he learnt, in a way far beyond his age, and still more beyond the intellect of his successors, to retain. How much of this was due to his own masterly genius, and how much to the learning of the Egyptian, Chaldean, and Hindu Magi, amongst whom he travelled, and from whom he sought instruction, we have no Eastern historian now to detail. But it is certain that he explored the wonders of science, deeper than even the Hebrews, or any other learned Easterns, with whose opinions we are acquainted, seem ever to have done before him.

* See Tiraboschi Maffei, and Guarnacci in loco.

He carried letters of recommendation from his own sovereign Polycrates, to Amosis, the Pharaoh of Egypt, who graciously received and protected him: so that he associated with the court, and with the learned in that country, and was taught to read and write the hieroglyphics, in which he afterwards instructed his disciples, and in reference to which, they boasted that they could correspond in cyphers with men in all quarters of the globe. He visited India and the Gymnosophists, and his name is still remembered amongst the Bramins. He taught the plurality of worlds, and that the earth revolves around the sun; the unity of the divine being, the immortality of the soul, and the responsibility of man. His religion was a compound of the Etruscan and Egyptian, for he believed in the Dii Majores, the deified heroes, and the Inferus of the one; and the transmigration of souls and Metempsychosis of the other. He finally settled at Crotona, where he reclaimed the inhabitants from habits of luxury and indolence, and where he established schools, which produced, in time, the greatest philosophers this world has ever seen; Plato and Aristotle having both been Pythagoreans.

But our chief reason for naming him here, is not only to show the knowledge with which the Tuscans must have been in continual contact, for all authors agree that Pythagoras either taught in Etruria, or learnt from her schools: but because a theory has lately been started by very learned oriental scholars, that he was the first man who brought the

alphabetical letters into Greece. The Greek native tradition is unvarying, that their letters came from the East, and that their first alphabet was Phœnician: nor do we think it difficult to prove, that—Aleph א, Beth ב, Gimel ג; Alpha Α, Beta Β, Gamma Γ, have one common root. But though it should be a truth, (and this we do not dispute,) that the Greek and the ancient Hindu Pali letters are the same, it does not therefore follow that the Pythagoras of Samos and Crotona, who lived in the days of Mastarna, was the first man who introduced them. It would throw too deep a shade over the whole of western history. Niebuhr believes that there were many Pythagorases, as there were many Budhs; and some Pythagoras six hundred years earlier may have brought these letters to the west, through Phœnicia.

Moreover, if the Ionian Greeks and the Palis of Hindustan were, as orientalists affirm, the same people, is it not much more likely that the alphabet should have migrated with them, than that an intelligent and civilized people, warred upon, as the Scriptures and the monuments of Egypt certify to us that they were, by Cyrus, and the monarchs of Chaldea, and the magnificent Pharaohs, should have continued illiterate amongst the scientific and deeply learned nations by which they were surrounded? Pliny (vii. 56) gives us the original Greek alphabet, and says that four additional letters, with compound sounds, were added to it at the time of the Trojan war, and that

the whole was completed by Simonides, a Greek traveller and philosopher, about this very period.

The Etruscan alphabet was not identical with the Greek, having no D or G. But it was derived from the same source, and it was probably the older of the two. Even were it not so, and we think the question cannot admit of a doubt, the Etruscan literature, such as it was, might lay claim to a far more ancient date than the time of Servius; for Niebuhr pronounces that their monumental alphabet in Italy, is the successor of a much older hieroglyphic, still preserved in their numbers.—i. ii. iii. iiii. These are signs of the Ogham alphabet, they belong also to the arrangement of the arrow-headed, and they show a resemblance to part of the system of the Mexicans. The Eugubian tables of the Umbri and Tusci ought, indeed, to set the Pythagorean question at rest, as far as Italy is concerned. The laws of Servius were engraved, in the old Etruscan letters, like the Greek, upon brazen tables, in order that they might be read and kept in remembrance, and that they might thus assume the aspect of fixed and sacred things.

Niebuhr remarks, with amazement, upon the quantity of writing which these laws imply, and concerning the genuineness of which he intimates no doubt. Fifty bronze tables upon which they were engraved, were destroyed by Tarquinius Superbus, in a fit of passion. Besides these, a volume of commentaries was preserved, in conformity with which, Livy says, the first Consuls were chosen; and Festus quotes so

much from them, as to show that they contained a detailed account of the Servian constitutions. The treaty with Carthage, made twenty-five years later, was engraved upon brazen tables, at the Capitol, in the same so-called Greek letters; and in consequence of the language, the spelling, and the foreign characters, not a Roman cotemporary of Polybius could read them. It is to him that we are indebted, for our knowledge of their existence.* They were unintelligible to Cicero, and are mentioned by Valerius Flaccus.

We have already expressed our opinion that the oldest governing race in Hindustan, and the first Rasena, sprung from the same stock and emigrated from the same regions; and these literal characters form one of the grounds upon which this opinion is based.

If we now pause a moment to cast our eyes upon the state of mankind in Asia, during the rule of Etruria over Rome, we shall see what great events had taken place in that quarter of the world; and how old the human race had there become. Twenty-six dynasties, some of them of dazzling glory, had passed away in Egypt, and she was almost in her dotage before Greece was well out of her cradle, before the dramatic poets had written, before the great artists had arisen, and when the laws of Solon were scarcely accepted, and were looked upon with suspicion, and reserved for trial. Without other testimony, we might learn the esti-

* Polyb. iii. 23.

mation in which Egypt, Chaldea, and India, were held at this period, and prior to it; because all the Greek sages, without exception, travelled to some or all of these regions, in order to import instruction thence. Before the death of Mastarna, the Hebrew story was near its close, and the whole canon of the Old Testament, with the exception of Nehemiah, and four of the minor prophets, was completed. What a body of divinity, what a mass of historical testimony, did not the Hebrew people then possess? They had the five books of Moses, the Psalms of David, the Wisdom of Solomon, the sublime poetry of Isaiah, (before which even Homer must bow with reverence) unequalled by all else that has ever breathed from human lips. The mournful sweetness of Jeremiah, the fiery strains of Ezekiel, the angel-eyed prophecies of Daniel, piercing to the very end of time; all these and much more had long ere this, been the heritage of the children of Abraham, and they themselves were now captives in the hands of their enemies, and oppressed exiles amongst the provinces of Assyria.

We leave it to more competent judges and able scholars to decide, whether this people, so remarkable beyond all the other children of Adam, for the tenacity with which they have ever observed their own customs, and so superstitious by nature as well as by habit, were likely to change their own sacred letters, in which the finger of Jehovah himself had written the great commandments of the law, in order to adopt the characters of their heathen

victors; and whether the Hebrew letters of Ezra were, indeed, the characters of those victors, seeing that the oldest Chaldean and Babylonish inscriptions are of a form widely different?

The story of Ezra having changed the Hebrew alphabet, rests on the authority of one Jew, of the second century of the christian æra. It is very difficult to believe that the holy Tetragrammaton was ever otherwise written than it is now, and still more so, that its ancient form should nowhere have been preserved. It is beyond parallel, that we should have no relic remaining of such a vast body of writing as the ancient Hebrew scriptures; not even the old letters preserved in their numerals, as is the case with every other nation. Our English letters and language are much changed since the time of Alfred; but the Saxon bible of Alfred is still to be seen, and this after a lapse of a thousand years, whilst the Jews were only seventy years in bondage, and those who so elaborately transcribed all their scriptures, must have been very well able to read and understand them. Every civilized nation in the world has always had a learned priesthood, for the sake of preserving its peculiar mysteries, and its ancient records; nor is our credulity capable of admitting that this should have been abolished in Judea alone. If the Israelites really changed their literal characters, it is a phenomenon which still requires explanation, and the more so, as not very many years before the captivity, Josiah the king, found one of those ancient copies written by Moses himself, and

at that time the whole nation was able to decypher it without any difficulty.

It is certain that the world had many different alphabets, much history, much poetry, and many codes of laws, long before the time of which we write. Ere Mastarna expired under the car of the furious Tullia, Nineveh the great had fallen, and mighty Babylon was near her doom. Resen lay in ruins, Tyre, the lady of kingdoms, and the princely Sidon, were both in the dust; and Jerusalem, the holy and the beautiful, was trodden down of the Gentiles, until her time should be fulfilled. "Her palaces were desolate, her children wept in chains." The kingdom of Israel had passed away for ever, and her ten tribes were already in a captivity, from whence they have never returned. Cyrus, the most romantic of characters, had run his career of discipline, self-denial, and conquest; and Cræsus, his cotemporary, the richest of all kings next to Solomon, and one of the most prosperous in that elevated station, after subduing Asia Minor suddenly disappeared before his rising star.

The fate of these empires, and the fortunes of these illustrious masters of nations, were certainly well known to the Egyptians and the far trading Phœnicians and Carthaginians. Nay, they were themselves actors and sufferers, in most of the transactions by which the destiny of the ancient world was decided. Their constant national intercourse, and the very travels of the learned Greeks, the inquiries and researches, for instance, of such men as

Pythagoras, tended to keep up a mutual knowledge of all such great transactions throughout the most civilized people of Asia and Europe. We know that Etruria traded with Egypt from the days of Tarchun onwards, and with Carthage from the time that it first became a commercial power; until they too, in their turn, sank before a younger and more vigorous nation.

Hence we may be assured, that the Etruscans had learnt many traditions of these great events, and that they possessed considerable advantages beyond what fell to the share of other European nations, of advancing in sciences of all kinds, and of keeping up the knowledge of great fundamental spiritual truths, which, in their turn, they communicated to the rest of Europe. It is an old proverb, that knowledge (even Grecian knowledge) came from the east, and had its fountain there. Tarchun was taught in the east. Italy owed its civilization to Tarchun, and Europe to Italy. And then again, Italy kept up her civilization, and did not quench its light in the surrounding barbarism; because her communication with the east was unceasingly maintained from generation to generation, by the ships and the writing of central Etruria.

CHAPTER IX.

SECOND TARQUINIAN DYNASTY IN ROME.*

Reign of Tarquinius Superbus—His character—He puts to death and banishes the chiefs of the party of Mastarna—He degrades the Junian house—His personal kindness to its chief—Opposition of Herdonius to Tarquin—His fate—Tarquinius becomes supreme in Latium—Sextus Tarquinius at Gabii—Etruscan colonies in the north—Victory of the Cumæans over the united northern, Etruscan, and Umbrian host—Aristodemus—Great works of Tarquinius—Libri Fatales—Severity of Tarquinius' rule—Embassy to Delphi—Intrigues of Junius Brutus—Story of Lucretia—Revolution in Rome—Exile of Tarquinius, his family, and adherents—Brutus at the head of the government—Laws of Servius Mastarna followed—Oath taken against the Tarquini—Origin of the office of Rex Sacrorum.

PERIOD OF TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS.

B. C. 534 YEAR OF TARQUINIA 653.

DURING the twenty-five years following the triumph of the Plebeian interest under Mastarna throughout the thirty tribes of Turrhenia, Latium,

* Authorities: Livy i. 49—60, ii.; Dionysius Halicar. iv. v. Ancient History xi. 352, &c. xvi. 85; Arnold's History of Rome; Niebuhr Rom. Gesch. i.; Plutarch in Pop.

and Sabina, which were assigned to the Roman government, we have no accounts of any part of Etruria separate from the history of that border state. Modern antiquarians believe that the supremacy of Tarquinia, over the Etruscan League was re-established, when Tarquinius Superbus mounted the frontier throne; and that the opposite party, secretly fostered by Volsinia and Clusium, existed and struggled, but were kept down, until the Romans freed themselves altogether from the yoke of Tarquinia, and Clusium gave a blow to that proud state which she never recovered. The Roman annals are so grossly falsified, that it is impossible, by their means, to trace out the real events of Italian cotemporary history; and it is only when probability agrees with testimony that we can at all believe their record.

Tarquinius of Tuscan blood, either a conquering chief from Tarquinia, or else a descendant or kinsman of the Tarquinian Lucius and Tanaquil, along with his wife, the proud, revengeful, and hated Tullia, mounted by violence the Roman throne. The irritated Patricians had supported him against their enemy, Mastarna, but Tarquin, though he secured the friendship of many of them throughout his reign, and was followed by a number of their powerful families* when obliged to retire into exile, never consulted the senate, nor paid any respect to the peculiar Roman laws. He was a great prince, and a great general; he improved his city, defeated

* Dion. vi.

her enemies, confirmed her alliances, and, according to their own confession after his deposition, he was kind to the mass of her poor. But with all this he was a tyrant. He obeyed no laws but his own caprice, and when he acted rightly it was because it happened to be his own pleasure, and not because he owned submission to any higher principles. From the moment that this was discovered by all classes of men, Tarquin became an object of general fear and distrust; and amongst a people so ruled by law and religion as the Italians, he might have foretold his own fall. His first act was to clear the senate, as far as possible, of the supporters of Mastarna; some by death, some by confiscation, and some by such studied insolence as to drive them into voluntary exile. As was to be expected, he abolished all the laws of Servius Mastarna, preserving only his military array, and the disposition of the Plebeians into classes. He anxiously desired that all these laws should be repealed.* He broke fifty of the brazen tables on which they were written in a fit of passion, besides forbidding all assemblies of the Plebeians at feast or festival, and all the loved holidays of the Paganalia and Compitalia.

The exiled Patricians retired chiefly to Gabii, where there was a Tuscan college, and a magnificent temple of Tuscan architecture, dedicated to the Rasenan Kupra, or Talna—the Latin Juno. One of the nobles whom Tarquin put to death was Junius, born of a Latin stock, but Tarquin's own

* Dion. iv.

uncle, according to the legend: and with that uncle he also executed his eldest son. The Junian house must not only have opposed his elevation, but must have caballed against him afterwards; for he did not destroy it till the fourth year of his reign, and then he razed its name from the Curiae, and degraded the surviving son, his younger nephew, (as the legend calls him, but more properly his cousin,) Junius, to the rank of a Plebeian, giving him the name of Brutus, and depriving him of the privileges of his blood, although he permitted him to retain the wealth of his family. Brutus, after the expulsion of the Tarquins, said he had feigned stupidity for twenty years. When he made this declaration he had two grown-up sons,* whose mother was Vitellia, a Patrician lady belonging to a rich family, and this family had lived, and still continued to live, in terms of intimacy with the Tarquinii. Brutus must therefore have been a married man at the time he was degraded, and his relationship to the Vitellii was an additional reason for the kindness personally and uniformly shown him by the Tarquinii. As a Plebeian, Brutus could not have married into any Patrician family.

The apparently harsh treatment which Junius suffered in the degradation of his house was undoubtedly the law of nations for treason in those days, even as it is now. And it had precisely the same effect on Junius, as an incapacitation which he felt to be unjust had previously had upon Mas-

* Livy ii.

tarna, and as, in a faint measure, it has upon our own Irish, somewhat similarly circumstanced, dispossessed by Cromwell and other English usurpers. It converted Junius into a furious patriot, and made him resolved upon acquiring supreme power, in order to overturn his oppressor, and to raise the Plebeians, now his own class, into that oppressor's place. Brutus, the agnomen of Junius, means, in Oscan, "a slave," and is merely another term for "Servius," "the slave," "the Plebeian," "the degraded one." Both Servius and Brutus made their degraders turn pale at the echo of the names which were thus bestowed upon them in scorn, and kept these names as titles of honour. The Tarquinian prince was, notwithstanding his severity to the father, extremely kind to his nephew, Junius. He brought him up with his own sons, entertained him in his own palace, and finally exalted him to a place which it was not lawful for any Plebeian to occupy. He made him *Tribunus Celerum*, master of the royal guard, head of the Curiae, third in rank under the king; and though the Patricians felt this as an act of arbitrary power, and complained that it was done in contempt of their privileges, they suffered the appointment, because Junius had a right to it by birth, though none by law; and they may have even in some degree, exulted in it, as a noble act of liberality and forgiveness. Brutus himself felt no gratitude, for his mind was one of dark, severe ambition; and his habitual gloom and taciturnity deceived alike the

king, who thought that he could not be dangerous, and his own countrymen, who deemed that one so phlegmatic could have no pretensions to energy, talent, or capacity.

The Tarquinian prince renewed his league with Etruria, the Latins, and the Hernicans, and with all these states he had peace. As Gabii had received his discontented subjects, and as the Volsci threatened his dominions and southern Turrhenia with war, he entreated that a full meeting of the Latins and their allies might be held at Feronia, in order to consult upon what measures were proper to be pursued for the common safety. His object was to raise an army without delay, and to be named its general. There was one man, Turnus Herdonius, the prince of Aricia—which was then the first of the Latin towns, and one possessed of a small commercial fleet—who not only opposed Tarquin, but who could not brook that the Latins should suffer a foreigner to command them. They had allowed or ceded the privilege to Tullus Hostilius of Rome, to Lucius of Tarquinia, and to Mastarna the Plebeian of Volsinia; but Herdonius fancied that the time was now come when the changed government of Rome gave them a fair plea for breaking their often-repeated treaties,—and indeed these treaties were not binding until renewed by the recently appointed sovereign.

On the day fixed for discussing this subject, the Latin princes assembled early, but Tarquin did not appear until late, alleging, in excuse, some legal

business which had detained him. Herdonius* sneered at his excuse, said it was an affront to the Latin princes, and openly reproached him with being a foreigner. As the time for business was already passed, the council agreed to reassemble on the following day. Tarquin of course had been much offended, and he resolved to overthrow Herdonius, his rival and opponent, which he accomplished by means of a disaffected party in Aricia itself, and by reason of the proximity of that town to the place of meeting. The domestic enemies of Herdonius, at Tarquin's instigation, brought swords and arms, which they concealed in the quarter where he lodged; and next day Tarquin rebuked his intemperance and pride, and said that he knew he had come prepared to destroy all the chiefs at that meeting, in order to secure the sovereignty, and that his followers were armed for that purpose. He attributed his aversion to himself, to his having refused him his daughter in marriage, and to his having bestowed her instead, on Mamilius, the prince of Tusculum, a sort of half kindred blood; for Tusculum was in its remote origin a colony of the Tuscans, and was always, from henceforward, a leading member in the Latin Diet, and one of the few towns that preserved, through long ages, a state of independence. Herdonius haughtily answered, that if arms were found concealed in his tents, he was content to be guilty. Search was made, and the swords produced, upon which the exasperated

* Livy i.

Latins fell upon Herdonius, bound him, threw him into the spring of Feronia, (the goddess of freemen,) and placed a hurdle over him, until he was drowned. Tarquin was received with acclamations, and became, as the great Lucius and Mastarna had been before him, general of the Latin forces.

Forty-seven chiefs of Latium and her allies,* the Hernici and Volsci, had met here to settle the weighty matter of the dictatorship; but Gabii was not amongst them, and she presently declared war, and carried it on for seven years in spite of all the force that Tarquin could command against her, doubtless being supported by many of the Tuscan Plebs, as well as by the Roman exiles and her own dependencies.

Tarquin persuaded the Latin princes to contribute together, in order to build a magnificent Tuscan temple to Jupiter, or Tianus, upon the Mount of Alba, which should be a solemn and festive place of meeting for them and their allies, and they agreed to build it as they had done the temple of Tiana on the Aventine, each state bearing its own proportion of the expense, and contributing its own share of the sacrifice.† The form and workmanship of this temple were Tuscan, which, close to the ruins of Turrhene Alba, need not surprise us, and, owing at once to its architect and its author, it was always called the work of Tarquin. He and his house, in virtue of it, became Isopolite with all the contributing cities. The confederates who joined to

* Dion. iv. ; Nieb. ii. n. 63.

† Dion. iv. vi.

build it agreed to meet here once every year, on a day which was fixed by proclamation, but usually corresponding with our 27th of April.* Here they were to join in sacrifice, and the Roman chief was to offer up the bull. They were to discuss politics, and to hold one of the great Italian fairs; and these festive meetings, which lasted six days†—three for Latium and three for Alba—and during which no work was lawful, were called the Latia, or Feriæ of Latins, and were henceforth held at the temple of Jupiter Latialis. Forty-seven princes attended from the Latins in their several divisions, and from their allies. The members of this diet were the Turrheni, Sabines, Hernicans, Marsi, Equi, and sometimes Volsci. Each deputy received a portion of the sacrifice, to take home to his own state, and each brought his own share of offerings, consisting of lambs, milk, cheese, and cakes. The ascent to the Alban Temple was a Via Sacra for triumphs under their Dictators,‡ and was used by the Roman generals when they commanded the Latin legions. The troops then saluted the general as Embratur. Tarquin was the first Embratur who triumphed in this new temple, and the last united Roman and Tyrrhenian king.

One of Tarquin's present objects was to command in the war between Latium and the non-confederate or malcontent of the Volsci, who were endeavouring to extend their territory further to the north, and

* Nieb.

† Dion. iv.

‡ Nieb. ii. n. 64.

who, for the three following centuries, slowly but continually gained upon the Latins, and upon such of the Tyrrheni as lay between the Tiber and Opica. Tarquin offered them peace, through the Feciales; but his terms were refused. He therefore not only called out his troops, according to the classification of Mastarna, but doubled all his regiments with the Latins, and brought a strong force against the chief, that is, the richest and strongest city of the Volsci, and finally took it by storm. It was treated as a rebellious town, which had revolted from him, its lawful sovereign; for he whipped to death or beheaded all the senate, consisting of three hundred of the principal inhabitants. He delivered the spoil of it to the army, and he reserved a tenth to contribute to his great temple of Turrhene Jupiter in Rome.* This rich captive Volscian city is called by Livy, Suessa Pometia; but Niebuhr (ii. n. 186) does not believe that Pometia ever had any greatness to boast of, and says that it was more probably Suessa Auruncia, the Auruncians being Volscians. He defeated his adversaries at all points, and, in order to keep them in check, sent colonies to Circeii and Signia, (now Segni,) of which he made his sons, Titus and Aruns, (both being Etruscan names,) governors. Dionysius says that these young men were sent to head two distinct bodies of his suffering and complaining subjects, after a pestilence; but whatever was the cause of the colonies, these two places now became Turrhene Roman.

* Livy v. 54.

and this colonization, under the young and brave Tarquinian princes, is the origin of all the claims which the Romans ever laid to these possessions.

Tarquin had some dispute with the Sabines, whom he made tributary, and then he turned his attention to the war with Gabii. This well-fortified and romantic city, the stronghold of his own rebels, would not yield, and his third son, Sextus, or, as Müller gives it amongst the Tuscan names, "Sethre," undertook to do that by fraud, which force failed to accomplish. He feigned to take the part of the Plebs against his father; upon which the old king ordered him to be whipped, and he retreated, with shame, from the city, and pled the old grounds of Isopolity with Rome in order to gain admission into Gabii. He was welcomed by the Gabini and the Roman malcontents, because he was known to be a man of great military talent and capacity, and he led them against Superbus with constant success, until at length they elected him their general and dictator, and put unlimited power into his hands. The legend says that he sent to his father to know how he should act further, and that the elder Tarquin, instead of answering, took the messenger out with him into his garden, where, walking on in silence, he cut off, as he passed them, the heads of all the tallest poppies. He then told the man that he could give no advice, but to be sure to tell his son what he had done in the garden. Sextus understood that he, in silence, was to rid himself of all the chief exiles in Gabii, and accord-

ingly, under one pretence or other, he got the Gabine senate to ruin or kill them.

This story Niebuhr imagines to be a mere copy of the tale of Zopyrus, from Herodotus. (iii. 154.) But, as men in the same circumstances, in all parts of the world, are apt to conduct themselves in the same manner, there is nothing unlikely in Superbus having allegorically advised, and Sextus followed, this method, even should the poppies have been suggested by the story of Herodotus, and have been invented to exemplify it. We only refrain from tracing many passages of the Roman history to transpositions from the Israelitish, because we have every reason to believe that the early Roman annalists were quite ignorant of that history, and therefore that remarkable likenesses are coincidences, and not copies.

Who, for instance, is not reminded of the rape of the Sabines when he reads of the rape of the virgins by the outlawed Benjamites; of the Horatii and Curatii, in the tale of the champions of Abner and Joab; and of the rape of Lucretia when he reads the story of Tamar? Can we sometimes forbear suspecting that the spolia opima of Acron was taken from the spolia opima of Saul; or that the arms of Servius's first class, the helmets and greaves of brass, the coat of mail, the target, the sword and spear of iron, are not a copy of the arms of Goliath and the Philistines? When we read of bows and arrows, slings, and javelins, war-chariots, and shields of gold, can we forbear thinking of the Syrians?

Does not Saul, ruthlessly condemning Jonathan to death, remind us of Brutus? Does not the public funeral of Abner make us think of the funereal rites of the distinguished warriors amongst the Italians? And does not the young prophet, who was buried in a cave, and an inscription written over the entrance of it, bring to our memories the sepulchres of Castel d'Asso?

At the end of seven years of war and strife, Sextus made a highly honourable peace for the Gabini with Superbus, securing to them their own laws, privileges, and independent jurisdiction, on the payment of a moderate tribute, and giving to them the Roman franchise, which was probably possessed by all the twelve states of Etruria also. This treaty,* written on a bull's hide, and stretched on a wooden shield, was hung up and preserved until the times of the empire, in the temple of Sancus, or Jupiter Fides, erected by Numa.

Tarquin's three sons were now governors of Signia, Antium, and Gabii; and the whole of Sabina, Latium, Volscia, and Turrhenia, were at peace with Rome. Yet, as we observed under Mastarna, so we observe now,—the temple of Janus was not shut; and indeed, though the peace was outward, it was not inward, and the contending and opposing parties of Patricians and Plebeians were hating and struggling against each other as much as ever.

Müller says that at this period the colonies of the Tuscans in Opica were very numerous, and their

* Dion.; Livy i. 53.

League to the south was in its strength. At the same time they spread themselves northward as Rhaeti, up to Etsch, Verona, Trent, Val Venosa, Engadden, the Rhinethal, and the Tyrol. In these mountain districts, however, they became quite a different people from the stock whence they sprung,—the civilized inhabitants of the rich cities of the Po. They were manly, upright, and brave, but their high cultivation gradually disappeared; or rather, it is most probable that no highly cultivated bodies of the nation ever migrated so far. They became in time assimilated with the Gauls, and with the mountain races of those regions, and even their language lost its purity. Elitovius, the Gaulish leader, is believed to have invaded Etruria Nova in or before this reign, and to have occasioned some hard fighting in the neighbourhood of Trent and Brixen, where he finally succeeded in settling himself and his followers. Still these Gauls made little difference in the condition of the Padus-land Tuscans, unless, indeed, they were the means of driving so many bands of them out of communication with their countrypeople. The Rhaeti were forced into the mountains, and mountain vallies of Italy and the Tyrol by the Gauls, as the Gauls themselves, when inhabitants of Britain, were driven by the Saxons into the mountains of Cornwall, Wales, and Scotland.

But besides this, some tribes of the Gaulish nation penetrated along the course of the Po to the shores of the Adriatic, making themselves masters of Felsina and Adria. By means of

rapid and uninterrupted victory, they spread a panic amongst the Tuscans, and drove a multitude of them to embark for the more friendly and peaceful regions of the south. If we credit Dionysius, (vii.) some went by land, asking a passage through the country they traversed, and some by sea. The whole coast was their own, in virtue of their alliance with the Umbri, until they came to Cape Garganus; and here it is likely both divisions of the fugitives had appointed a reunion. We are told that an enormous horde of five hundred thousand foot and eighteen thousand horse, poured from this quarter into Opica, and passing by the settlements of their own blood in Capena, Falerium, and Vulturnum, appeared before Cuma, and threatened it with a siege. They were attracted by the fertility and prosperity of the land, and its supposed incapability of resistance. Whether the Tuscans of Vulturnum suggested this course, or whether, in the conference at Garganus, it had been resolved upon, that the army and the vessels of the Tusci should again assemble here, and, by possessing themselves of Cuma, give the whole of that part of Italy to their kindred, of whose League they were then to become a part, we cannot determine. We have, alas! only such occasional gleams of light upon the history of the northern and southern Leagues as to give us a faint idea of how important many of those events may have been, of which we are left in total ignorance. But we know that the Cumæans dreaded an attack by sea, both because it

is expressly mentioned that the Tuscans wished to possess themselves of the port of Misenum, and because the Greeks left the third portion of their troops to guard the vessels in their own harbour, when they could very ill be spared from the field of battle.

The terrified and surprised Cumæans, who had believed themselves at peace with all their neighbours, suddenly found their fields, within a few miles of the city, covered by an army they could not number. It consisted of the northern Etruscans and their inseparable allies, the Umbri, with whom the Daunii, a less known and much less civilized race, had now joined. Report said that upwards of five hundred thousand barbarians had come to overwhelm the Greeks, and fear and vanity gave full credit to the report. But, besides that the estimate seems incredible, it would include within its number the women, children, and slaves of all who had now quitted their northern homes. If we suppose the fighting men to have formed one-twentieth part of this number, it is probably too much, and they would cover quite sufficient ground for the Greeks to believe in any exaggeration, however monstrous. The senate of Cuma, in all haste, summoned their men to arms, and divided them into three bands,—one to oppose the enemy, another to guard the city, and form a reserve, and the third to protect the fleet. The commander of their cavalry, Hippomedon, was a man of tried experience and valour, and, as second to him, they placed the young Aristodemus, surnamed Malakos, or Soft, the promising heir of

one of their most distinguished houses, notwithstanding that effeminate habits are believed to have conferred upon him this not very honourable title. As his whole life afterwards was one of hardy warfare and military talent, he probably retained it with the same feelings of bravado and insulted pride, as Servius and Brutus had retained theirs.

When the Tuscans had pitched their camp near the devoted city, many prodigies alarmed both them and the Greeks. The rivers Vulturnus and Clanis turned back from the sea to their sources, and the storms of thunder and lightning were so terrific that they felt assured there was warfare even in the heavens upon their account. Their seers, on being consulted, wisely said that they predicted confusion to the invaders, who should be turned back to the sources whence they came; and in this manner the phenomena common to earthquakes were made to inspire the Cumæans with courage, and to assure them of victory. When the leaders, however, counted their host, their hearts sank at the smallness of the force which they could muster. Only four thousand foot and five hundred horse could be raised to oppose the countless multitude of their invaders. But we are told that before any engagement, they managed to draw them into narrow vallies, enclosed by mountains, and full of swamps, so that numbers were of no avail, and only a small force could act with any effect in such a situation. Moreover, the Cumæans knew the ground, of which their enemies were totally igno-

rant; and they attacked them by night, and threw them into a disorder for which there was no remedy. The four thousand would probably have been a match even for the host which they imagined, and much more for those who were really on the field. The Tuscans and their allies, as soon as they had recovered themselves, came on with a shout; but they were soon struggling in the swamps, a mark for the Cumæan arrows, or, in their endeavours to escape, they trod down each other; and what with the darkness and confusion, more fell by their own swords than by those of their enemies.

The horse appear to have engaged by daylight, when Aristodemus distinguished himself beyond all his countrymen, and killed the enemy's general with his own hand. To his high courage and military talent the victory was owing, assisted by the swamps and by the gods, who graciously sent so violent a thunder-storm in the faces of the Tuscan cavalry, that, not being able to resist at once the forces of heaven and earth, they turned and fled. They obeyed the decree which their augurs assured them fate had issued. They returned to their source, or at least to their kindred, amongst whom they dispersed and settled. They abandoned Cuma, but their land and sea forces united in an attack upon the Phlegræan fields, which had once belonged to the Tuscans. These they conquered, and there they established themselves; and this territory never belonged to Cuma afterwards.

When the deliverance of Cuma was complete, the

Greek captains were called up in order that they might receive the thanks of their countrymen and the rewards of victory. But now arose a dispute whether the first prize was due to Aristodemus or to Hippomedon. All the soldiers agreed that it had been gained by the merits of the former, but the senate, who feared and disliked him, adjudged it to the latter; whereupon it was divided. Aristodemus, however, was not satisfied. He considered this act, as one of prejudice and ingratitude never to be forgiven, and he henceforth looked upon himself as an injured man. Upon all occasions, in future, he headed the cause of the people against the senate, thus keeping up and daily widening the breach between him and them.

Twenty years after this time, the irritated senate thought that they had compassed his destruction, as will be related in a subsequent chapter. But the snare which they laid for him was the means of accomplishing their own ruin, and of raising him to the throne of Cuma. The battle of Cuma was fought in the seventh year of Tarquinius Superbus, whilst that prince was warring with the Volsci. Dionysius dates it in the sixty-fourth Olympiad, whilst Miltiades ruled in Athens. The victory of Aricia, which eventually gave to Aristodemus the sovereignty of his native state, four Olympiads later, also enabled him to give an asylum to Tarquin and his family; so that this aged prince passed the last days of his restless and eventful life with a devoted ally and sympathizing friend. He is said to have

testified his sense of this hospitality by appointing Aristodemus heir to his remaining wealth, a heritage which he did not long live to enjoy.

Tarquin in frontier Rome, after the manner of all the Tuscan kings, employed his time of rest and his spoils of war, in beautifying and improving his capital city, in which his own palace was one of the finest buildings. He completed the gigantic common sewers, and he raised the magnificent temple for which Tarquin the Ancient, had collected the materials. The first stone* was laid amid flowers, and music, and sacrifice, an assembled priesthood, an approving nobility, and a shouting concourse of glad multitudes. But ere they laid it, a bleeding human head, yet warm, was drawn from the soil;† and the king, who must have ordered it to be placed there, demanded of the augur, Olenus Calenus, the Tuscan, what such a spectacle denoted; he looking at his prince, thinking of his nation, and of the national gods, in honour of whom this temple was to be raised, said, it portended that the people who ruled there should be the head of Italy. This interpretation is given by the eagle-eyed Niebuhr, who asserts that the augur did not mean the Roman nation, but his own, the Tuscan. This magnificent temple was equal to those of Pæstum, according to the same paramount authority, and was begun and completed by Tarquin the Proud. In consequence of the finding of this head, the name of the mount on which the temple was

* See vol. i. p. 152.

† Dion. iv. ; Plin. xxviii. 2.

built, was changed from Saturnia and Tarpeia, to "Capitol, or, Caput-Toli, the head of Tulus; and the temple was called that of Jupiter Capitolinus. Arnobius says, that the head was that of Tulus Vulcentanus. Does this mean some unfortunate Ærarian or Isopolite of Vulci? He was, doubtless, some well-known character of that day, obnoxious to the king, who, being a tyrant at any rate, is accused of offering human sacrifices,* and of many other useless cruelties of an eastern stamp. Eusebius says, he brought into Rome instruments of torture.

Tarquin did not dedicate this temple, but he finished it entirely, excepting a chariot and four horses in clay, which he intended for the top of the pediment, and which he ordered to be made by the renowned artists of Veii. It covered eight acres of ground, facing south towards the Palatine and the Forum. It was two hundred feet broad, and two hundred and fifteen long, and it stood on the site of the present Palazzo Cafferelli, stretching backwards to the Tarpeian Rock. It was ascended by one hundred steps, divided by spacious landing places, and it consisted of a nave dedicated to Jupiter, and two aisles, in which were placed the shrine and images of Juno and Minerva. The statue of Jupiter was made in clay, by an artist of Fregella of the Volsci, named Turrianus, that is the Tuscan. There is every appearance that at this time, the Volsci were under the dominion of Etruria. Some authors, however, think Fregella has been

* Macrob. vii.

written by mistake for the Tuscan town of Fregene. The temple of Jupiter Capitolinus had large brazen folding doors in the centre, with a magnificent arch, like those of Volterra and Perugia, and it was adorned with Tuscan pillars in three rows, forming a portico in front, and with a single row of pillars which extended on each side. Some idea of it may be formed from the representations on the coins of Vespasian and Domitian, by whom it was restored.

To the lover of antiquity, it is peculiarly precious and interesting as a well-authenticated Tuscan fabric, without any admixture from the Greek, built and adorned by Tuscan artists, and shaped and divided according to the rules of the Tuscan sacred books. Livy says, Superbus built the temple of Jupiter Latialis at Alba, and again, that he built the temple of Jupiter on the Tarpeian, and he speaks of neither the one nor the other as any wonder in their day. Indeed the ruins of multitudes of other temples, of which we never heard in their glory, such as those of Juno at Gabii, Minerva at Sorrentum, and Elythya at Pyrgi, show us that it was only constructed after the common fashion of the time. The reason why we know so much of it in detail, is, not that it exceeded any other in splendour, but that the Roman triumphs were ever afterwards celebrated in it, and that the Greek Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who lived for twenty years in sight of it, wrote a minute account of its form and proportions, for the information of his

countrymen. Tarquin's artists, who were employed to cast and mould, to paint and adorn, to cut the stone, and to make the ornaments of gold, or brass, or wood, were all Etruscan.

Whilst the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was building, a woman of patrician rank and priestly dignity, appeared in Rome. She brought with her nine books, written in verse upon palm leaves, and full of oracles, which she offered to the king as the *Libri Fatales* of his kingdom and temple. She asked a very high price, which Tarquin refused, and ordered her to be driven away. After a year, she returned, having burnt three of her books, and offered to him the remaining six for the same price. He again refused, thinking his living Augurs quite sufficient for all he wished to know concerning the destinies of his kingdom. But upon her returning a third time, (a number sacred to the Tuscans,) and asking exactly the same price for only three of these books, the king gave them to the Augurs, and ordered them to be examined. That the Augurs should have been able to examine them, and should have advised the king to buy them, as of the utmost importance to the prosperity of his kingdom, seems to us positive proof that they were Tuscan. But along with the Tuscan "*Libri Fatales*" were mingled some Greek maxims of wisdom, which the Augurs believed to be from Cuma, and which, moreover, they pronounced to be written in hieroglyphical characters. The king bought the books, and ordered them always to be kept in a cell of his new temple,

and appointed two priests, called *Duumviri*, to take care of them, and of all the others that should in any future time, be added to them. Every city of Etruria had its own *Libri Fatales*, the prophecies of Augurs or Sybils; and in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, we are told, at different times, of the books of the Sabine *Marcii*, of the Latin Sybil *Albunea* of Tibur, and of the Etruscan priestess *Bygöe*.

One direction contained in these books, was, that the Romans, in times of imminent peril, should sacrifice two Greeks and two Gauls, a man and woman of each nation, to the infernal gods. This was certainly not a Greek oracle. Besides these books, the Romans, especially in later times, collected all the Greek prophecies of which they could possess themselves, and had those of *Cuma* and *Erythræa*, and probably many more, amongst their sacred books. The *Duumviri* were made priests of *Apollo*, in order to assimilate them to *Delphi*, but their being so proves nothing as to the books they kept, for we know that the Etruscans considered *Eplu* and *Dispater* to be the same, why not, therefore, *Eplu* and *Zeus*? *Tarquin* caused one *Duumvir* to suffer the punishment of a parricide, for revealing some of the sentences of these books. *Valerius** *Publicola*, in his fourth consulship, consulted the leaves of the Sybil, and was desired to sacrifice to *Manto*, and to renew the *Circensian* games. This, surely, was not a Greek direction.

* *Plutarch*.

In the execution of his great public works, *Tarquin the Proud* was far less considerate of the feelings of his subjects than *Tarquin the Ancient* had been. He patronised no game for their amusement, though the great solemnities of the circus never ceased to be observed. But they were turned into a grand aristocratic military pomp, and were neither intended nor allowed to soften the labours of the people. He once more burdened the *Plebeians* with all the arbitrary taxes, and severe and unjust laws concerning debt, of the early Latin dynasties. He again made clients, freedmen, and slaves, feel the subjection of their stations; and he used hired troops to keep under his own city. Though he had forbidden the meetings of the *Paganalia* and *Compitalia*, he remitted none of the taxes levied at those meetings, but only changed the light and merciful manner in which they had been levied by *Servius*. In short, there was nothing popular, or affable, or joyous in his temperament, and his reign was one of terror. *Livy** and *Dionysius*† say, that he imposed on the poor people heavy tasks, and gave them, as an equivalent, only their food and very small wages. *Pliny*‡ says, they were so oppressed that their lives were bitter to them, and that they considered crucifixion as no worse a punishment than these hated labours.

Tarquin was feared as a man of great power, admired as one of magnificent designs, and respected as one of great capacity, but he was not beloved. He

* i. 32.

† *Dion.* iv.

‡ xxxvi. 15; *Serv. Æn.* xii.

was a tyrant to all, dreaded and suspicious, and his dark and deep-minded nephew, Brutus, bore him a hatred which nothing kindly or social ever attempted to mollify. Tarquin was in the fulness of his dominion, and all around seemed peace. He was seventy-six years of age. He had four sons, three of them governors of strong foreign cities, and one, Lucius or Lucumo, a helper to himself in Rome; he governed the senate, as absolutely and irrespectively as the meanest of the people, and he had made the proud Curiae submit to a Plebeian Tribune, because it was his will to give them one, and yet with all this, Tarquin was not secure or happy.

One day, as he was sacrificing, a snake crept out from his domestic altar, and terrified all his household.* We suspect that this snake was Brutus! The king was exceedingly troubled. He had, after that, a dream, that a pair of eagles, (the royal bird of his house,) built in a palm-tree in his garden. They flew away for food, and when they returned, they found their eaglets tossed out of the nest by vultures,† which were occupying their place, and which drove off the old birds also. The king was troubled yet more. He had yet another dream, and lo! two rams, sprung from one sire, were brought for him, to select before the altar. He made choice of the finest, and immediately the other flew at him, pushed him with his horns, and drove him away.

* Ovid Fasti, ii. 711; Livy i. 56.

† Nieb. i. n. 1101.

At* the same time the sun changed its course and returned from west to east. The old king could not get these strange omens out of his head. He consulted the Tuscan augurs, and they told him to beware of the man who was of his own blood, and silly as a sheep in his actions. Tarquin may have thought of Brutus, but he could not imagine danger from him. No Patrician would ever conspire to place a Plebeian on the throne, and until the Julian house again took its own place amongst the Ramnes, he fancied himself perfectly secure on that side. At length, not satisfied with those wise men, who, alone, Livy† tells us, had explained every previous omen of the Etruscans, to whom, and to whom only, in cases of prodigy, recourse had hitherto been had; the king resolved to send to Delphi, that oracle in Greece sacred to a god acknowledged by the Tuscan nation, and whence the Agyllans had so lately received consolatory counsel respecting their murdered prisoners.

A solemn embassy was accordingly fitted out, and the Agyllans were guides on the way. The governors of Antium and Signia, Titus and Aruns, were required to head the expedition, and to ask counsel in the king's name, and Brutus was sent with them to bear them company, and as the highest officer who could be spared from Rome.

The young men performed their commission, but no author tells us what advice the Pythia sent to the king. Before leaving the shrine, Brutus presented

* Cicero de Divin. i. 22.

† ii.

his offering, which was a thick staff of elder or cornel-wood, an emblem of his baton, as *Tribunus Celerum*. The priestess took it, and found that it contained an ingot of gold. He stood with the two princes, and they inquired which of them should afterwards reign in Rome. The Pythia answered, "He who should first kiss his mother." Junius Brutus pretended to stumble, and kissed the earth, secure in his long-cherished designs, now that the oracle had confirmed them. Zonarus* says, that she declared Tarquin should fall when a dog, meaning the fawning submissive Brutus, should speak with a human voice.

The party returned safely to Italy, and here Brutus, by his position, had every opportunity of fostering the discontents of all classes of people. To the dissatisfied Patricians, when they fretted over laws made without their consent, he would preach submission, lest they should be degraded as he had been. To the Senators, he might apologise, that he, a Plebeian, should be introduced into their august body, as commander of the *Decuriones*, and lament that the ancient *Ramnes*, the first sacred colonizers, should have lost their precedence, and that both *Ramnes* and *Quirites* should have been forced to bow before a man of foreign blood. To the Plebeians he would mourn over the laws of *Servius*; and to the labourers and slaves he would regret that their work was so severe and unceasing; that it was continued beyond their strength; that their pleasures were decreased, and that their pay was so small.

* ii. 4.

Whilst all classes were in the mood, which such sympathy as this would create, Tarquin headed his troops against some town which had revolted, in the neighbourhood of Rome, and which required his presence and a large force for its reduction. Livy says, he wished to win from his adversaries more spoils in order to carry on more public works. The *Lucumo Tarquinius Collatinus*, governor of *Collatia*, and Tarquin's own son, *Sextus*, the governor of *Gabii*, joined his standard, and were one evening during the siege, disputing over the excellence of their respective wives. As their arguments and descriptions, were not likely to settle the superiority of these ladies, the two princes agreed to ride to their own homes, and decide the matter according to the occupations of their wives, thus taken by surprise. *Sextus's* lady was amusing herself with the company of women of her own rank, and as far as we know, she had no call of duty to do otherwise. *Collatinus's* wife, *Lucretia*, the daughter of the governor of Rome, the prince of the senate, and first of the Romans, was found spinning with her maids, and was therefore, because of her self-denied economy, pronounced to be the more worthy.

The princes returned to the camp, but *Sextus* was inflamed with the beauty of *Lucretia*, whom the poets make young and lovely; and he was as tyrannical and unscrupulous in the gratification of his passions as his revengeful mother and haughty father had been before him. After a few days, his passion rather gathering than losing strength, he

returned alone to Collatia, and asked hospitality at the governor's house. Lucretia took him in, and at the dead of night he came to her chamber with a drawn sword. Unable to terrify her by death, he tried dishonour, and swore that if she persisted in her refusal, he would first kill her and then lay a slave by her side, whom he would tell the world he had slain to avenge the honour of her husband. Lucretia yielded, and the next day, when the brutal Sextus returned to the camp, she sent messengers for her father and husband, telling them to come to her instantly, for that a dreadful affair had happened in her house. Lucretius, the governor of Rome, Collatinus, the Prince of Collatia, Volesus, or Valerius, the head of the Titien tribe, and Brutus the Plebeian, yet *Tribunus Celerum*, assembled in consternation at her call, to learn what had happened, hoping or fearing a revolt in Collatia, according to their different dispositions. Lucretia related to them the horrid deed that had been perpetrated, and having made them swear to avenge her, she stabbed herself in their presence, saying that she could not survive her dishonour, nor would they let such another deed be possible, if they were free, and had the hearts of men.

The witnesses of this tragedy were deeply moved ; for so deadly an insult to Patrician blood had never yet been offered in Italy. The Italian, and above all the Etruscan, woman, was a highly honoured being, and was never considered as a tool for the pleasures of men. We quote the Etruscan woman

here, because all the Patricians were educated, to a certain degree, in the prejudices and feelings of the Tuscans ; and Tanaquil, whose influence had effected such great things, still lived in the memories of each of them. Brutus seized the moment as favourable to give vent to his long-suppressed, his deep and burning passions. He drew the dagger from Lucretia's body, and passing it round to his companions, made them renew their oath to avenge her death, to secure the Patrician woman from the lust of tyrants, and to free themselves from the hated yoke which bound them down. They swore, under great excitement, to avenge themselves of Sextus and all his tyrant house ; and in this spirit they had the body of Lucretia exposed in the *Comitium* of Collatia, and invited the young military leaders of that city to rouse their followers, and march with them to Rome. The Romans at first shut their gates, not knowing what to make of the warlike procession ; but when they understood the case, when they saw their own leaders at the head of the company, and when the body of Lucretia was exposed, and the tale was told by Brutus in the Roman forum, with all the glow of hatred, and all the fierceness of a crushed oppression which at last had burst its bonds, the Patricians at once saw their time and their interest, and they sounded with one cry to arms—for liberty, and death to the tyrants. Brutus declared to them that Tarquin had filled the *Cloacæ* with the bodies of the nobles, and had re-

duced the Roman people to be labourers and stone-cutters for the Tuscans.

The wretched Tullia, old and feeble, but unforgiving, haughty, and gloomy, who seems to have mitigated no evil in her husband's administration, and to have gained for him no friends, was forced to fly, amid the execrations of those who made her answerable both for the death of Servius and the iniquity of her treacherous son. Tarquin returned to Rome, but found the gates shut against him; his horror-struck army, roused by the Tribune of the Celeres, the leader of the cavalry, refused to obey him, his people scowled at him with yells of defiance, and his enemies, whom he was on the point of subduing, were now delivered, and allowed to recover from the blockade they had been suffering. Tarquin condemned himself by defending his vile son, and now retired to Cære with his family, and there waited until the Romans should somewhat return to their senses, and he should be able to decide on the proper path to follow. Sextus left him in order to fight for his own cause in Gabii, and there fell a sacrifice to some of the Patricians whom he had offended. It is most natural to believe that Collatinus led troops against him, and procured his overthrow; but nothing in the whole of Livy's narrative is more wonderful than the supineness and feebleness of this injured man, who had within his veins the hot and fierce blood of the proud and brave Tarquinii. With Sextus, ended the

connexion between Rome and Gabii, and for the present, between Gabii and Tarquinia. Of the former state we have already mentioned* that its people wore the Tuscan dress, that they used the Tuscan coins and letters, that a Tuscan at times presided over its college, that its great temple and religious discipline were Tuscan, and that it taught that discipline to the Sabines and Marsi.

Tarquin seems for a short time to have been paralysed by this unexpected blow. He had many friends within the city, and he thought that when Lucretia's funeral was over, and the fury of the populace was spent, all things would return to their usual channel. He therefore waited at Cære, and sent ambassadors, who were honourably received, to represent that he had no concern in the iniquity of his son, and to demand that his property should be valued, and the value given to him and his family. The ambassadors found the city in very unexpected order, and already under a regular government, of which Brutus, with all the ensigns of kingly pomp, was at the head. Such portions of the laws of Servius as had escaped destruction were consulted, and, according to their supposed meaning, the supreme authority henceforth was to be divided between Patricians and Plebeians, and the four men who had dethroned Tarquin were to be the first governors.

Lucretius, the Custos Urbis, was Interrex, and called the Senate and Curiae to decide upon their

* Vol. i. p. 377.

rulers, and the Plebeians in centuries were to give their consent. The despotic authority of the kings remained entire with their successors, named Reges at first, and then Prætors;* and such sacred offices as none but the king could execute, had a Patrician officer set apart for them solely,† called Rex Sacrorum, his person being inviolable, and his appointment for life. Dionysius says that the Senate preserved the name of Rex because their kings had been to them the source of so much good, and therefore they directed the Augurs and Pontifices to choose a person who should never meddle with civil affairs, and who should devote himself to the care of public worship. His wife was Regina, a chief priestess, and none but a Patrician could enjoy this dignity. The Rex Sacrorum, if not always a Tuscan, was always educated in Etruria, and, that he might never be supreme, and never attempt to rule in civil matters, he was made subordinate in authority to the Roman Prætor and Pontifex Maximus. To the Prætors were adjudged the ivory sceptre, the golden crown, the royal purple robe, the Lictors and the Fasces; and Livy tells us that the Triumpher also wore the golden crown and purple habit, and bore in his hand the ivory sceptre, as the kings had done before him.

Brutus obliged all the Roman people, Senate, Curia, and Plebs, to deprive Tarquin of royalty, and not only made them solemnly swear to banish him for ever, but devoted to the Tuscan infernal gods every

* Tully iii. 2.

† Livy i. 53.

soul who should, by word or deed, propose his restoration. Niebuhr says that this devotion of men to the infernal gods was the commencement of doing away with human sacrifices, but it had been a custom of the Tuscans from the beginning.

Brutus the Plebeian might now have been re-elected into the Senate, and his house might have been restored to all its forfeited honours; for he was himself the chief ruler, and filled up the numbers of the Senate, which Tarquin had shamefully diminished. But it better suited the tone of his dark vindictive mind, to keep up the remembrance of his injuries, by ruling as a king, and yet remaining a Plebeian. The first Tarquinian dynasty was overturned by the Plebeian Mastarna; the second Tarquinian dynasty was overturned by the Plebeian Brutus. The first of these Plebeians, being a Tuscan, introduced still more of Tuscan arts and customs into Rome; the second, being a Latin, broke off at once all communication with the Tuscans; and Rome, from this time forward, was a Latine state, and Tuscan in nothing except her religion. The Brutii and Junii continued to be leaders of the Plebs, from the passing of the Licinian law, even to the end of the republic.*

During the reign of Tarquinius Superbus, the various written laws of the kings were collected into one code by a lawyer named Papirius, and they were ever after held in reverence, and referred to as the *Leges Regium*, or *Jus Papirii*.

* Nieb. i. n. 1153.

CHAPTER X.

SECOND TARQUINIAN DYNASTY IN ROME.*

Tarquin retires to Cære—Sends ambassadors to Rome—Implacability of Brutus—Valerius—Collatinus retires to Lavinium—Embassy of the Carthaginians to Rome—Conspiracy to restore Tarquin detected—Death of the sons of Brutus—Confiscation of the property of Tarquin—Tarquin, aided by Tarquinia and Veii, makes war on Rome—Battle in which Aruns and Brutus are slain—Lucretius and Valerius at the head of the republic—Dedication of the great temple of Jupiter Capitolinus—Tarquin applies for aid to Lars Porsenna—Obscurity of Etruscan history—Rivalry between the parties of Tarquin and Porsenna in the Rasenan League—Porsenna, notwithstanding, aids Tarquin, in order to re-establish Etruscan influence in Rome.

B. C. 511. YEAR OF TARQUINIA 676.

WHEN Tarquin retreated from the gates of Rome, though his army is said to have revolted against him, there can be no doubt that many bands of infantry and cavalry remained attached to his stand-

* Authorities: Livy ii. 1, 2; Dion. v. in loco, vii.; Anc. Hist. xi. 357; Nieb. i. ii.; Müller's Etrüsker; Plut. in Pop.

ard. The Romans, through whom alone we know the history of these transactions, never mention their allies, unless when compelled by absolute necessity. In every battle, and every siege, they speak of Rome, and of Rome alone; and, yet, from the very beginning, they rarely either fought the one, or prosecuted the other, without the aid of Latins, Tuscans, Sabines, or some of the many tribes surrounding them.

At the siege in which Tarquin was engaged when Sextus left the camp in order to perpetrate his villany, his force must have consisted of Romans, Latins, and Tuscans; for he was the King of Rome, the chosen Dictator of Latium, and a member of the great Tuscan League. All his Roman and most of his Latin cohorts forsook him; but the Tuscans, it seems, remained firm in their allegiance, and with them he retreated to Cære, where he quietly remained until he should see the turn which this extraordinary drama would take. Tarquin the Dictator would not have preferred Tuscany to Latium without having some strong reasons for doing so; and these reasons were, his intimate alliance with Tarquinia and Cære, and the tried fidelity of his Tuscan troops. His sons, Titus and Aruns, joined him; but Circeii, the city ruled over by the one, though Turrhene; and Signia, the government of the other, either joined the Romans or remained perfectly neutral.

The first acts of Tarquin show that he could not yet persuade himself of the real character of Brutus,

nor give credit to his own dethronement. Not being himself malignant, though imperious and domineering, he could not believe in the vindictive ferocity of one to whom he had always been so kind. Accordingly, instead of assembling all the forces he could bring together, and making war on the city, he peaceably sent ambassadors to enforce his restoration. Brutus laughed at this demand, but few of the Patricians joined him in his scorn and hatred of the old king. He had indeed attained his own object: he had driven away that king and his sons, and had placed himself in their stead, but he had to endure a severe struggle in order to maintain himself in his new position, and induce his countrymen to submit whilst they were yet blind to his despotic authority. No despotism is so fearful as that which does all in the name of liberty.

In accordance with the laws of Servius, Brutus had pledged himself to have always a colleague, and, in accordance with the law of his own spirit, he was resolved that this colleague should never differ in opinion from himself. He was moreover resolved to restore the *Ramnes* to their former precedency, and to make the *Titii* second in power, ridding himself altogether from Tuscan influence and the abhorred Tarquinian rule. With this view he intended to make Valerius his co-Prætor, both because he was the most influential of all the Patricians, and because,* without his co-operation, he

* Plut. in Pop.

could not have expelled the Tarquinius. It seems inexplicably strange, that he never was able to gain this great man over to his side until after the death of Lucretia, when he induced him, in the excitement of the moment, to sign the contract over her bleeding remains. This seems to prove that Valerius had always been treated by Tarquin with the regard due to his eminent rank and station.

Both Brutus and Valerius were accordingly, excessively vexed and mortified when the newly-emancipated *Curia* appointed Collatinus to be the co-Prætor of the former. Valerius himself was so full of indignation that Brutus was afraid lest he and many other distinguished senators should join Tarquin. So much for their heroic patriotism! Niebuhr* thinks that Valerius was king of the *Titii*, and says that his house always enjoyed extraordinary honours. The *Valerii* alone, of all the Romans, were allowed a *Curule* throne in the Circus, and they possessed the peculiar privilege of burying their dead within the walls.

The Lucumo Collatinus, deeply and irreparably injured as he had been, was not a man of a sufficiently fierce and revengeful spirit for Junius Brutus. He was of Tarquinian blood and lineage, and it was evident that the attachments of clanship were the strongest feelings of his heart. It is palpable that he did not think the aged king deserved to lose his crown, for a crime in which he had no share, and that in his estimation the exile of Tarquin's sons ought to be rendered as light as possible.

* i. n. 1194.

These three young men, who had followed their father, were guiltless of any crime or tyranny, as far as we know, and they were much, we might almost say devotedly, beloved by such of the Patricians as had been their companions. All these, indeed, were of the same way of thinking with Collatinus; and Dionysius* tells us that a number of the principal families emigrated and followed Tarquin. Livy bears the same testimony in describing the battle of Regillus.

Brutus regarded Collatinus as a complete clog upon all his plans, and he was resolved, at all hazards, to get rid of him. He accordingly put himself into a violent rage when Collatinus expressed his opinion that the old king's effects should be given up to him as a matter of justice. He opposed it resolutely, and said he perceived that Rome could never be free as long as any of the Tarquinii remained in it, their sense of crime was so weak, and their love of tyranny so strong; and that, therefore, the only method of breaking the chains of long subjection, which hung, and would continue to hang, upon the minds of his countrymen, as long as they had any influence among them, was for the whole clan to retire beyond their territories,—a movement which he offered many talents to facilitate. It is more than likely that he represented to Collatinus the certainty of an immediate rupture with Tarquinia, and the painful necessity he would then be under to spill the blood of his own kindred.

* vi.; Livy ii.

Certain it is, he used some arguments of persuasion with his colleague beyond the haughtiness and irascibility of his own temper, which induced that chief to take up his franchise and seek an abode in Lavinium,* whither he retired, settling himself and his clients honourably and peaceably beyond the jurisdiction of Rome.

He could not return into Etruria, because he would not willingly confirm the taunts and suspicions of Brutus; and unless he had taken up arms against those who professed themselves, and who felt in heart and soul that they were the avengers of his wife's death and his own honour, he *could* not return to Tarquinia, the cradle of his house; because that state, with Cære and Veii, had already espoused the cause of his deadly foe. Probably all the leading Patricians of his name soon joined him, and finally the whole clan left the Roman states, fixing themselves in Tusculum Lavinium† and Laurentum. Their place was supplied by the Claudii, with their chief, Appius Claudius, from Regillum, in Sabina; and their lands were near Crustumium, along the river Anio. Whether they changed homes now, or at the time, as is more probable, when Tarquin himself sought the assistance of the Latins some years later, no history acquaints us; but, as there was a strong Tarquinian party in Rome for upwards of ten years, we are inclined to believe the latter.

After the exile of Collatinus, Marcus Horatius

* Livy.

† Niebuhr.

was associated with Brutus, and ambassadors came from Carthage to conclude with the new government a treaty of peace and commerce, which was engraved upon stone in the Forum, and upon tables of brass, which were kept at the capitol. This treaty shows us that Rome, when she banished the Tarquini, was by no means an inconsiderable naval power; but, on the contrary, that she sent forth her ships from Ostia in company with Agylla and the other states of Tyrrhenia, and that she had, as her subjects or allies, all the Tyrrhene ports almost as far as Cuma.* In this Carthaginian treaty, Rome is permitted to trade with Sardinia, Corsica, Sicily, Carthage, and the whole of Africa, from the Bay of Carthage, westward, as far as the pillars of Hercules. Rome is bound not to interfere with the trade of Egypt; and Carthage, on these conditions, promises to respect the trade of Ardea, Antium, Cerceii, Terracina, and Aricia, promising to make no conquests, and build no forts, in these small states, and to keep faith with them, *even should they cease to be dependencies of Rome*. This is a most remarkable passage. It is a tacit acknowledgment of the influence of Tarquin with the Latin and Turrhene Latin states, and of the uncertainty of Rome as to which party these states would favour, whilst she hoped that this generous consideration of their interests might bind them to herself. It seems, indeed, as if she had so far succeeded that they felt themselves, in the present emergency, bound rather to assist the Romans than the dethroned monarch;

* Nieb. i. about n. 1183.

and that at first, they embraced the cause of the sacred city, though a few years afterwards they changed their sentiments. After Porsenna had reduced Rome, they all, as with one accord, shook off her yoke, or alliance, and Aricia, the most powerful state in Latium, went over to the other side, and espoused the quarrel of Tarquin.

The embassy of the Carthaginians, must have been a very great blow to the aged monarch, as acknowledging the authority of the new government, and as giving security to it by sea. When his ambassadors found that his restoration was out of the question, they either still lingered in Rome, pleading his cause, or they returned to it in order to take up the argument of Collatinus, and demand his property. The Senate were so convinced of the justice of this claim, that they ordered the goods of Tarquin to be valued and granted to him; but Brutus was determined that his riches should not leave Rome, as he was sure that they would be employed against her. The ambassadors very quickly gave him the cause of displeasure that he wished for and sought, by plotting for Tarquin's return and reinstatement, with those of the Patricians, and even with those members of the Senate, who regretted his misfortunes, or who preferred him to the first Prætor, which Niebuhr believes was the case with all the Luceres. His return would indeed have been death to Brutus, Lucretius, Valerius, and all who had aided them; yet Brutus's own nearest relations were amongst the number of

the keenest conspirators. The Aquillii, a powerful noble house, and the Vitelli, his wife's family, and, what was worse than all this, even his own two grown up sons, Titus and Tiberius, friends and companions of the young Tarquinius, were foremost amongst those who were resolved to overturn his authority; and they took an oath over the body of a human victim, in presence of Tarquin's heralds, to bring the old king back. A slave heard them, and wisely made the monstrous secret the price of his own liberty. He confided it to Valerius, head of the Titii, who, next to Brutus, was the most powerful and influential man in the city; and Valerius had all the conspirators arrested and brought to trial. The young Junii would, not unnaturally, have a feeling of kindness towards a family which, in their eyes, had loaded their father with honours, and whose benefits he had always returned with an unreasonable and implacable hate. But the stern and haughty father burned with irrepressible indignation when he found that his own children had dared to have an opinion differing from his own, and that they had taken part with a family which had degraded him and them. Yet we have no proof that this degradation was not perfectly just. Russia, even now, could show her Brutuses towards her present emperor; and with respect to the harshness and bigotry of parents towards their own children, whom they would far rather see in their graves than of a different opinion to themselves, England could show no small number also. Po-

litics and religion in every age have had such votaries.

Brutus is only singular, in that he has been admired for his deed, because poetry has attributed to him motives for it which he never knew. Brutus had no ideas of liberty that were inconsistent with his own supreme command. This he had craved for himself, and purchased, as it were, at an immense cost, from the oracle at Delphi. He succeeded Tarquin. He remained first Prætor, with the title of Rex, till his death, and the debtors and the lower people, were more ground under the freedom which he established, than they had ever been under the kings, excepting only in the matter of the great public works, which appear to have been of a calibre altogether anti-Roman, and which were never attempted under the republic.

When the conspirators were brought out for judgment, Brutus, instead of delegating the matter to his colleague, enthroned himself on the judgment seat, and coolly ordered the lictors to execute, as traitors, his own children, whilst he looked on. Then descending in his pride and gloom, he told Valerius to spare the others if he could. Livy,* who loves to paint, says, "*Quum inter omne tempus pater, Vultusque, et os ejus spectaculo esset; eminente animo patrio inter publicæ penæ ministerium.*" Men may indeed have looked at him, but both Dionysius† and Plutarch say that he showed not the slightest emotion. His own sons had rebelled against him, and stood up for the

* ii. 5.

† v. 210.

family he detested, and whom he had sworn to extirpate and ruin; therefore, in his eyes, they deserved to die. These were his feelings, and dark and fanatical minds, in the days of the Inquisition and of the Covenanters, have often nourished the same with full as much intensity, and have mistaken, as the Romans did, the passions of a demon for the spirituality of a saint.

Cicero says that Brutus left one son, Lucius, or Lucumo Junius Brutus, who was, according to a tradition, which has the authority of Plutarch, the ancestor of that Patrician who murdered Julius Cæsar. The Romans had several examples afterwards of fathers who condemned their sons to death. The Consul Horatius, if he did not actually do so, still acted, with regard to his son, in the spirit of Brutus, at the dedication of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus; Cassius, the father of the great Spurious Cassius, is accused of a similar act of patriotism; the Consul Aulus Posthumus, in the second war with Veii, executed his son and several others; not to mention the national laws which placed it in the option of every father, when a child was born, whether it was to live or not, and those which authorized a father to sell his sons, if he chose, over and over again, into slavery.

With regard to this act of Brutus, it may not be uninteresting to record the opinions of two of the most illustrious writers of ancient and modern times. Virgil gives him credit for patriotism, but, at the same time, ascribes to his conduct the baser motive of

love of popular applause. “*Vincit amor patriæ, laudumque immensa cupido;*” while Machiavelli, looking on the transaction with the eye of a politician, considers him as not having had the liberty of choice, but as having been absolutely compelled to this act of cruel severity by the principle of self-preservation.

All the conspirators against Brutus and his government were put to death, and their families degraded, as the Junii had been before, and as is, in every country, the right punishment of treason. The Aquillii and Vitellii were not only Patricians, but men of senatorial dignity. The ambassadors were spared, only their mission failed, and the goods of Tarquin, so far from being restored, were put up to auction and their proceeds given to the poor. His own private lands were divided in large portions of seven acres each,* amongst the Plebeians, in order to make any future restoration impossible, and a field of his near the Campus Martius was dedicated to the god Mars, and the corn which grew upon it thrown into the river, where, by heaping itself upon a shallow, it laid the foundation of the sacred isle in the midst of the Tiber.†

When Tarquin found the aim of Brutus was to drive things to extremities, and utterly to expel all his clan and kindred, as well as himself, from the Roman territories, he applied in earnest for succour to Veii and Tarquinia,‡ and both of these states an-

* The Plebeian's legal portion was two acres.

† Livy v.

‡ Livy, ii. 6.

swered to his call, and raised forces to try the event of war.

The king and his son Aruns, headed the Tuscan armies, and led on the battle against Brutus and Valerius; and the old legend says, that eleven thousand two hundred and ninety-nine of the one, and eleven thousand three hundred of the other, were left dead upon the field of battle, an oracle being required to tell the numbers and to decide the victory between them. Aruns saw Brutus wearing his father's crown upon his helmet, and having the kingly purple over his shoulders. Unable to endure the sight, he rode furiously towards him, calling him a usurper, and after a desperate struggle, in which Aruns unhorsed and killed his foe, he sank to the ground himself, exhausted and mortally wounded. The struggle for victory continued obstinate. Two of the sons of Tarquin who commanded the left wing of the Tyrrhenians, defeated the right wing of the Romans, and were on the point of forcing their entrenchments; but on the following night, Valerius surprised the Tuscan army, slaughtered a great number of them, and attacked their camp.

The victory, however, remained undetermined, and each party drew off their dead, Brutus being honoured with a public funeral, and a year's public mourning. After his decease, Lucretius for the Ramnes, and Valerius for the Tities, were the two most powerful Roman families, and one or other of these names is always found amongst the earliest Prætors. But owing to the distractions which followed for

many years, the Fasti were most irregularly kept; and, indeed, for several years, there probably were no Prætors. Both Lucretius and Valerius were at the head of the government when Porsenna attacked Rome.

After the battle in which Brutus fell, the Romans seem to have contented themselves with keeping within their own territory, and exposing themselves to as little loss as possible. They concluded a truce with Veii for a few months, and during this time they hoped to propitiate the gods by completing and dedicating, the great temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. They looked upon it as a happy omen, that the king had not left it perfectly finished. The chariot and horses of terra cotta, which he had ordered for the pediment from Veii, were manufactured and ready, but had not been delivered; for whilst they were moulding them, the clay, instead of shrinking in the fire, swelled to a very unusual size, and the workmen being astonished, considered it as a portent concerning which the augurs ought to be consulted;* the more so as the chariot could not be withdrawn without breaking up the furnace. The Augurs answered that this chariot betokened power and success to those with whom it should remain, and the Veientes upon this, resolved to keep it to themselves. When the Romans sent to apply for it, they were accordingly answered, that Tarquin, the king, had commissioned it, and that they would deliver it up to Tarquin, but not to

* Plut. in Pop.

those who had driven him from his kingdom. With this reply the Romans were obliged to be contented, but it so happened, that the great Circensian games of Veii were celebrated a few days after, when a man named Ratumena received the prize for the chariot race, and was leading his horses gently out of the ring. They took fright, without any visible cause, rushed with him down the hill, and through the gates of Veii, along the road, and across the frontiers, and never stopped until they reached one of the Roman gates,* when they threw him out and killed him. The Romans named the gate after him, "Ratumena." Hereupon they again applied for their chariot, and the people of Veii, fearing the anger of the gods for broken faith, surrendered it. This chariot was accordingly placed in triumph upon the top of the temple.

The sacred edifice was now considered finished, and the two Prætors drew lots as to who should dedicate it. The lot fell to Marcus Horatius, whose name was accordingly inscribed upon its front; but Valerius was so angry at its not falling to him, that he would not attend the ceremony. In high displeasure, he renewed the war with Veii, and his friends strove to prevent Horatius from winning the honour which had fallen to his share, by sending him a message that his son was dead. With all the sternness of Brutus, and with a religious enthusiasm as powerful as Brutus's indignant pride, he answered, "It concerneth not me, cast away the

* Plin. viii. 42.

body." He then struck in the nail of the lustrum,* from which the Romans ever after counted the date of their republic, and in the set form of words, terminated the dedication. There is no doubt that this ceremony inspired the Romans with strong hope as an omen for good. The foundation of this celebrated building was laid in an augury of its becoming the head of Italy, with Terminus and Juventus enclosed within its walls; and it was completed in an augury, which predicted to its possessors a career of rapid victory and success.

The Roman people now, indeed, required every excitement to hope, and every omen which might portend good fortune; for a dark hour was drawing nigh, and one over the shame and confusion of which, their annals have carefully extended the thickest veil.

Tarquin, not finding the aid of Cære, Veii, and Tarquinia, sufficient for him against his former subjects, with their Latin and Tyrrhenian allies,† went in person as a suppliant, to his great northern rival, Lars Porsenna, King of Clusium, the bravest and most magnanimous sovereign and warrior of his age, and asked his mighty assistance against the Romans, in order to reinstate him on his throne.

There are certain points in history, where events big with the most momentous consequences, and replete with the most interesting illustrations of national greatness, seem peculiarly to demand attention to

* Livy vii. 3.

† The people of Antium, Circeii, &c. &c.

minute detail, in order to trace out the one, and to elucidate the other. Such an epoch in Etruscan history is the period which we are at present considering. Such an epoch, in the first instance, was the reign of Lucius Tarquinius the Ancient, in Rome, when the political struggles of contending parties seemed to have reached their culminating point. At that time, we had the great states of the northern and southern divisions of the Rasenan league, opposed to each other. Then the popular party, in various Lucumonies, were dissatisfied with the exclusiveness of aristocratic sway, and sent forth a mighty army, which, under Cale Fipi and Mastarna, traversed Etruria, seeking dominion, and baffled in the search. Next we had presented to our view their strife for the sacred border city, on the banks of the Tiber, which, after a struggle, carried on with varied success, was ultimately compelled to admit this powerful body within her walls, and to receive it as an ingredient, in her own government. Following this, an arrangement seems to have been made between the two contending elements of disunion in the Etruscan Commonwealth, by which Rome became, as it were, a peace-offering to the contentions of both parties, and an outlet for the discontented spirits which had fermented in the states of the League.

But in endeavouring to trace out these events, the historian has to grope amid mists and uncertainties, and to draw conclusions, often it may be, hasty and insufficient, from the most defective mate-

rials. Inferences must be deduced from hints, and an immense and glowing landscape appears to be seen obscurely and rapidly through a narrow chink. The vastness and the beauty of the historical field is dimly visible and appreciated, "Men are seen as trees walking," but all is confused, and the darkness is scarcely illuminated by a gleam of light. In attempting to follow out the connexions of this history, we are frequently tempted to throw away the pen in despair, from a sense of the scanty materials which now remain, and of our inability to do them justice; and we often cannot help sighing for the lost books of Claudius, which at least would have afforded us more light than the works of authors who only make incidental mention of Etruscan history, in treating of the affairs of other countries. It may seem to many of our readers that some apology is due for dwelling so much on the events of Roman history, which, they will say, are already sufficiently known to them, from other and better sources. But unjust as Rome has been to Etruria, and anxious as were her citizens to extinguish the renown of that great people, to whom they originally owed their religion, their civil institutions, and their glory; it is, nevertheless, to the page of her history that we must apply, as the only lamp we have to guide us in our path, however fitful may often be its glimmerings upon our painful and unsatisfactory research.

The historian is now, alas! only enabled to behold as through a crevice, the vast and misty field of Etruscan greatness, and he finds that crevice in the

walls of ruined Rome, which, when they were first erected, enclosed little more than a border-fort of mighty and dominant Tyrrhenia. Thus much it seemed needful to say, in order to disarm the critic, who might otherwise complain, that in taking up a volume professing to treat of Etruria, he found it but an enlarged repetition of the oft-told tale of Roman story.

CHAPTER XI.

LARS PORSENNA.—END OF TARQUIN.*

A. TARQ. 678 TO 692; A. C. 509 TO 497.

The importance of the epoch considered—Tarquin seeks aid from Lars Porsenna, of Clusium—His motives for assisting him—Porsenna elected Embratur of the League—Gathering of the Etruscans from “the lays of ancient Rome”—Feat of Horatius Cocles—Blockade of the city and its sufferings from famine—Attempt on the life of Porsenna by Caius or Mucius—Destruction of Roman navy—Ignominious submission of the city—Story of Clelia—Coolness between Porsenna and Tarquin—Tarquin takes refuge with Mamilius—Siege of Aricia by Aruns Porsenna—Aricia applies for aid to the Cumans—Victory by Aristodemus—Death of Aruns Porsenna—Tyranny of Aristodemus at Cuma—Porsenna’s victory in Volsinia—His magnificent tomb at Clusium—State of parties and popular feeling at Rome, in favour of Tarquin—War with the Latins, headed by Tarquin and Mamilius—Battle of Regillus, and defeat of Tarquin—Death of Tarquin at Cuma.

“Lars Porsenna of Clusium,
By the nine gods he swore,
That the great house of Tarquin
Should suffer wrong no more.

* Authorities: Livy ii.; Dionys. Halic. v. and vii.; Plut. in Pop.; Ant. Hist. xi. and xvi.; Niebuhr’s Rome.

By the nine gods he swore it,
And named a trysting day,
And bade his messengers ride forth,
East and west, and south and north,
To summon his array.

Macauley's Lays of Ancient Rome.

AN epoch in Etruscan history, even more replete with interest than any of which we have formerly treated, is the period at which we have now arrived, when the power of Tarquinia received a shock, from which it never recovered, Rome being entirely withdrawn from the protection of that proud Lucumony: and the supreme command of the Rasenan League, being vested in the great rival state of Clusium. The actors in the stirring events of this period, Tarquinius Superbus, Brutus, Valerius, and above all Lars Porsenna, are names familiar to us, from our earliest recollections of history. And though we possess but a meagre outline of knowledge concerning the events of their lives, and the relations in which they stood to each other, they excite in us a livelier interest than Cæsar Vibenna, or Mastarna, of whom, the very existence, as well as the fortunes, belong to the province of the antiquarian, rather than to that of the ordinary historian.

The obscurity of Etruscan history grieves us, especially in the days of Tarquinius Superbus, and Lars Porsenna; because, if we possessed a more detailed knowledge of its events, we should be introduced at once, to an acquaintance with the mutual political relations of the different states, and their

individual arrangements. This was a time when the springs of government were developed by action, and when the different members of the League were actively engaged in crossing each other's path, in the business of war and diplomacy. It was one of those moments of great national excitement, wherein the political progress of a people advances more in a few years, than during a century of ordinary tranquillity. And could we but obtain an insight into it, much would be gained for the understanding of the past, and the development of the future, over which a mist now hangs, which we can but imperfectly penetrate.

Tarquinius Superbus was driven from his throne, and was now pleading his own cause at Clusium: but even had he been permitted to end his days in power and prosperity, it is still probable that at the close of his reign, we should have had a confused account of hostilities, in which all the Lucumonies of the Rasenan League were implicated, similar to the state of matters during the last years of the reign of Lucius Tarquinius the Ancient. Niebuhr believes, that even had Sextus not been a villain, nor Brutus an ambitious avenger of his family wrongs, and had the old king remained free from violence at home, he would still, in any case, have ended his days in strife and warfare. He would, probably, have had to defend himself as an enemy, against that great prince, at the foot of whose throne he was now glad to seek shelter as a suppliant, Lars Porsenna of Clusium. We know that at

the very time of his expulsion from Rome, Tarquin was busily engaged in warlike preparations, and even in actual war. And it is most probable that he burned with hostile feelings towards his great northern rival, who, as ruling that state which was the political competitor of Tarquinia, was naturally the opponent of the exclusive aristocratic party, which looked up to Tarquin as its head. If things were so, he must have made a truce with his great enemy, immediately upon the commencement of his troubles, or the forces of the southern states could not have been so quickly turned, as we find them to have been, against the revolted city.

Should it be asked, why did Porsenna assist the Tarquinian party in Rome, if he belonged to a different political side, and if he was so decidedly opposed to their interests in the League? it may be replied, that within the League, he was, indeed, opposed to them, and sought their subjugation. But the object of Brutus and the republican faction, was altogether to emancipate Rome from Etruscan influence. And although Porsenna was ready to maintain the cause of Clusium against the preponderance of Tarquinia, yet he was not prepared to suffer the Rasenan influence to be quite destroyed, in the great border city on the banks of the Tiber; and Rome to become not only free from kingly sway, but from Etruscan domination. Though Lars Porsenna might be a foe to the Tarquinians, he was a Rasenan, one of "the mighty Turrheni, worthy to have lived in the days of the demi-gods," and as such he was ever ready

to turn his powerful arm against every foreign enemy of his country.

When he saw the brave old Tarquin supplicating his aid, that prince, so venerable for age, so renowned for his magnificent works, and so dreaded for his warlike deeds, his heart relented, and he resolved to give him succour. Porsenna considered that Tarquin had been hardly and unjustly used, and he did not understand a rebel Latin Plebeian, lording it over all the Patricians, and electing himself to the supreme authority. Moreover, if Tarquin was to suffer for the crimes of his son, Junius Brutus, whose life and property he had spared, ought, long ago, to have suffered for the treason of his father. Porsenna, thought that he was the very last man, who should have raised his hand against the old king, and as he could at first only know Tarquin's version of the tale, he was roused to the strongest indignation, and was spurred on to the most determined vengeance. At the General Diet of Volturna, he caused himself to be elected captain of the League, (*Embratur*), with all the accustomed insignia of royal authority, and he assumed the supreme command.

One of Macaulay's lays of ancient Rome gives a most lively and spirited description of the assembling of the forces by Lars Porsenna, and of his march to Rome. It is as eminently beautiful as it is probable, and it is composed so entirely in the spirit of the ancient bards, that we are sure our readers will thank us for transcribing it. Part of it must be true in the

nature of things, and we are indebted to it, for a correct and poetical enumeration of the names of the twelve states, and their chief cities. It gives a far more graphic, as well as musical account of their proceedings, than any we could have written after the most laborious study, and with the most anxious wish to represent for once, an animating and interesting picture of the finest scene in all Etruscan history. Next to Tarchon, we know of no Tyrrhenian who could compare with Lars Porsenna. He is supposed to have been the descendant of one of the heroes, who came over with the great Rasenan leader and lawgiver, because his name, that of Purs-n-e, is found in the ancient tombs of Egypt.* His was, therefore, one of the oldest families in Etruria, and he had the prestige of birth, as well as the influence of talent and magnanimity, to make him honourable in the eyes of his nation.

"East and west, and south and north, his messengers ride fast,
And tower, and town, and cottage now, have heard the trumpet's
blast.

Shame on the false Etruscan, who lingers in his home,
When Porsena of Clusium is on the march to Rome.

"The horsemen and the footmen, are pouring in amain,
From many a stately market-place, from many a fruitful plain—
From many a lonely hamlet, which hid by beech and pine,
Like an eagle's nest, hangs on the crest, of purple Apennine.

"From lordly Vولاتerra, where scowls the far-famed hold,
Piled by the hands of giants, for the God-like kings of old,—
From sea-girt Populonia, whose sentinels descry
Sardinia's snowy mountain-ridge, fringing the southern sky ;

* Rosellini.

"From the proud mart of Pisa, queen of the western waves,
Where ride Massilia's triremes, heavy with fair-haired slaves ;
From where sweet Clanis wanders, through corn and wine and
flowers,
From where Cortona lifts to heaven, her diadem of towers.

"Tall are the oaks whose acorns, drop in dark Auser's rill :
Fat are the stags, that champ the boughs, of the Ciminian hill,
Beyond all streams Clitumnus, is to the herdsman dear,
Best of all pools, the fowler loves, the great Volsinian mere.

"But now no stroke of woodman, is heard by Auser's rill ;
No hunter tracks the stag's green path, up the Ciminian hill :
Unwatched along Clitumnus, grazes the milk-white steer ;
Unharm'd the water-fowl may dip, in the Volsinian mere.

"The harvests of Arretium, this year old men shall reap ;
This year, young boys in Umbro, shall plunge the struggling
sheep ;
And in the vats of Luna, this year, the must shall foam
Round the white feet of laughing girls, whose sires have marched
to Rome.

"There be thirty chosen prophets, the wisest of the land,
Who alway by Lars Porsena, both morn and evening stand,
Evening and morn the Thirty, have turned the verses o'er,
Traced from the right, on linen white, by the mighty seers of yore.

"And with one voice the Thirty, have their glad answer given ;
'Go forth, go forth, Lars Porsena ; go forth, beloved of
heaven ;
Go and return in glory, to Clusium's royal dome,
And hang round Nortia's altars, the golden shields of Rome.'

"And now hath every city, sent up her tale of men ;
The foot are fourscore thousand, the horse are thousands ten.
Before the gates of Sutrium, is met the great array,
A proud man was Lars Porsena, upon that trysting day.

"To eastward, and to westward, have spread the Tuscan bands;
Nor house, nor fence, nor dovecote, in Crustumerium stands;
Verbenna, down to Ostia, hath wasted all the plain;
Astur hath stormed Janiculum, and the stout guards are slain.

"And nearer fast and nearer, doth the red whirlwind come;
And louder still, and still more loud, from underneath that rolling cloud,

Is heard the trumpet's war-note proud,
The trampling, and the hum.

"And plainly, and more plainly, now through the gloom appears,
Far to left, and far to right, in broken gleams of dark blue light,
The long array of helmets bright,
The long array of spears.

"And plainly, and more plainly, above that glimmering line,
Now might ye see the banners, of twelve fair cities shine;
But the banner of proud Clusium, was highest of them all,
The terror of the Umbrian, the terror of the Gaul.

"Fast by the royal standard, o'er looking all the war,
Lars Porsena of Clusium, sat in his ivory car,
Whilst all his Tuscan army, right glorious to behold,
Came flashing back the noon-day light, rank behind rank, like surges bright,

Of a broad sea of gold."

History tells us that the Romans drew in all their outposts, and fortified themselves as they best could, in this struggle for life and death. They had allies, as the treaty of Carthage proves, but not many, for the Sabines, and the greater number of the Latins, considered their treaties to be binding with Tarquin himself, their old and victorious general, rather than with his revolted dominions, and during his life they

would not make any alliance with the republic. Porsenna* met with no opposition on his march, and his very name, like that of Alexander, or Napoleon, seems to have inspired a terror, that took away the capability of resistance. He ravaged the country, and drove out the garrisons, he possessed himself of the Janiculum, and lodged his own troops within its fortress. And now, in spite of oracles and prodigies, and deaf to the Plebeian prayers for liberty and grace, he bore down upon the sacred Pons Sublicius, and resolved to cross it into the holy city.

The Romans regarded themselves as lost, if that bridge was taken. Three men, therefore, one for each tribe, supporting Horatius Cocles, the Plebeian,† a knight noted for his valour, agreed to keep guard upon it at all hazards, until their flying troops should have passed over. All the men escaped, and last of all, the captains of the Patrician tribes followed them, leaving Cocles alone. Porsenna saw and admired him. Cocles leapt into the stream, commending himself to the river god, and gained the opposite bank in safety. Livy's prayer is too beautiful to be omitted. "Tiberine Pater. Te sancte precor. Hæc arma et hunc militem, propitio flumine, accipias."

"O holy father Tiber, to whom the Romans pray,

A soldier's life, a Roman's arms, take thou in charge this day."

He was crowned, carried to the temple of Sethlans, and publicly rewarded. Notwithstanding his valour, however, neither Cocles, nor any of his colleagues,

* Livy ii. 9.

† Niebuhr.

could repulse or dislodge Porsenna. He took possession of both banks of the Tiber, blockaded the city, and threatened the Romans with starvation. A dreadful famine began, within the beleaguered walls, to alleviate which, Cuma ventured to send them succour, but from the moment that the blockade was complete, this source of supply was cut off.

The senate remitted the taxes to the poor, and did all they could to unite, and gain, the favour of the common people; but the famine increased, and was stronger to disunite, than all their efforts to inspire hope and union were, to give them courage. In frantic despair this body then took the mean and barbarous resolution, of attempting Porsenna's life, and ridding themselves, by treachery, of an enemy whom they could not vanquish by open force. A knight, by name Caius,* who could speak Etruscan, put on the enemy's colours, and crossed the river. He knew that it was pay-day, after the troops had been reviewed, and therefore that he could enter the tent along with the many who would be assembled there. Moreover, such multitudes of the slaves from free Rome had deserted to the enemy's camp, that a stranger would not find admittance difficult. He did not know Porsenna personally, but he saw on a raised seat a very richly dressed officer, who was paying the troops, and he never doubted that he was the king. He approached him, drew his dagger suddenly, and plunged it into his body. It happened to be Porsenna's secretary, which probably

* Nieb. i. n. 1207. By some authors he is called Mucius.

implies some confidential officer in high command.* This unfortunate man expired, but the guards instantly seized the assassin, and brought him before the king. Porsenna was close to his domestic altar, upon which a fire burned, and he asked Caius† if he could bear the torments to which he had made himself amenable? Caius, without flinching, put his hand into the fire, and held it there, until Porsenna, in magnanimous admiration, desired him to withdraw it, and said, that such a spirit had nothing to fear from him.

We doubt not that in this, and in almost all the romantic stories of the Roman heroes, there is a vast deal of fanciful tradition. But we know, from the lips of the late Sir John Malcolm, that such an action, under violent excitement, is far from improbable. Upon his putting the same question to a young Indian widow, she raised with her hand a bar of red-hot iron, held it before his face and smiled. The credible parts of heroic stories are as often disbelieved, as the incredible, of inconsistent dates and distances, are passed over without a doubt.

When Caius found himself not only safe, but treated with an honour to which he had little claim, he told Porsenna that three hundred Romans, besides himself, were all bound by oath to take that prince's life; and he, therefore, out of gratitude, advised him to make peace with a people whose

* In Egypt and Assyria, the king's secretaries were princes of the blood.

† He afterwards received the augmentation to his name of Scævola.

highest aristocrats, and best instructed senators, preferred becoming assassins to yielding their present power, and who were as incapable of appreciating virtue in an enemy, as he was of mistaking and misrepresenting it, even amongst those whom he had most cause to hate.

Porsenna did not follow the advice of Caius; he destroyed the Roman navy, and brought the ships of Cere and Tarquinia into the Tiber, thus preventing any supplies by sea, and the wretched Romans, driven to the last extremities, were forced at length, to yield their city and all they had without reserve, and by "deditione"* into the hands of this great man. "All in heaven and earth—all their temples and sacred utensils, all their lands, and all their houses, themselves and all they called their own," were laid at the feet of Lars Porsenna. By the laws of Tages and of Italy, if he showed them mercy, one-third of their lands were forfeited to the conqueror, and the other two-thirds were received back on the payment of tribute and acknowledgment of sovereignty.

The Roman senate returned to him the crown and sceptre, the robe and sword,† which the first Tarquin had received from Etruria, and the ten Plebeian Tuscan tribes, and the seven Pagi of Veii, disappeared from the map of Rome. The colonies of Tarquin were also destroyed, and Signia was not re established until after the victory of Regillus. Porsenna made the Romans yield all their arms, and forbade them, as the Philistines once did the

* Tacit. iii. 72.

† Dion. v. 8.

Israelites, to have any iron within their gates, except for purposes of agriculture.* He then victualled the city, where his corn was sold by public auction, as "the goods of King Porsenna,"† and he demanded twenty hostages, ten from the "Decem Primi" of the Ramnes, who were the first of the Roman Senators, and ten from the Decuriones of the other tribes. He required, that not only men, but that hostages should be delivered to him of the women and children also, and Valerius's daughter, Valeria, or Clelia, was at the head of the Roman ladies.

During the siege of Rome, Porsenna had gradually cooled towards the Tarquins; and if he was, as Müller and many other historical antiquarians believe, the head of that party which desired to give greater privileges to the Plebeians, it was natural that he should not assimilate long, with a man whose only acknowledged law was his own will. When the city had surrendered, he refused to reinstate him on the throne, unless the Romans should themselves re-elect him; and Tarquin was so irritated, that he fell on the hostages as they were going to Porsenna's camp,‡ and wounded some of them. Clelia, or Valeria, having had a horse provided for her by Porsenna, rode to his camp for assistance, and Aruns, Porsenna's gallant son, came out to repulse the treacherous attack.

Clelia,§ soon after, used this very horse to break her parole with Porsenna, and swam across the

* Plin. xxxiv. 14. † Livy ii. ‡ Plin. xxxiv.

§ Dion. v.

Tiber into Rome, inducing some of the other hostage ladies, with no better regulated minds than her own, to bear her company. Valerius, exceedingly terrified at this rash and faithless step, sent them all back again, and Porsenna is made to declare, that the deed of Clelia exceeded that of Cocles and Caius. In senselessness alone, can we see how she surpassed the brave Cocles, or the wrong-headed Caius. Breaking the faith of treaties could excite no man's admiration, and therefore we do not believe this speech of the Clusian Lar, at least not as applicable to her crossing the Tiber, though we give full credit to his chivalrous and generous treatment of all the Roman ladies, and to his capability of honouring in women, as well as in men, all those qualities which bear the stamp of heroism. Certainly, the Romans themselves being both judges and relaters, earth never boasted of a more exalted character than Lars Porsenna of Clusium; all that he says, purposes, and does, bears the impress of a lofty soul. Whilst among their own chosen heroes and selected examples, one is ungrateful to his benefactor, and inexorable to his children; another stoops to be the assassin of his noble foe, and affirms that the whole Senate approve of his deed; and a third, the representative of their women, with a childish reckless insubordination, exults in a breach of faith which compromised her people; we see Porsenna, admiring the men who first checked the career of his conquering troops upon the Janiculum, forgiving the man who conspired his destruction, and pitying, with a fatherly tenderness, the giddy

woman whose senseless conduct might have proved the ruin of every soul and every house, within the already subject and devoted Rome.

The very majesty and gallantry of Porsenna's nature, and his consciousness of the magnanimity with which he had behaved to Tarquin, taking his side from a sense of right, to the exclusion of all his party feelings, and even at the risk (as he thought) of continuing the overgrown dominion of Tarquinia; the very disinterestedness and moral grandeur of his conduct, made him the more unable to brook, the insolent and unwarrantable violence of Tarquin, towards the hostages. He was indignant at his infringement of their inviolable character, and his interference with the line of conduct, which Porsenna thought proper to adopt towards Rome. The Lar resented all this so loudly, that Tarquin, highly offended and in disgust, renounced his assistance—believing himself also independent of it; for he was sure of many of the Latins, and he found that the Sabines likewise were willing to put themselves under his command. He therefore attacked the Tuscans, as general of the Sabines, and maintained a war with them for four years; but as this people grew weary of their want of progress, and ceased to be hearty in the cause of Tarquin, who must have promised them advantages they saw no chance of gaining, he withdrew from them, leaving them to obtain the best terms they could for themselves, and went to his own son-in-law, Mamilius, the Prince of Tusculum. With the help of this chief, who seems to have

been greatly beloved, Tarquin regained his former influence over the Latins, and their thirty states took up his cause, resolving, not only to reinstate him, but to stop the conquering career of Lars Porsenna.

This illustrious prince was recalled home, to oppose a timely barrier to the Gauls; and he seems henceforward to have declined any farther interference with the central Italian wars, and to have wished to finish his days in peace. According to the invariable tone of Etruscan story, his son Lucumo must have remained as governor of Clusium when he marched to Rome, and Aruns, who accompanied him, was a younger member of the family. When the Latins had assembled their forces, Porsenna placed one half of his army under the command of this young prince, and bade him to go against them and win laurels for himself, promising him the government of the towns he conquered. He was at first successful, for he besieged Aricia,* then a powerful city, with both an army and navy at its command; he thoroughly dispirited his enemies, and he thought himself certain of soon reducing the town by famine, when he was checked, because in their extremity, the senate of Aricia remembered their old and useful ally at Cuma, and had recourse to his assistance.

Aristodemus, the distinguished warrior who had defeated the Tuscan host from Etruria Nova, twenty years before, was now lying idle within his city walls; and the Aricians thought that if they could obtain his aid, he might very possibly defeat the Tuscans again.

* Dion. vii.

At any rate, his troops would not feel, as theirs did, that they contended with an invincible foe. When the ambassadors of Aricia arrived at Cuma, they found the governors of that city very anxious to get rid of Aristodemus, and of a large band of turbulent and discontented spirits who were attached to him. They therefore willingly granted the required help, and sent him, with two thousand bold and needy soldiers, by sea, to seek for glory in the wars of Latium. They were, however, really more desirous of the destruction of Aristodemus and his followers, than of their success. They sent them in ten Triremes, which they knew not to be sea-worthy, and they never doubted that if he escaped the waves, he would fall beneath the sword of Aruns. They knew not, or they forgot, a proverb which had been long current in the East, that "He who diggeth a pit for another, shall fall into the midst of it himself." Aristodemus was perfectly aware of their design, and conducted himself with the courage and resources of a desperate man.

He arrived in safety at Aricia, and contrived not to enter the port until night, so that Aruns was not aware of his arrival. He landed under cover of darkness, and when he made his successful encampment known to the besieged, he urged them to take Aruns by surprise, and to make a sortie upon him at break of dawn. The Aricians did so, but their courage was not equal to the emergency. When the Tuscan trumpets sounded, and their spears were in arrest, the often-defeated Latins turned their

backs and fled, nor did they think themselves safe until hid within their walls, and the gates shut even against the friendly Greeks, who had come to their assistance.

Aristodemus had now the whole brunt of the battle to bear alone. But the Tuscans were in confusion, and before they could recover themselves, and at all ascertain the numbers, or the nation of this new enemy, which seemed to have dropped from the clouds, he singled out Aruns, challenged him to personal combat, and left him dead upon the field. This ended the battle, and relieved Aricia. Many Tuscans were taken prisoners, many fled, and the leaders made a truce, and afterwards a peace, with the Latins, which lasted, like that of Rome, for thirty years. Such of the Tuscan army as did not return home upon the peace, spent the winter in Rome, to recruit themselves, and many of them settled there permanently in the Vicus Tuscus, marrying and becoming a part of the Luceran tribe. Aruns was honourably buried at Aricia, and Porsenna erected a tomb to his memory, which may still be seen there. It stands without the gate, and consists of five pyramids upon one base, being in miniature the same sort of edifice which his father's was on a larger scale; and the magnitude of each tomb was in proportion to its brave tenant's fame.*

Aristodemus, according to the tale, left Aricia almost as soon as he could regain his vessels, carrying with him his captives and booty, for which

* Cicero xxi.

freight he probably borrowed some of the better-conditioned ships of his allies. Having made the port of Cuma, he revealed to his men the treachery of the Senate; he set his prisoners free; he distributed his treasures and plunder amongst these two parties, and then induced them all to swear, that they would avenge him of his domestic foes in any way that he should command. Aristodemus, after this, assembled the unworthy rulers who had sent him out upon the Arician expedition, in order, as he said, to give them an account of his mission, and to surrender up to them his spoil. But no sooner were they collected in the senate-house, than he gave the signal, and his men put them all to death. The people then elected him their sole commander, and the Turrheni, whom he had restored to liberty, gave him their votes along with the natives, and settled as citizens amongst his subjects at Cuma.

All that we know further of the acts of Lars Porsenna is the legend, that at a subsequent period during his reign, he was called into Volsinia, in order to deliver the people from a horrid monster, named Volta, which he did by bringing lightning down upon him.* We cannot but believe this lightning to have been the flashing of his own arms, and that the monster, was neither wild beast, nor civil war, nor pestilence, nor famine, but probably some rebellious and tyrannous chief, like our own Wolf of Badenoch,—some invader from Tarquinia, perhaps, whom he subdued.

* Pliny ii. 53.

On his final return to Clusium, Lars Porsenna built himself an enormous and most splendid monument, something like the labyrinthine tombs of the kings of Egypt. For a time it was one of the wonders of the world, and now, like the site of Troy, the walls of Tyre, the gardens of Babylon, and the Pharos in the Mediterranean—all of them works of similar calibre—it has vanished; and though four labyrinth tombs at Chiusi pretend to be Porsenna's, not one as yet has established its claim. Pliny gives us the account of this singular and colossal building from a lost work of Varro's; and many authors believe that Varro actually saw what he describes, and that the incredible part of his narrative arises, from his having written afterwards from memory, with much confusion and exaggeration. Each side, he tells us, was three hundred feet long, and fifty feet high, within which measurement, Porsenna constructed an inextricable labyrinth. Upon the base stood five pyramids: one in the centre, and four at the angles, each one hundred and fifty feet high, and tapering to the top, where they were covered by a cupola of bronze; above this cupola rose four other pyramids, each one hundred feet high, and above these, again, another story of five pyramids, also of extraordinary altitude. Perhaps *we*, who never saw the tower of Babel, are not very competent judges of what was possible to ancient builders. It is likely that we might have denied the Cloacæ of Rome, and the walls of Fiesole and Volterra, had they existed only in description.

But to continue. The Romans said that when Porsenna returned to Chiusi, he left his tents to shelter, and his provisions to feed, those who had been ruined by the siege. We are amazed that they did not claim a victory over him—a la Napoleon, in the Russian campaign—and that they did not boast of having driven Aruns to Aricia, and the great king back to his home in disgrace. His mercy to them was so great and so unexpected, that they have actually acknowledged him to be a hero, and they erected to him a bronze statue in the Comitium, along with their own seven kings. Servius* tells us that when Porsenna's peace was proclaimed, games were held to celebrate it, at which time the Tuscans came into the city, strove with the Romans, and carried off the crown. He forgets that no Patrician on either side could ever contend in the Italian games.

Rome remained in absolute subjection to Porsenna until his death, and then was free from the treaty she had made with him. Her annalists have not told us, what is most probable, that for many years she was forced to keep a Tuscan garrison in the capitol, and that when Porsenna was no more, the same Senate which had sanctioned his death would unscrupulously have sanctioned theirs, could it have done so with safety.

Porsenna emancipated Rome altogether from the Tarquinian rule, and restored her to be the small, free, sacred, and neutral state which she was at the

* Æn. xi. 134.

beginning; probably believing that in so doing he re-established the balance of power in Italy. Rome was again independent; and yet the only memorial we have from her own historians of this important event, is contained in the single allegorical phrase, that "Hercules enabled her to become so." After an intentional confusion of years, filled with nothing, we suddenly find her with her Prætors restored, so that their succession can be traced; her Patricians and Plebeians at constant and almost annual variance with each other; and all the coast towns again independent. Her history then proceeds in an unbroken, though often inverted, line; and we find with surprise, for almost one hundred and fifty years, that she is an inconsiderable, struggling, oligarchical state, confined within the ancient limits of Romulus and Numa.

During the time of Porsenna's dictatorship, Niebuhr conceives Etruria to have reached the summit of her greatness both by land and sea, notwithstanding the two defeats which we have mentioned, the one at Alalia, and the other at Cuma. Porsenna brought his fleet up the Tiber without any resistance, and Anaxilaus, of Rheguim, at the foot of Italy, stationed armed vessels to blockade the straits against the Tuscan corsairs. At this time Etruria sent forth large fleets upon distant naval expeditions, and Vulci was allowed to trade with Utica and Leptis in Africa, and Cades, in Spain, also with Sardinia and Corsica, which

* i. n. 394.

were subject to Carthage, but which were either conquered from her in the space of fifty years after, or ceded to the Tuscans; for in the year B. C. 453, and of Tarquinia 734, these islands belonged wholly to Etruria. Aristotle, in his Politics, (iii. 9,) notices the frequent treaties, for mutual protection, between Carthage and the Etruscan states. What a loss we have sustained in the destruction of those books in which he wrote upon their laws and constitution!

After the death of Porsenna, and the restoration of independence to Rome, the Tarquinian party still had friends in the city; and ten years after the exile of the old king,* both Prætors were strongly in his favour, and wished him or his clan to be recalled. The people, too, began to say that they loved the king better than the Patricians, and the slaves and debtors, a very numerous body, evinced their sentiments by being willing to join the exiled Romans in their attempts to seize upon the capitol. We should now perhaps cease to speak of Rome, as at all connected with the governments of Etruria, for when she rose, shorn of her greatness, from the feet of the mighty Porsenna, and after his death, she reclaimed her freedom, and Etruria allowed the claim, and maintained with her a strict peace; but we cannot resist a few more words on the fate of Tarquin, with whom ends the rule of all the Tuscan princes over the cities of the Priscan Latins.

The Dictator who was appointed against the Tarquinian party was Titus Lartius,† (the Lar Titus,) for six months, without any appeal or any responsibility,

* Nieb. i. n. 1240; Arnold i. p. 144.

† Ib.

and he did his work to the satisfaction of those who had appointed him. Tarquin never degraded, exiled, or ruined, more vigorously, or ruthlessly, or irresponsibly, than the Roman Dictator, and there is a dark history of nine Patricians* who were burnt to death for treason about this time. How dreadful must have been the government that originated so much crime, and the discontent that necessitated such fearful punishment! It told too ill, for the bards to make it the subject of a eulogy, and in most Roman histories it sleeps in silence. Publius and Marcus, two clients of the Tarquinius, made common cause with the oppressed to seize the capitol, and fire the city; but the plot was discovered, and the ringleaders were crucified, Marcus and Publius escaping. The next year they and the debtors agreed to master the ramparts and gates, to massacre the Patricians, and to let in Tarquin. At this time Sulpitius, the consul, was actually treating with the Latins for the restoration of Tarquin, but when he discovered the plot he broke off the treaty, decoyed Publius and Marcus to a conference, and destroyed them.

Rome had sufficiently recovered herself for the Latins now, to request the assistance of the Tuscans against her;† but Etruria maintained the peace she had sworn, and left Tarquin to carry on his cause as he best could, in his adopted country. The Latins then made an alliance with the Volsci, and the Romans created a Dictator to force on their levies, and to lead their army into the field; for the Poor and the debtors refused to serve, and said they had ra-

* Nieb. ii. n. 265.

† Dion. v.

ther leave the city, and settle elsewhere. The great object of the Dictator was to attack the enemy before the two nations should have joined. This he effected, and the Romans, with their allies, met Tarquinius, with his brave body of exiles, and the Tuscans, under his son-in-law Mamilius, and the rest of the Latins, at Regillus, a lake in the territory of Tusculum, now dry, and called Labicum, or Cornufelle. Here the battle raged from sun-rise to sun-set, the leaders on one side being the old king, who was soon wounded and drawn out of the fray, his son-in-law, Mamilius,—“prince of the Latin name,” but ruling what was in its origin, a colony of Tuscans—and Lucius Tarquinius, with the exiles; on the other side were the Dictator, Aulus Postumius, (his name Aulus belonging to the Luceres,) Valerius, first of the Tities, and Titus Herminius, one of the leaders who stood with Cocles on the bridge, whilst the garrison of the Janiculum escaped over it.

The whole account of this battle is taken from an epic poem, in which all the leaders fight hand to hand, and kill each other. Their discipline, arms, and order of battle, seem to have been equal, and Lucius Tarquinius was on the point of carrying the day, and perhaps a second time of subduing Rome, as Porsenna had done already, when the Dictator threatened to pierce through, every man who turned in battle, offered rich rewards to the bravest, vowed a temple to Castor and Pollux, and finally declared that two men on white horses were those Divinities

come to encourage them in the field; and he thus inspired his troops with a confidence and an enthusiasm which could not be resisted. Lucius was slain, the Romans gained the day, and the poor old king, seeing his cause entirely lost, left Tusculum, and took up his franchise with his friend Aristodemus, the tyrant of Cuma, in whose palace he soon after died, at the age of ninety, fourteen years after his exile from Rome.

As he left Aristodemus the heir to all his wealth, we presume that his sons were dead; but Niebuhr thinks that his followers and grandsons, joined afterwards with the Sabine Herdonius, in his attempt to seize the capitol, and it was very many years, probably some generations, before these men could submit to their destiny in quiet. They had been Patricians in Rome; they were Erarians without vote, or at the best Plebeians, in every other land; and the liberty which Brutus established had for its object, the Senate, the Patricians, and the Curiae alone. Tarquin was scarcely dead, when the Roman Plebs deemed it better to leave the beloved city, than to submit to the tyrannous *liberal* government established there; and had peace not been re-established, the Patricians were prepared to have taken in the Isopolite inhabitants of Fidene, Cere, and various other allied cities, to supply their place. From the triumph of Lars Porsenna, to the breaking out of the seven years' war with Veii, there was peace with Etruria for thirty years. But the Romans were now both an independent and a separate

nation, with strong exclusive national feelings, which kept them apart from all others; and the Tuscans, whether under the name of Rasena, Tuscans, Etrurians, or Tyrrhenians, or under the authority of a Lucumo, or an Aruns, never governed them, nor ever attempted to govern them again, excepting once in the twelve years' war with Veii.

CHAPTER XII.

THE NINE YEARS' WAR.*

A. TARQ. 695 TO 714. A. C. 492 TO 473.

War between Veii and Rome—Plebs refuse to enlist—Battle between Tuscans and M. Fabius—Q. Fabius and Consul Manlius killed—M. Fabius refused a triumph—History of the Fabii, taken from the funeral songs—Virginius defeated—Fabii colonize on the Cremera—Their battles with the Veientes—Fabii destroyed—Tuscans take the Janiculum, and defeat Servilius—Truce—Meetings at Voltumna—Menenius condemned to death—Tuscans and Sabines recommence the war—Peace for forty years—Sea-fight off Cuma—Decline of Tuscan naval power—Thank-offerings at Delphi—Dis—Tuscan Libri Fatales.

ETRURIA was at peace with the rest of Italy, after the taking of Rome by Porsenna, for thirty years. These thirty years were reckoned at ten months each, and therefore made only twenty-five of our years, at the expiration of which, war was again commenced. During the season of quiet, Rome, in

Authorities: Livy ii. 42—51; Dion. viii. ix.; Niebuhr i. ii.; Arnold's Rome i.; Univ. Hist. xvi. 95, &c. &c.; Diod. Sic. xi.

the year of Tarquinia 695, was afflicted with a dreadful famine, and could obtain effectual help from Etruria only, which supplied her with corn, and enabled her government to satisfy the famishing people, and to avert a revolution until times of plenty returned. Civil convulsions were often threatened by their discontent at the non-allotment of the conquered lands. The Cumæans were very willing to have sold them corn, but Aristodemus the tyrant, seized the supplies, and said that they belonged to him, and came from the magazines of Tarquin. Two years later than this, Rome had for Prætors Aquilius Tuscus and Sicinnius Sabinus,—a Tuscan and a Sabine.

At length, in the year of Rome 271, or of Tarquinia 705, war broke out between Rome and Veii. The territories of Veii, during this time of peace, had often been a place of refuge to the Roman malcontents and turbulent nobles, such as the sons of Cincinnatus and others, and it is very possible that the Roman Consuls and leaders, who began this contest, may have had many private piques to revenge. The Romans were the first aggressors, in order to employ and control their own Plebeians, and the war lasted, very unexpectedly to themselves, nine years, and oftener brought disaster to them than glory. The two Consuls, Cæso Fabius and Sp. Furius, led out the troops against the Veientes,* and were completely defeated, the men, as the Romans pretend, not choosing to fight. According

* Livy ii.

to one account, they threw away their arms, and abandoned their camp, which of course was taken by the Tuscans. They were obliged to retreat within the city, and their enemies followed them to the very gates, and took an immense deal of booty, which must have consisted of prisoners, horses, arms, and camp accoutrements, for the Romans having no land unravaged on the other side of the Tiber, there was no other sort of booty to take.

Winter of course, put a stop to hostilities on both sides; and the next year the war was so unpopular in Rome, and so evidently unnecessary, that the Plebs refused to enlist, and the Consul Furius could do nothing. Rome probably stood a blockade on the Etruscan side, and was obliged to content herself with acting on the defensive. The heights of the Janiculum, and the Vatican, were both hers, both well fortified, and would be sufficient to keep a small invading army in check. We gather, however, from the continuance of the war, and from the Romans not even pretending to any advantage, this year and the next, that the campaigns terminated honourably and successfully for Veii.

The Roman Plebs, of whom all the infantry then consisted, had been for many years most shamefully used by the Patricians. When they conquered any lands in battle, these lands ought by law, to have been divided in certain portions, to all the men who had distinguished themselves; and this, or a specified share in the booty gained, was the reward and

the profit which they expected, when the campaign, or rather when the conflict in which they were engaged, was terminated. But ever since the death of Tarquinius Superbus, the Patricians had gathered all the booty into their own treasury, and had refused to divide the lands; the Plebs were therefore, as it were, fighting for the advantage of the Patricians only, and this they refused to do any longer. We hear of no such unfairness in Etruria. There is no instance of her troops refusing to fight, no instance of their running away from their generals, and no accusation against them, that they did not use their arms bravely. The men of Veii alone, were able at this time, to defy, and defeat Rome, and to confine her within her own small territory, without aid from the other principalities.

Manlius Fabius, and Cincinnatus, next commanded the Roman forces, consisting of twenty thousand men, and the Veientes gave them a signal defeat. Manlius's tent was struck by lightning, which induced him to quit his camp, whereupon the Etruscans immediately seized it, and a second time possessed themselves of all the booty of the Romans. The next year, the Roman troops were able to advance as far as Veii, but perhaps this expression only means that they found an opportunity to march a very few miles from their own gates, as the Etruscan army, from the beginning of the campaign, seems always to have come down into the plain. The Roman cavalry contrived to break the Etruscan line, but the infantry were seized with a panic, and would

not follow. Veii now expected to subdue them, and Rome was in such imminent danger that the reserve troops and the city militia were called out, and all the men that could be spared, were sent in by the colonies, the subject towns, and the allies.*

In the fourth year of this war, the Fabii being no longer the ruling house amongst the Patricians, with the rank and power of Consul secured to them, resolved to be the ruling house in opposition, and to become the patrons and protectors of the Plebs. They may have boasted noble minds, who, in any case, would have insisted upon justice to the oppressed party, but certain it is, that they did not take that side, until they were otherwise reduced to an equality with their brother Patricians, and until ambition pointed it out to them, as the only path in which they were sure of distinction and power. This year, Marcus Fabius, whose change of sentiments was not known, and Cneius Manlius, led forth the legions, and Livy says, they could advance no further than the gates of Rome, where the Tuscans lay encamped to oppose them. The generals dared not trust their men to do anything more, than prevent the enemy from occupying the city, and they hoped that their disgraceful inactivity and the taunts of their foes, would, in time, provoke the troops beyond endurance, and irritate them to avenge personal insults, upon those whom they could not otherwise be induced to fight. The Tuscans, at first, prepared for battle, but seeing that the

* Dion. ix.

Romans kept resolutely, and as they very justly thought timidly, within their trenches, the cavalry came and defied them every day, and after a while, added every epithet they could think of, to rouse the angry feelings of the Romans, and to force them into action. The combined endeavours of their enemies and commanders, at length took effect. The Roman soldiers were stung almost to madness at being called "cowards, and less than women," and clamoured to be led into the field. But both Consuls affected to distrust them, a defeat at the gates of Rome would have been the ruin of the city, and they therefore persisted upon keeping on the defensive. The men then threatened to mutiny, and elect other leaders, who were not afraid to try them, and the Consuls then pretended to yield, only requiring every man to renew his military oath, and to swear that on this occasion, he would conquer or die. This was most willingly acceded to, every cohort took it, and then the troops, being thoroughly resolved and excited, were led forth to battle.

The Fabii distinguished themselves, beyond all the other Romans, by prodigies of valour, a tacit tribute to the military talents and manly courage of their adversaries. "They fought," says Livy, "hand to hand, and sword to sword," yet Quintus Fabius, the general's brother, was killed by the Tuscan to whom he was opposed, and who, of course, is represented as a giant. The Romans, according to their own account, were panic-struck at the death of this great hero, and were on every side giving way,

when Marcus Fabius leaped over the body, kept off the advancing Tuscans with his buckler, and succeeded in infusing fresh courage into his own men. Cæso Fabius and himself, reminding the soldiers of their oath, rushed desperately forward with their spears in rest, and the legions, ashamed to desert them, followed once more, and completely routed that part of the Tuscan army to which they were opposed.

M. Manlius, meanwhile, was engaged with the other wing of the Tuscan forces, but there also Rome was unsuccessful, his men were beaten, he was wounded and obliged to retire to his own camp; and Veii would have gained a brilliant day; had not M. Fabius at this most critical juncture sent to tell his colleague of his own success, and thus rallied his dispirited men, and enabled them to maintain their former ground. During the action, whilst the main bodies were engaged, and fortune still favoured the Tuscans, their general sent a detachment to attack the Roman camp, but as Manlius, with a body of troops was so unexpectedly obliged to return to it, succour arrived in time to prevent its being taken. Dionysius, however, says, that the camp was taken, and that the Triarii who guarded it, were driven back to the Pretorium, but that whilst the Tuscans were engaged in plundering, Manlius retook it, and saved the Roman honour. He repulsed his enemies, but in the heat of the contest, he himself was killed. M. Fabius succeeded in securing both his body and that of his own bro-

ther, and having drawn off his troops in order, of course claimed a victory, which, however, all the sequel belies.

Niebuhr judges that the account of this campaign, and, indeed, of all the Fabian part of the nine years' war, is taken from the funeral eulogies of the Fabian house, in which it was necessary that they should appear, when they appeared at all, as heroes and conquerors. Whatever was not consistent with these characters, was by custom and courtesy, buried in oblivion, and a few poetical licenses, such as deeds of supernatural courage, and the accounting for a lack of triumphs, by the imputation of supervirtuous motives, was considered in those days perfectly lawful. The valour of the Tuscans, we must observe, has no such colouring, for it is, in every instance, not the testimony of friends, but of foes. M. Fabius, though he says in the annals of his house, that he gained a complete victory, yet had no triumph; and the bard further tells us, that the reason of this was, his excessive sorrow for the death of his brother, killed by the great giant, whom he afterwards made to run away. The Senate offered him a triumph, but his sensibility was so delicate, that he declined it, both for himself and for his whole army, doubtless because the giant was still alive! Dionysius says, that he was refused a triumph, and that he entered Rome in mourning.

But though Marcus chose such a singular method of honouring his brother's memory, and celebrating the vengeance he had taken for his death, he did

not neglect his purpose of protecting the Plebeians and gaining their favour. He persuaded many of the rich and influential Patricians to join him, and he had all his wounded common men, distributed in different palaces, to be cared for and cured, an act which secured him the hearts of themselves, of their kindred, and of all who took an interest in them, especially every soldier, who might any day find himself, amongst the poor and suffering. If the Tuscan infantry was composed, (as Niebuhr believes,) not of the Plebeians, but of the clients of the different houses, they must have been taken care of in this very manner, and their steadiness and bravery may have had its weight in inspiring Manlius with this idea, or in confirming an idea already conceived.

Livy* says, that Veii was assisted in this nine years' war, by auxiliaries from all the states in Etruria, and that the leading men in each Lucumony debated the probability of subduing Rome by means of the dissensions of her own people. She was several times so very nearly subdued by intestine discord, that her preservation appears to us to have been solely owing to the opportune truces which she twice made with the armies of Veii. The year following Quintus Fabius's death, Cæso came forward as protector of the Plebs, and asserter of their military rights, in virtue of which, they elected him as one of the Consuls, and he was sent to command against the Equi, whom, with the assistance of the Latins, he repulsed. It is strange, if he conquered the

* ii. 44.

Veientines during the preceding campaign, that he should not have been sent against them again; but, doubtless, his grief for his brother's death, and that of the Consul Manlius, and his horror of the giant, made him prefer the other command. Virginius led forth the legions opposed to Veii, and was so rash in his proceedings against them, that the army would have been utterly destroyed, had not Cæso arrived in time to save it, and to cover its retreat within the city walls. He had encamped his troops upon the side of a hill, and allowed the Tuscans to possess themselves of the top, so that his retreat must have been very like a disgraceful flight. Virginius was no match for the giant and the Generals of Veii; and the Romans, not then being able either to win them to peace or to repress their incursions, were obliged to content themselves with calling them bandits, and acting wholly on the defensive. Indeed this was a very critical time for the Romans. The Equi and Volsci threatened them and their Latin allies, with a desperate and protracted war on the one side, whilst Fidene, only five miles from their gates, and Veii only twelve, were continually assaulting them on the other.

They were in great straits, and both Patricians and Plebeians equally exulted in representing Cæso Fabius, as coming forward with all his clan, and offering themselves as willing martyrs for their salvation. Cæso thought that if he could succeed in establishing a strong fort, and settling a small colony within the territories of Veii, and not very far from

that city, it would keep the Etruscan forces in sufficient check to prevent their beleaguering Rome, and that it would prove a perpetual thorn in their sides, as well as an assistance to his own nation. Niebuhr conceives, that he who had condemned Sp. Cassius,* and had once been the haughtiest of the Patricians, now, that he had made himself head of the Plebs, had become so hateful to his own order, that Rome was no longer a home for him and his house.

Cæso being of a noble character, would neither turn against his country, by forwarding the views of her enemies; nor would he retire into a useless exile. He, therefore, risked the sacrifice of everything for the sake of the proud consciousness that he, the misunderstood one, was the Defender of Rome in the teeth of her foes. We may doubt his ever having been offered a triumph, for a victory, which at best was but an escape from defeat; but we cannot refuse our tribute of admiration to his gallantry and patriotism, in going forth with all he held most dear, in order to defend his country in her hour of peril, from the vaunting and dangerous forces of so powerful a state as Veii.

It appears from Livy, that all the Patricians of the Fabian house, having been prepared by Cæso, then Consul and their chief, they attended him to the

* Valerius Maximus says, that Sp. Cassius was put to death, Brutus like, by his own father. But the Romans had by this time ceased their violent admiration of this species of patriotism, though as it sprung from precisely the same spirit, it appears to us equally worthy of commendation and commemoration with the other.

Senate, and waited at the door, until they should know the result of his proposal, and the resolution of the Fathers thereupon. When the Senators began mournfully to enumerate the difficulties with which they had to contend, Cæso, to their amazement, stood forth, saying, that Veii required not so much, armies sent against her, as some place of strength acquired within her frontiers, and that this object, he and his clan would undertake to gain, and to keep by their own strength, and at their own expense, leaving the (so-called) republic to send her legions elsewhere. It is needless to say, that this offer excited enthusiastic thanks, and was immediately accepted, for it relieved the city of a terror which had weighed upon it, and which it knew not how to meet. Cæso must, after this, have gone up to the Capitoline temple, and have offered prayers and sacrifices in his consular robes, and, probably, the heads of his tribe accompanied him. It was not until this ceremony had been gone through, that he could put on his general's paludamentum and head any expedition.

"The next day," says Livy, "the Fabii took arms and assembled in the place appointed. The Consul coming forth in his military dress, saw his whole clan assembled in the court-yard, drawn up there in order of march, and being received into the centre, he commanded them to set forward. Never did an army, smaller in number, nor more dignified by fame, and by the admiration of all men, march through the city. Three hundred and six warriors, all Patricians, all of one name, not one of whom at

any time, the Senate could have judged unfit for the highest commands, went forward, threatening destruction to the people of Veii, by the strength of one single family." Only one Fabius is known to have remained in Rome when the clan left, and he is supposed to have retired to Maleventum. He was Consul ten years after.

A crowd attended them, consisting partly of their own relations and acquaintances, who revolved great things in their minds, and knew no medium either in their hopes or in their anxieties, and partly of those excited by public zeal, and carried away by esteem and admiration. "Go in strength, go in happiness," they cried; "may your success be proportioned to your undertaking. Hope, henceforward, for consulships and triumphs, for every reward and every honour." As they passed the Capitol, the citadel, and the other temples, whatever gods occurred to the eyes or mind of the beholder, he prayed that they would make that band prosperous and happy, and soon restore them to their friends and country. But their prayers were made in vain. The unfortunate men went out by the right-hand gate of the Porta Carmentalis,* afterwards called the Porta Scelerata, and came to the river Cremera, where they found a convenient situation for a fort. This building they surrounded with a double ditch, and as they also erected towers at certain distances, it would appear to have had a wall.

Dionysius* tells us, that the Fabii left with five thousand followers, many of whom Niebuhr

* ix.

judges to have been Plebs, married into the clan, but how they came to pursue their way so peaceably, and how they were permitted by the Tuscans to build and settle, and fortify themselves so close to Veii, we cannot understand. The spot they are said to have occupied is only three miles from one of the gates of the city, and all their operations must have been seen from the ramparts. Cæso Fabius must surely, in some degree, have imitated the conduct of Sextus Tarquinius, when he fled to Gabii, though the Romans have not liked to retain the memory of such a resemblance. He must have represented himself as flying from Rome, having, in disgust with his order, and with its injustice and endless dissensions, quitted her for ever; and he must have asked, under cover of peace, leave to take refuge with her enemies. This, it appears, was granted, and no disturbance whatever given to him and his five thousand men, during the time requisite for them, to build and fortify dwellings for themselves, within the dominions of Veii. What makes this more certain, is, that the fort was situated between Veii and Fidene, therefore Cæso would have had foes on each side to contend against, had he been supposed hostile. Moreover, though Livy continually talks of Cæso defending or ravaging the frontiers, as if the Cremera had been the boundary of the Roman lands, Veii at this time possessed the whole country between the Janiculum and her own walls. Livy, in Claudius's speech, (v.) calls the Fabii COLONISTS.

Fabius and his band were presumed at the very

least, to be neutral, if not friends and allies. But the spirit of Cæso was that of the great Tarquin, when he quitted Tarquinia. He resolved to extend the might and influence of his country, though she was no more a home to him. The event, indeed, was different. Tarquin reigned for sixteen years in the border fortress of the Tiber, under the name of another, and then annexed that fortress to the Etruscan league. Fabius too soon showed his hostile views, and when called to account for it, and attacked by the troops of Veii, was obliged to solicit succour from Rome. The Etruscans besieged his fort on the Cremera, as soon as they perceived the mistake of which they had been guilty, and the Consul Lucius Emilius was obliged to come with all the legions under his command, and to fight without delay on his behalf. The Roman cavalry obliged the Tuscans to fall back upon their camp, at the Saxa Rubra, and Livy says, to sue for peace. This peace, the Romans, as usual, graciously granted, and then their feeble antagonists repented of it, and renounced it, before the Roman guard was withdrawn from the Cremera. The strangest accusation! as it would surely have been much safer for them, to have renounced the peace after the guard was withdrawn. The Tuscans had, probably, granted the Romans, the same sort of peace before, when Cæso relieved the camp of Manlius, and they were obliged to withdraw. Had they really sued for peace, would the Romans have retired so instantly, and without imposing severe conditions, or taking

any hostages? Whereas, they seem to have returned to Rome with the utmost speed, and to have left the Fabii to defend themselves as they could. Dionysius* adds to this account, that Emilius took the Tuscan camp, in which he found so much plunder as to enrich his troops for a long time, and that though he granted his enemies peace, it was upon condition that they should supply his army with two months' corn, and pay the expenses of the war for half a year. He believes also, that they fulfilled these conditions, and nowhere accuses them of breaking the six months' truce. We shall simply observe, that the Tuscan treasures, which they trusted out of their fortified city, could be of very little worth, and that no general dared ever to divide anything amongst his troops, until it had first been valued by the Quæstors, and allotted by the Patricians.

The Fabii, after the battle fought for them by Emilius, were left alone, and these brave men, (who yet were but men, excepting in the funeral songs,) are said not only to have skirmished with their enemies continually and successfully, but to have fought several pitched battles† with all the forces of Veii, and always to have been victorious. Shame on the legions before and after them, not to have annihilated the Veientes, when one single clan found victory over them such an easy and certain matter! The Veientes, it is to be presumed, ran away in these pitched battles, for

* ix.

† Livy.

neither they nor the Fabii appear to have lost a single man.

As Livy says immediately after, that when they retreated, it was with *PRETENDED*, oftener than with real fear, it gives us the impression, that the armies of Veii considered their battles with the five thousand and their three hundred and six officers, as a sort of military exercise or game at play. However, they tired at last of being always beaten in the plains of no very wide extent, which lie between the heights of Veii and the fort of the Cremera, placed by Italian antiquaries at La Valca; and they resolved to try if cunning might not be more successful against an enemy whom they in vain endeavoured to subdue or dislodge by force.

Cattle, it seems, was the grand prize contended for by hostile colonies and armies in those days, and, indeed, between the gates of Veii and those of Rome nothing but pasture could have remained in this war, as the Tuscans had effectually destroyed the labours of the Roman agriculturists, and the Romans those of the Tuscan. When Cæso sent out foraging parties, the Veientes began to drive the cattle in their way, the peasants ran off to save themselves, and the troops of Veii pursued their accustomed amusement of trying who could reach their quarters soonest. At length, the Fabii conceived their enemies to be panic-stricken and half-witted, and themselves invincible, and they followed and seized the cattle without any precautions to prevent themselves from being surprised. In this

manner, they were one day led to a distance, passing, without observing them, several parties of the enemy who were lying in ambush in a wood; and by the time they had seized their prey, they were thunderstruck to see that they were completely surrounded by armed men—by Tuscans! not one of whom ran away, or seemed in the least afraid of their never-failing success or superhuman prowess. We may well believe that they were staggered at such a prodigy. They seem even to have been alarmed at the superior numbers of the enemy; whence we must suppose that in the previous pitched battles, the parties had always been equal, and for the first time, the Fabii felt that they had to fight for liberty and life. They formed themselves into a wedge, and forced a passage through their enemies; they then gained an ascent, which was opposite to them, and hoped there to defend themselves until darkness should cover them. But the Tuscans, having suddenly recovered their intellectual, as well as their martial equality with the Romans, sent a body of troops to an eminence still higher, which commanded them, and they were again placed between two bodies of soldiers, by each of which they were outnumbered. We cannot doubt that they fought bravely, and now both they and the Tuscans strewed the field with dead. All the three hundred and six Patricians were killed, with the exception of one boy, who is said to have escaped to Rome.

Many authors, however, doubt this, and say, that the Messenger who announced in Rome the

annihilation of this brave clan, was simply a colonist from the Cremera; that he was one of the clients, and therefore called one of the Fabii. The only Patrician who remained of the family, did not throw up his Roman franchise, though it is supposed that he had left his castle on the Quirinal, and lived in displeasure at Maleventum. Aul. Gellius,* says, that the Fabius, who withdrew himself from his brethren, was a man of resolute character, and in the prime of life, that he was the father of the great Maximus, and that he was elected Consul ten years after the slaughter of the Cremera.

Dionysius gives a different version of the manner in which the Fabii were destroyed, and one which, though not nearly so consistent with our way of thinking, both Niebuhr and Arnold judge to be the most probable, when referred to ancient times; and the most consonant with the feelings of an Italian of former days. Dionysius says, that when the period arrived at which the Fabii were accustomed to sacrifice to their patron Lar, in their own temple on the Quirinal, the three hundred and six Patrician warriors left their fort for this purpose, believing that the reverential feelings of the Tuscans were a sufficient guard against their being attacked on so sacred an occasion. In order to reconcile this with the common sense of mankind, we must suppose a general superstition, that the anger of the gods visited every man who attacked another whilst engaged in this sacred mission. Otherwise the act of the Fabii, in going, without a guard as they are re-

* xvii. 21.

presented to have done, was one of foolhardiness and bravado. If, as Niebuhr and Arnold believe, they kept their annual feast so very sacred, they must have gone and returned in safety the preceding anniversary, for they had now been two years on the Cremera: but such a happy issue to their first expedition could be no security to any thinking mind for the success of the second, except on the supposition of a prevailing opinion as to their inviolability while thus engaged.

Dionysius makes them reason on the certainty that they could not be attacked, consistently with the laws of civilized nations. On the other hand, the Romans confute this, by bringing Menenius to trial for not assisting them, whereas, had the belief in peculiar divine protection on such occasions been general, Menenius could not have supposed them to be in danger; and though he was encamped only four miles from them, when they were enclosed by the Tuscans and fighting for their lives, it was impossible for them to send a messenger who could give him warning of their situation. We cannot believe that the Tuscan ambush ever came in sight of Menenius; and it is much more difficult to understand the supineness of the men left behind at the Cremera, who, if they had marched out to assist their masters, would have placed the troops of Veii between two bands of desperate and despairing enemies, and would have occasioned amongst them a frightful slaughter, even had they failed to achieve a victory. It is true that these men could not be tried, as they were all prisoners

in Veii, but the trial and sentence of Menenius, which we believe to have been perfectly just, seem to us to have been quite as inconsistent with the sacrifices on the Quirinal, as with the pitched battles and uninterrupted victories of the Fabian clan, recorded by Livy.

A descendant of the man who retired to Maleventum, Fabius Dorso by name, eighty years subsequent to this period, burst from the Capitol, when besieged by the Gauls, went through a portion of the enemy's camp, and ascended the Quirinal to the temple of his fathers, where he offered up the annual sacrifice to the Lar of his house. All the circumstances of this feat were, however, as contrary as possible to those attending the expedition we are now discussing. Fabius Dorso went out alone, unarmed, from the beleaguered citadel of his own people, and passed through foes who were occupying his own soil; he was dressed in his priestly garments, and the instruments of sacrifice were in his hands. It would have been equally unmanly and impious to have done him any harm; and Livy says that the Gauls, astonished at his appearance, were restrained from hurting or opposing him, by their reverence for the gods. What prejudice could one man, undistinguished but for this act of religious heroism, do them? How different in every particular were the three hundred and six noted, and dangerous Fabian warriors! For two years they had been a check upon their enemies, in whose land they had stationed themselves. They marched

to Rome through ground, not one foot of which had ever been their own; in military array, fully armed, and quite prepared to attack an adversary, though, it seems, not to be attacked by one. Had they gone, like Fabius Dorso, clothed in white, with the ensigns of the priesthood in their hands, we are morally certain that they would have pursued their journey uninjured,—no Tuscan would have lifted a spear against them. They would not, indeed, have been permitted to return and re-establish themselves on the Cremera, to work mischief at their will, to Veii. They would, in all common sense, have been shut up in Rome, and forced to remain in the city of their beloved temple; but so far from seeking their destruction, we are sure that none of their enemies would have dared to look upon them with other sentiments than those of reverence.

Several meetings at Voltumna are mentioned by Dionysius during these transactions, and two of of them are curious. In the first, Veii entreats the League to help her in her endeavours to destroy the Cremera fort, which, she says, nullifies the importance of the state as a barrier against Roman encroachments. The Diet, upon this, will not order levies, but permits auxiliary troops to hire themselves to the Veientine government. In the second meeting alluded to, the states order Veii peremptorily to destroy the Fabian fort, or they will expel her from the Tuscan League; and it is upon this, that she exerts her cunning, and roots out the colony.*

* Anc. Hist. xvi. 96.

The fort of the Fabii was destroyed, and the five thousand who had occupied it for two years, were either made to perish with it, as deceivers and traitors, which is most probable, or taken into Veii, and reduced to slavery. A Roman could conceive no greater horror than to be sold as a slave to the Etruscans, and yet they treated their slaves with far more indulgence than the Romans, who judged of slavery from what they knew of it in their own homes. The fate of the Fabii was so lamented that no Roman would ever pass through the right-hand gate of the Porta Carmentalis afterwards, but came in by the side, at what is now the Macel dei Corvi. They changed the name of the portal to "Scelerata," and they marked the day of their exit, in the calendar as unlucky to Rome for ever.

As soon as the disastrous catastrophe was known in Rome, the Consul Menenius was despatched with all his disposable troops to revenge the slaughter of this gallant band, or rather, as Niebuhr believes, of this lately settled colony,* including women and children,† besides the soldiers and Patricians of the Fabii. How astonished the ever-victorious Romans must have been, when those very men whom Cæso had vanquished in every pitched battle, contrived to drive Menenius back into their city, and actually to take possession of the Janiculum, driving out the garrison which was their protection, beyond the Tiber. Rome was now threatened with famine as

* Vol. ii. n. 432.

† Aul. Gell. and Dion. ix.

well as siege, and had no other resource but to recal Horatius, the other Consul, from the Volscian war. Miracles were surely common in those days, which at one time could make three hundred and six men (as Livy would intimate) more than a match for all the troops of Veii, and, two years afterwards, could make those feeble troops the terror of all the forces of Rome and her Latin allies.

The Tuscans, once more in possession of the Janiculum, crossed the Tiber, and engaged their enemies close to the temple of Hope, without the walls; and a second time, they came still nearer, even to the Colline gate, when the Romans, making every effort that shame and despair could inspire, gained some small advantage. They weakened the forces of their foes by slaughter, and managed to keep them from entering the sacred city. This slight success restored to the men sufficient courage to prevent their shrinking, as they had previously done, from encountering the Tuscans, whom they had begun to believe under the special protection of Fortune. The Consuls were changed, yet still the Tuscan army could not be dislodged, and they ravaged the Roman lands on all sides. At length the very stratagem they had used to rid themselves of the Fabii was employed against themselves, and succeeded. In their turn, they were so accustomed to see the enemy fly before them, and retreat within the walls or the camp, the moment their bands appeared, that they became careless. The Romans drove some of their cattle to a distance, in the line

of the Tuscan foragers, and then placed themselves in ambush on the way. The Tuscans were surprised, and the greater part of them cut off. The Tuscan general, whose name no Latin historian has condescended to preserve, and which Sylla committed to the flames, crossed the Tiber without delay, and assaulted the camp of Servilius, but he was repulsed, and obliged to retire again within his own lines. Servilius, elated with this success, crossed the river in his turn, and encamped, in bravado, at the foot of the Janiculum. All Rome must have rejoiced at this feat, and have thought themselves at length delivered, for drowning men catch at straws; and they were in such distress for want of food, which it was impossible for them to obtain whilst the Tuscans commanded the Tiber, that Livy says they were obliged to hazard the most dangerous expedients in order to obtain relief. This he considers a legitimate apology for Servilius's rash attempt upon the Tuscan camp, from which he was repulsed with so great a loss as quite to nullify his former victory, and he and his army were only saved from destruction, by the timely arrival and assistance of his colleague, Virginus.

Livy adds a most extraordinary sentence,* viz., "that the Tuscans were now enclosed between two armies, one behind and the other before, and were thus all cut to pieces; so that a fortunate act of rashness brought the war to a conclusion." Where could Virginus have been, to come in the rear of

* Livy ii. 51.

the Tuscans? The history implies either that he was encamped on the lands of Veii, or that he had gained the fort of the Janiculum, and took the Tuscan camp, whilst they were below, following up their victory over Menenius. This is one of the many passages in which the historian has thought fit to throw a veil over the transaction he records, or professes to record, by giving it in a very few words, and ending in the usual chorus of "Vivat Roma!"

It is plain that the shameful defeat of Servilius had led him in flight, to that side of Rome, beyond the Fossa Cluilia, on which Virginus was encamped; and on that supposition the Tuscans would be far from their own lines, and may have been enclosed between the cohorts of Virginus and the reinforcement of veterans which Rome could send forth to prevent their return.

Whatever the truce may have been with Veii, it lasted only a year, whilst the defeat of Servilius was regarded with so much soreness as to be made the subject of a prosecution by his own countrymen, from which he narrowly escaped with his life. Virginus claimed no triumph, and gained no honours, and the truce must have been a mere cessation of arms for a few months, as the Romans did not even pretend to any compensation or advantage. Menenius was judged during the leisure afforded by this truce, and put to death, for not having attempted to save the Fabii. We think his condemnation perfectly just, but if the Fabii had indeed triumphed over the Veientes in every previous

conflict, and in pitched battles, we do not see what cause Menenius could have had, to suppose them in any such extreme danger on the day of their extermination. The Romans made further use of this truce to victual their famishing city from Campania; the sea and the Tiber now being open to their vessels and those of their allies.

When the war recommenced, Veii had made an alliance with the Sabines, who were then at enmity with Rome. The Sabines brought their men into the dominions of their new allies, and encamped under their walls, where the Romans, united to the Latins and Hernicans, attacked them unexpectedly, and threw them into disorder. One of the gates of Veii was taken, and a desperate fight, with much confusion, took place within the ramparts, but the Romans were soon driven out, and in their turn, threatened with an overthrow. The general now ordered the cavalry to charge, which they did with such vigour that the Tuscans and their allies were repulsed, and the day recovered; so that the Romans, keeping their ground, boasted that in one day and in one fight, they had been victorious over their two most powerful neighbours. They make no mention of the Latins and Hernicans, who formed two thirds of their troops; and as the gallant Consul gained no advantage, and had no triumph for his glorious victory, it leads us to suspect that they were the troops by whose means chiefly, he obtained it.

Next year the Romans again appointed half their

armies to defend them against the dreaded Veii; but as both states were willing for a peace, one was concluded for forty years. It is said that Veii agreed to give a sum of money to the Roman army, and to supply them with corn. This last condition we do not doubt, in the sense of allowing the Romans now, to supply themselves from the uninjured agriculture of the western side of that fertile state. From the abundance of corn which such a condition presumes in Veii, and the continued want of it in Rome, we see that the Tuscans kept the command of the sea and of the Tiber, by means of which, whilst they distressed their enemy, they could always supply themselves. In this nine years' war Veii lost nothing, and at the end of it, both parties, as to territory and power, were in the same condition as at the beginning.

TUSCAN MARITIME AFFAIRS.

We must now take a slight review of the naval power of the Tuscans. We have already observed that for some years it had been on the decline; not that they themselves were sensible of this declension,—for the Turrhene and Adriatic seas were still theirs, and all the coast of Italy bowed to their flag, from the thirty-ninth to the forty-fifth degree of latitude, from Phistia to Luna and Marsilia, and from Port Garganus to Patavium and Aquileia—but other nations, and especially their near neighbours, the Italian Greeks and the Sicilians, were becoming equal to them, and equality is not superiority. The Etruscans were still great at sea, but

they were no longer unrivalled, much less looked upon as invincible. Nevertheless the long peace which all their ports seem to have enjoyed, and perhaps the late successful Veientine war, appear to have influenced them about this time (in the Olym. 76, 3)* to believe that they had regained their former strength; and upon some dispute with Cuma, they sent an army against that city, which was repulsed. They then fell upon the Greek fleet in the port, and engaged in a very desperate conflict. Fortunately for the Cumæans, they were assisted and commanded by Hiero, the brother and successor of Gelo, the Tyrant of Syracuse; and the Tuscans sustained so complete a defeat, that all historians look upon this conflict as the ruin of their power at sea henceforward. The talisman of Sylla and Charybdis was broken, and the magic of their name, which had once caused every Greek vessel to hide, or fly in trembling, was dissolved. The Greeks, from this period, when they write of the Turrheni, speak of them, with affected disdain, as pirates, and they exempt from this accusation Cære only,† where some or all of them were Isopolite; yet Niebuhr and Arnold both believe that their treaties and trade with Carthage and the states of Africa, continued the same as before. How proud the Greeks were of this victory, obtained over an enemy usually so dreaded, is proved by the thank-offerings which they sent to Olympia. Pindar says, that this battle freed them from threatened slavery,‡ in that it repulsed so very powerful a body of enemies both by land

* Diod. xi. 51. † Strabo v. 2, 3. ‡ Muller i. 196.

and sea. The Tuscan troops must have come from Vulturnum and the southern cities, and the fleet was brought up from the North to their support. The various historians who record the battle and the conquest, do not particularise the thank-offerings after it, but an English traveller being at Olympia, in A.D. 1817, found there a helmet, and on it the inscription, *HIAPON O ΔΕΙΝΟΜΕΝΕΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙ ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ ΤΟΙ ΔΙ ΤΥΡΑΝ ΑΠΟ ΚΥΜΑΣ*.*

. " Hiero, son of Dinomenes, and the Syracusans, offer this to Jove, as a part of the Turrhenian spoil from Cuma."

If the Syracusans, who were merely allies, made this offering for their victory, the Cumæans must have sent oblations to the temple also: and along with arms, the ancients always offered gold likewise, either in the shape of talents, or of a crown, or bowl, &c., or some other object of so many talents weight. Niebuhr has declared that the Etruscans and Turrheni were not the same people, yet no writer has ever doubted as to who *these* Turrheni were, though they were fighting beyond most of the Tuscan settlements in the bay of Cuma.

There are many men whose minds seem to have received a peculiar tinge with regard to this people. If the matter of history respecting them be defeat, or if the work of art be rough and clumsy, they immediately discover that the Turrheni are Tuscans;

* The Greek inscription is here divided according to the words. Whereas, in the helmet itself, which is preserved in the British museum, the words are irregularly run into each other.

but if the matter be victory, or the work of art refined, they find out that they are the old Pelasgi, *Greeks* settled in Italy before the days of history. We ourselves have heard these sentiments from the lips of men whose deep knowledge of eastern excellence, especially of Egyptian and Phœnician proficiency, makes it astonishing that they should utter them. They will even gratuitously settle Greek colonies in Etruria, to account for undeniable eminence in refinement, attached to any particular district,* though they have not a single hint in the whole range of ancient authors upon which to ground their theory. Muller believes that the Turrhenian Pelasgi in South Etruria, were altogether distinct from the Greeks.†

Persuaded as we are, that the Italian Turrheni were all Tuscans, in the same sense that the Saxons, Normans, Danes, and Celts, now existing among ourselves, are all British, we should, perhaps, be expected to notice the various fates of Tusculum, Antium, Terracina, and their other noted settlements, beyond the bounds of Etruria Proper. We shall bestow upon them a few words of notice at the end of this history, but to go far into detail, would, we conceive, make this work too wearisome, and distract the attention of our readers too much, from the annals of the great body of the nation.

Between the Greeks and Etruscans there was no more war for fifty years.

The Tuscan Augurs would take this particular defeat much to heart, because it was part of the prophecies

* Vulci for example.

† Müller, Colonien.

of Tages, or at least of the Libri Fatales, that in this century their nation would begin to decline; and though their doctrine supplied them with the salvo, that courage and piety were able to delay, and sometimes even to avert and *change* the decrees of fate, yet such a prophecy, if generally known, could not fail to damp the spirits of their leaders, on every recurring misfortune. From the common people, we must suppose, that every such prediction was studiously concealed, and that all they knew of the high mysteries of their teachers, was, that one day of eleven ages had been granted by the gods to their nation, and that, therefore, until that period was ended, they had nothing to fear from others. Nor had they anything to expect for themselves, excepting occasional reverses when they sinned, and that peace and triumph should attend their steps, as long as they walked in the statutes, and observed the commandments, of their first great lawgivers, Tarchun and Tages.

CHAPTER XIII.

LARS TOLUMNIUS AND THE TWELVE YEARS' WAR.*

A. C. 453; AN. R. 300; AN. TARQ. 734.

Settled state of Etruria Proper—Sicilians attack Corsica and Elba—Romans consult the code of Faliscia—Fragments of Tuscan laws—Debt—Etruria free from famines of Rome—Revolt of Fidene—Lars Tolumnius—Murder of Feciales—War between Veii and Rome—Faliscia joins—Legend of Cossus—Fidene taken—Meeting at Voltumna—Truce—Fidene revolts—Death of Lars Tolumnius—Spolia opima—Romans defeated—Veii solicits aid from Voltumna—Garrisons Fidene—Panic in Rome—Fidenians fight with torches—Capitulate—Veii concludes peace for twenty years—Etruria Nova—Herodotus—South Etruria—Vulturnum taken by Capys—Tuscans in Athenian army—Form the commercial population of Capua.

MANY years elapsed after the termination of the Fabian war with Veii, during which we know nothing of any of the states of Etruria further than this, viz., that they kept up their prodigious walls and fortifications, and their roads, of which many

* Authorities: Livy iii., iv.; Dion. x., xi.; Ant. Hist. xi., xvi.; Nieb. vol. i., ii.; Arnold i., p. 384, &c.; Diod. xi., xii.; Plin. xxxiv.; Strabo xiv.

traces remain to this day in Tuscany and the Roman states; also, that they continued their annual fairs, meetings, and religious processions, and that they carefully attended to their internal navigation and the wholesome state of their wonderful drains and tunnels. They still commanded the Tyrrhene and Adriatic seas, and carried on a silent but flourishing commerce; and we presume them to have been at peace with each other, because we find them so on every incidental mention; because their political union was unbroken, until after the fall of Veii; and because their religious confederacy endured to the very end, shall we say, to the very extinction of the nation in the days of Christianity. Add to this, that there is no mention made during this period, of civil war in Etruria, in the histories of any of those countries known to us, with which they were in constant intercourse, such as Carthage, Gaul, Grecia Proper, or the Greco-Italian towns.

In, or about the year of Tarquinia 734, the Tuscans had been troublesome and dangerous to the Sicilian ports, and the Admiral Phayllos was sent out with a naval force to check them, but his enterprise was defeated, and his life paid the forfeit. His successor, Apelles, went with sixty Triremes to avenge his death;* and sailed as far north as Corsica, which he wasted with little opposition. He then attacked Aethalia, i. e., Elba, with equal success, and brought away many slaves and much booty, which he carried in triumph home. There was,

* Müller, Etrusker, p. 197; Diod. xi.

however, no war in consequence, between Sicily and any of the states. The Tuscans ceased to trouble the island, and were left unmolested. Diodorus says, that they bribed the Greeks to keep away.

The year following these events, the Romans sought to alter and amend their legal code, and to compile their celebrated ten tables, to which two more were afterwards added; and for this purpose they are said to have sent into Greece to examine the codes of Solon and other renowned lawgivers. They may, indeed, have sent such an embassy into Greece, as well as into Southern Italy and other places, but Niebuhr agrees with all other lawyers and historians in testifying, that there is no element of the Grecian spirit in any fragment of those laws which remain to us, and that the whole of them are conceived in a tone and temperament, which are altogether homesprung. From the researches of Müller and Micali, it appears, that many of them are Etruscan, and that there is a tradition of the Quirites having sent into Etruria, but especially into the Lucumony of Faliscia,* which enjoyed a peculiar reputation at that time for justice and equity. The Roman Patricians, who were educated in Etruria, would know perfectly well how to read Etruscan, but Greek was so foreign to them, that they were obliged to get Hermodorus, an exile from Ephesus, living in Rome, to translate the Grecian laws into Latin; and they considered his labour so arduous, that they decreed him by way of reward, a

* Ant. Hist. xvi. 39, and Serv. Ænd. vii.

statue in the Forum. As these Greek laws were never used, they seem to have been regarded in the light of a literary curiosity, and were, probably, consigned with the Sybiline oracles, to the underground treasuries of Jupiter Capitolinus.

Arnold* justly observes, that if any of the Greek cities knew that Hermodorus had a statue erected to him in the Forum at this period, they would immediately connect it with the writing of the twelve tables. Pliny† gives an opposite account of this story, for he says, that Hermodorus translated the *Roman* laws into Greek! Some of the most distinguished scholars amongst the Germans, believe that the twelve tables were taken from the Tuscans, because they were written in a sort of rhythm, and because the forms of words in them was sacred. Indeed some of the words themselves had such a sanctity attached to them, that they might neither be translated, nor ever used in any transaction with a foreigner.‡ They were like the language of the gods mentioned by Homer, and parts of them were never to be profaned by the language of men.

We will enumerate a few of the provisions of these laws which were Etruscan, and which we think will prove interesting.

“No man might bury within the walls of a city, but triumphers only.

“When the praises of a man's ancestors were sung to the flute, the great deeds of others were not to be disparaged.

* i. p. 254, et seq.

† Plin. xxxiv. 5.

‡ Arnold i. 283.

"The Saturnalian song and Fescinine verses, were adopted as national, and all poetry and history was considered laudable.

"Any one seized as a slave, was free till proved to be otherwise.

"Arson and false witness, witchcraft, treason, and injuring a neighbour's corn by night, were punished with death, and the perpetrators of the two last were to be burnt alive.

"The clients were henceforth enrolled amongst the Plebeian tribes," which we doubt not had been for ages the custom in Etruria.

The laws concerning the political rights of citizenship were singular. The Patricians were masters, fathers, magistrates, priests, and citizens,* but they were not, in one sense, landowners.† When a man died without children, the clan inherited his property if a Patrician, and the tribe if a Plebeian. When land was sold, which all uninaugurated land could be, the sale was legal without writing, provided it took place in the presence of witnesses, and before a magistrate, because the tables said, "As the tongue hath spoken so shall be the law." The highest interest of borrowed money was fixed at ten per cent ‡

One very dreadful law adopted by Rome, we fear we must attribute also to Etruria. The debtor who would not pay, might, as a last resort, be cut to

* Arnold i., p. 265, &c.

† That is to say, that neither the Patricians, nor yet the Plebeians, had the absolute disposal of their property.

‡ Tacit. Ann. vi. 16.

pieces by his creditors,* and such was the feeling of all the Italian nations, as to the iniquity of a man not paying his just debts, or borrowing when he knew he could not repay, that all the Plebeians consented to this law, though its harshness touched them only, and they (the sufferers) pronounced it to be just and good. They thought that faith between man and man could not be too strictly guarded. Would that the aristocracy amongst ourselves had more of this high honour, and just appreciation of the misery they occasion, when their debts are unpaid. Would that they considered, we might almost say *knew*, that the guilt of swindling and stealing, is as common among themselves as among the poor, and that it ought to be held in still greater abhorrence, because all crime in them is of a darker hue, for they cannot plead the same temptations in excuse. Would that they reflected that their negligence in this particular, is the occasion of misery, and bankruptcy, and ruin to thousands.

It is true that all the Patricians in ancient Italy were exempt from these laws of debt. They could not be imprisoned nor destrained, and far less could they be cut to pieces; but on the other hand, in the bitterest invectives against them, they were never accused of being in debt to the Plebeians, nor of causing the widow and the orphan to pine in want, or to fear starvation, because of their heartless and thoughtless delay of payment. Up to this date, the abundant treasures always at the command of their class, prevented their ever running into debt neces-

* Arnold i., p. 136, from Aul. Gell. xx. 1.

sitously, and the public opinion of that class prevented their ever doing so voluntarily. The whole Patriciate came forward to the assistance of its distressed members, for they could not conceive the anomaly of honourable swindlers or noble beggars.

According to Müller, the Greeks had no influence over any part of Central or Northern Etruria, until after the laws of the twelve tables had been collected, and these laws have nothing Greek in their contents. After this time, the intercourse between Grecia Proper and the Peninsula became more frequent, and Niebuhr mentions treasures at Delphi, sent from Pisa, Spina, and Adria. To these Müller adds Agylla and Alsium.

About the year of Tarquinia, 749,* Rome was afflicted by one of her frequent famines, and the people were rioting and crying for bread. This calamity was averted in all the Tuscan states, by their perfect irrigation, and had Rome continued under Tuscan rule, her lands would, doubtless, have been put and kept under a similar process. During the one hundred and five years of the Tuscan kingly dominion, there appears to have been no remarkable dearth; and if there was, the navigation of the Tiber and the fruitful plains of Veii and Faliscia were at their disposal. The Romans seem always to have applied to Etruria for succour when not at war with that country, and now, as usual, they looked to her to relieve their necessities.

Spurius Mælius, a rich and distinguished Plebeian knight, one of the hereditary first class in the Cen-

* B. C. 438.

turies, imported from the Tuscans corn sufficient to satisfy the wants of his poor and starving countrymen. For this good deed he was put to death; and though the cause of his condemnation was, that the Senate imputed his liberality to wrong political motives, it is yet by no means improbable, that some of the Tuscan states may have felt offended at his fate.

The very next year, Fidene (which for sixty years had been a Roman colony) revolted to Veii—we might almost add the familiar expression, “revolted as usual;” for Fidene, when captured or dismembered from Veii, always revolted on the very first opportunity. Tuscan Fidene, set free by Porsenna, came again into Roman chains, through her fidelity to the Tarquinii. She was vanquished by the Dictator Lartius, and had remained subject ever since the death of Tarquinius Superbus; yet though the colonists, in whose hands the whole governing power was placed, and of whom the whole garrison consisted, had had plenty of time to consolidate their authority, the Fidenians seem neither now nor ever, to have become accustomed to their yoke. Fidene must have been a place of immense strength and of considerable importance, to maintain her independence at any time, as she did, within five, or at most six miles of her haughty neighbour, and with no natural barrier between them. Her revolt means that she drove out the Roman garrison, and, taking possession of her own former rights, placed herself once more under the protection of her mother city Veii.

The Lar Tolumnius was at this time King of Veii, and the Romans sent four Feciales to him, to complain of his favouring their rebels, and to demand satisfaction in the accustomed form. Tolumnius most inexcusably, commanded or advised some of the Fidenians who were with him, to seize the Feciales and put them to death. This was a flagrant breach of the law of nations, and Tolumnius well knew that a bloody war must follow. Livy, indeed, thinks that he wished for war, and that his reason for this outrageous deed was, to cut off all hopes of reconciliation between Rome and Fidene, so that they must fight until one or the other should be destroyed. He had confidence enough in his own strength to imagine, that of the two, Rome would be the victim, and his conduct evinces him to have been a man of cruel and haughty temper, and utterly without principle. He had no fear of his own gods, for according to the Tuscan faith, such a deed would array them all against him. It is strange, that any historian, Latin or Tuscan, should have wished to palliate the treachery of such a man; yet Livy tells us that some said he did not command the murder of the Feciales, but that he was playing at Tesseræ, and that he used some expression upon a successful throw, (such as "Thus would I annihilate all my foes,) which the guards around him mistook, and fancied was a direction to them to destroy the ambassadors. This, Livy justly remarks is incredible, for his thoughts could never have been so intent upon the game, as to make him regardless

of the arrival of the Fidenians, and they certainly would not come, prepared in their minds for such gross iniquity.

A war to revenge the insulted Roman nation, and the death of four of her most honourable Patricians, was the immediate consequence. King Tolumnius himself led his troops into the field, and fought a hard-contested battle with the Consul Lucius Sergius Fidenas. The loss of the Romans was so great, that the Senate thought the Consul unequal to his charge, and became also afraid of the fainting spirits of the people. They created in haste Mamercus Emilius, Dictator; and L. Q. Cincinnatus, son to the celebrated commander of that name, was his master of the cavalry. Even the veterans were now called out, which was never done, excepting in cases of extreme danger. Tolumnius had reason to exult at the end of the first campaign, in the terror he had struck into his enemies.

The Dictator now led forth a powerful army of Romans and allies, and the King of Veii retreated to the heights between Fidene and the Anio. Here he took up a strong position, and remained in security until the troops of Faliscia, whose aid he had solicited, came to his assistance. He then encamped beneath the walls of Fidene,* and the Dictator fortified himself strongly between the two rivers, not far from him.

As the adverse armies now fronted each other, the Faliscians were very anxious to come to an im-

* Fidene is now Castel Gubileo.

mediate engagement, especially as the Tuscan forces outnumbered the Roman, but the Veientes and Fidenians considered it much more prudent to wear the Romans out by delay; probably suspecting a scantiness of provisions in their camp, and a disposition among the men to desert. Tolumnius wished also for delay, but was obliged to yield apparently to the Faliscian general, and therefore he said he should give the Romans battle on the morrow. When the morrow came, however, he always discovered some unlucky augury, or some pretext for delaying the fight. This, instead of having the effect Tolumnius expected, restored to his enemies and their general, the courage they so greatly needed, and at length they became so bold, that they offered to attack the Tuscans within their lines. Tolumnius then saw that it was time to act, and placed his battle in array in good earnest. He ranged his own troops upon the right wing, the Faliscians on the left, and the Fidenians, the cause of the war, in the centre. To these were opposed in the same order, the Dictator, Quintius Capitolinus, and the cavalry. There was a Roman fort in the rear of the Dictator's camp, in which the augurs were stationed, and he most prudently resolved not to engage, until he could assure his troops that the gods promised them the victory. He waited, therefore, until the signal was given from the fort, that all the omens were favourable, and then he ordered the cavalry to rush upon the centre of the enemy, charging them with a loud shout, and the infantry

to follow up the attack. As the Romans fought with the confidence of success, they broke the Etruscan legions, and occasioned a temporary disorder, but their cavalry soon rallied and withstood the enemy, whilst Tolumnius, who, though impious, was eminently brave, everywhere restored the fortune of the day.

We suspect, for more reasons than one, that the Romans were entirely defeated in this battle, but as it would not consist with the majesty and invincibility of Rome to acknowledge any defeat that was not more than compensated for, by a subsequent victory, the historians attach to this account, the legend of Aulus Cornelius Cossus, a Roman giant, a man in all points a match for that Tuscan, who in the former war killed the brother of the Consul Fabius. Livy* acknowledges that the deed of prowess which this tale records, took place six or nine years afterwards, and not under the Dictator Emilius. He says that it happened during the time when Cossus was Consul, and we may therefore fairly presume, that in this battle under the Dictator, Cossus performed no wonders, and that until his consulship, Tolumnius continued to be the successful adversary and terror of the Romans. We shall give the story in its place, and in that place we do not doubt its authenticity.

During the battle of Fidene, in which Cossus fought, the Tuscans had sent a body of men to attack the Roman camp, probably not suspecting that the veteran legion had been left for its protection.

* iv. 20.

Their commander manned the ramparts all round, and stood on the defensive, until seeing the enemy intent upon forcing his entrenchments, he made an unexpected sally out of the right gate, with a body of experienced and determined men, and beat them back to their own comrades. We do not know the real events of this campaign, because to save the fame of Rome, the triumph of Cossus, many years after, is attributed to the Dictator now, but it is certain that the next year, though the legions were sent into the lands of Veii and Faliscia, there was no fighting beyond mutual skirmishes for cattle and slaves, and not one town of the Etruscans was besieged, though some of them, and especially the obnoxious Fidene, lay close into Rome. This year and the next, pestilence raged amongst the Romans, and in the fourth campaign of the war, Tolumnius led the forces of Fidene and Veii, heedless of infection, up to the Colline gate. The Faliscians, for some cause, had withdrawn their aid, and from the complaints afterwards made of the Veientes at Volturna, we suppose that cause to have been, that they did not think they had received a fair share of the spoil.

When the Colline was once more besieged, the consternation in the city was extreme. The Consul Julius* dare not face the foe, but drew up his men on the ramparts and walls, and the Senate was assembled for consultation in the temple of Quirinus. They had no other resource but the extreme one of again appointing a Dictator, and this was accord-

* Livy iv. 21.

ingly adopted. The new Dictator ordered every man of the Plebeians, capable of bearing arms, to meet him without delay, prepared for war, at the Colline gate, and thither he went himself, carrying the ensigns taken out of the treasury. His force was so large that the Tuscans withdrew to the neighbourhood of Nomentum, and there stood a general engagement.

This time they seem really to have been defeated, for a part of them was driven into Fidene, and that city was besieged. In vain, however, did the Dictator try to take it by storm or famine. An abundant supply of corn was laid up in their magazines, and their military works, and walls, and towers, were hopelessly strong for the belligerent machines of that day. The Roman general, therefore, thought of the device which had once before succeeded at Fidene, under similar circumstances. Perhaps some bard sang to him at supper the adventures of Lucius Tarquinius, when he was Tribunes Celerum to Ancus Marcius. At any rate he adopted the same plan. He carried on the siege and made feigned attacks, at the very time that he was undermining it from the opposite side to his camp, having divided his mining companies into four bands, that they might relieve each other, and work night and day. At length, the task was completed without ever having been suspected by the besieged, and they were not roused from their security until the Roman troops were actually within the town, when they were overpowered and compelled to submit. The Romans,

instead of destroying this city, after their usual fashion, simply re-established their garrison, and were contented with leaving the walls and houses of Fidene as they had found them. This shows that the city surrendered upon terms, and implies also an obstinate and bold defence, by which the Romans suffered great loss, and were otherwise unfortunate, for the Dictator brought in no spoil, and had no triumph.

Fidene was, however, really taken, and for the present lost to Etruria; for the states of Veii and Faliscia were so dismayed, that they demanded a meeting at Voltumna, to consult upon what steps were now to be taken both for its recovery and their own safety. Livy says that they sent ambassadors to all the twelve Lucumonai, to summon a full meeting, and that the Roman Senate were so alarmed at the probable result of this assembly, that they again had recourse to the expedient of appointing a Dictator. They made more strenuous exertions for this campaign than even for the last, because they thought the danger more alarming, having before their eyes not only the overwhelming force which Etruria could send into the field, but the probability that the dreaded Lar Tolumnius would, on account of his superior talent, be the leader chosen to direct their military operations.

The meeting at Voltumna took place, and, as usual, a fair was held at the same time, and some of the merchants, after the fair, repaired to Rome. What was the amazement and joy of the Romans,

when they heard that the great council of Etruria had refused aid to the King of Veii, alleging as their reason, that he had begun the war on his own private account, without asking their consent, and that they had no idea of relieving him in distress, when he had kept aloof from them, in all his prosperous fortunes. Now, if we are to believe the account of the Roman historians, we would ask, what prosperous fortune Tolumnius ever had, in which he could have made the members of the League sharers? They evidently allude to conquests, and tribute, and booty; but all the histories of Rome which give an account of this war, year by year, tell us, either that he fled before their armies, or that he dared not fight them, or that he lay beleagured in his fortified towns. Are we not right, then, in attributing to him victory in several of his campaigns?

It would appear, that after the fall of Fidene, there was a truce concluded between Veii and Rome for one year, as the princes of Voltumna put off their final decision for that time, and the Romans were afflicted with one of their usual pestilences. As they feared that famine would soon be superadded to war, they gladly took advantage of this truce to send into Etruria for corn, and the supplies from that country did not fail them.

The next year was made remarkable by the Consul, Aulus Postumius, having his own son beheaded for disobedience to his orders; though with less pride of spirit than Brutus, the much-lauded, had shown before him.

As soon as the Etruscan truce was ended, Aulus Cornelius Cossus was made Consul in Rome, and was given the charge of the Veientine war. This was the ninth year since it had commenced, and the death of the four Feciales was still unrevenge, for Tolumnius continued to rule in Veii, and his name and prowess were the terror of the Romans. Not only so, but Fidene, though colonized so recently, had revolted, and resumed her old alliance. At first, many of the sons of the wealthy Tuscans, not able to bear the loss of their freedom, secretly withdrew and joined their countrymen; but upon the Roman Senate commanding that all who were convicted of defection should be sent to Ostia, they openly rebelled, flew to arms, and killed and drove away the new Roman settlement. They then immediately put themselves under the protection of Veii, and received her friendly troops with joy, into their citadel. The Romans, therefore, had now the disgrace and slaughter of their colonists to avenge, as well as the murder of their ambassadors, and they could not have chosen a more proper person for their general, than the illustrious Patrician whose valour and conduct they had several times before proved, both as military Tribune and in other high offices of trust.

Cossus boldly led forth his troops against Tolumnius, who commanded the united forces of the Tuscans, and made himself so remarkable by his encounter with the great though wicked king, that he came to be one of the most renowned of the Roman

heroes, and Livy* gives us a detailed account of his appearance. He was a man of distinguished birth, and resolved by his own achievements, to add to the lustre of his family. He was remarkable among his countrymen for the extraordinary beauty of his countenance and figure, and still more so for his high and noble spirit, and his superior bodily strength. This hero of nature's making determined to fight Tolumnius, hand to hand, and sought him out in battle the more determinedly, that wherever that great general appeared, victory always followed him, and the Romans fled. Even the cavalry could not withstand his charge. He was everywhere distinguished, and everywhere known by his undaunted bearing, royal apparel, and ceaseless activity.

At length Cossus exclaimed against him with a loud voice, unable any longer to restrain his indignation, and confident in his own strength and valour, probably also in his younger years.† He cried out, "Is this he who breaks the bonds of human society, and violates the laws of nations? He has made himself a victim, and I will slay him, and offer him to the Manes of our ambassadors; if it is the will of the gods that any ties should remain sacred upon earth." Saying this, he spurred forward his horse, and closed with him, spear in rest. He was the only soldier in the field worthy to engage in single combat with the Lucumo of Veii, and after some desperate fighting, he unhorsed and killed him.

Supposing the monarch's steed to have been exhausted and the Consul's fresh, or to have been already

* iv. 19.

† iv. 19.

wounded, or to have stumbled, or otherwise failed to his hand, no Roman bard or historian would have thought it needful to mention such a trifle. Tolumnius falls the moment Cossus attacks him, and being on the ground, Cossus strikes him with his shield, and then pins him to the earth and kills him. It is usual for troops, on both sides, to ride up to the assistance of their leaders, but though the battle is raging, these two chiefs are left quite alone, and for so long a time, that after Tolumnius's fall, Cossus had leisure to cut off the head, to strip the body, and to carry off the spoils without any interruption. None of his men fell a sacrifice in the endeavours of the Tuscans to revenge the fate of their great prince. Cossus, as this legend tells us, stuck the king's head on the point of his spear, and carried it with him as he galloped over the field of strife, and wherever he appeared with this trophy, the dismayed Etruscans gave way. The cavalry, which till now was invincible, became horror-struck, and fled, and Cossus pursued them even to the limits of their own camp, but there his victory was stayed.

For this battle between Cornelius Cossus, and Tolumnius, in the year of Rome 327, and not earlier, we have the incontrovertible authority of Niebuhr, in concurrence with Livy. Propertius says,* that Cossus, when he first led forth the Romans in their campaign, besieged Veii, and shook the walls with his battering rams; this could only be effected towards the Ponte del Sodo. Tolumnius appeared at the top

* iv.

of the gate, and proposed a conference, upon which Cossus challenged him to single combat, and having conquered him in the manner related by Livy, he fixed his bloody head upon his saddle-bow, and thus bore it as a trophy through the field. We do not believe that the Romans were ever able to besiege Veii until they were under the command of Camillus, but it is not unlikely that Cossus sent a defiance to Tolumnius, when the armies were drawn out, and that it was accepted.

Notwithstanding their defeat and irreparable loss, the camp of the Tuscans was not taken, and what much increases our surprise, the Fidenians did not assist to defend it, for Livy says, that they escaped to the mountains, and there were safe. We should have thought them more safe with the men of Veii, but, doubtless, they knew best. Cossus returned to Rome with much booty, and had a glorious triumph, in which the most remarkable and valued trophies, were the spolia opima he had won from the Tuscan King. These were the second ever taken by Rome, and could only be conquered by one general from another. Cossus dedicated them, as Romulus had done before him, in the temple of Jupiter Fere-trius. His was all the honour of the victory and the triumph, and his dedication, as "Aulus Cornelius Cossus, CONSUL," was written upon a linen breast-plate, and read by Augustus Cæsar, at the time he re-stored the temple.* The people at Cossus's triumph,

* Livy iv. 20.

dedicated to Jupiter, out of gratitude, a golden crown of ten thousand ascs weight.

Notwithstanding this signal defeat, the Veientes are accused the very next year, of violating the truce, which it seems they had concluded. Livy* says, they renewed hostilities before the proper term had expired, and thus it seems plain, that their humiliation had not been so great as the Romans pretend, though, no doubt, they were partly tempted to this ungenerous line of conduct, by the belief, that their enemies were little able to resist them, from the dreadful pestilence which at this time, raged in the sacred city. The Romans, in order to gain time, sent the Feciales to demand an explanation, but Veii paid them no attention. However reluctantly, Rome was forced to declare war, and three military Tribunes were sent with the legions to do their worst against the Tuscans. The hero, Cossus, staid at home, being appointed to defend the city in case they should meet with ill success.

On this memorable occasion, in the eleventh year of the war, the Romans themselves confess they were defeated. The three generals quarrelled, each being of a different opinion, and when the Veientes attacked them, one gave the signal to retreat, while the other ordered the charge to be sounded. The troops, therefore, knew not what to do, and were thrown into inextricable confusion. They at last found safety in their camp, and managed to secure

* iv. 30.

themselves behind the entrenchments, the generals giving out that the disgrace was greater than the slaughter. If this were anything more than a Napoleon bulletin, it is difficult to understand the extreme terror of the people, who seem to have given up themselves for lost, execrating the Tribunes, and demanding a Dictator, as the only means of safety. This was the voice of men who had three times seen the enemy repulsed from the Colline gate, and yet their leaders found it impossible to calm their apprehensions. A Dictator was appointed accordingly, and under him the renowned Cossus was made master of the horse, in order to restore spirit to the much disheartened Romans. We cannot forbear remarking, that unless their enemies were extremely formidable, they must have been at the time, a most chicken-hearted people.

Veii, in the mean while, rejoiced in her victory, but she does not seem to have been puffed up by it, as she immediately sent to the other states of Etruria, entreating them to engage in her quarrel, and when they still declined, she endeavoured to attract to herself a large force, by liberal promises of booty. Fidene, once more free, joined heart and soul with Veii, and allowed the Veientine general to make her the seat of war. In spite of the Dictator, here were the armies of the Tuscans again, within five miles of Rome. We believe they advanced nearer, for the Roman troops were all recalled, and encamped before the Colline gate, in order to form a barrier between the city of the

Seven Hills, and her formidable antagonists; and the reserve legion was armed and posted on the walls. The courts of justice were closed—the shops were shut, and Rome was a camp rather than a city.

In this panic, the Dictator had the people called together, and made them a long speech, in which he enumerated all the former victories of Rome, real and pretended, and dwelt in glowing terms upon the bravery of her soldiers and the cowardice of all other troops. Having persuaded his men that under himself and Cossus, they could not fail to be victorious, he went up to the Capitol to offer his sacrifice, and then marched forth on the road to Fidene. He encamped upon a spot about fifteen hundred paces from the town, having his right covered by the mountains, and his left by the Tiber; and he ordered one of his officers, with a considerable force, to post himself upon any eminence he could find, in the rear of the enemy's citadel. The Etruscans came on full of confidence, in consequence of their late successes, and the Dictator led out his infantry to meet them, entreating Cossus, by his late triumphs, not to move with the cavalry, until he should receive a signal to do so from him.

After some hard fighting, the fortune of the day seemed to incline to the Romans, when suddenly the gates of Fidene flew open, and a body of men burst forth which seemed to the eyes of the astonished Romans an immense multitude, bearing in their hands burning firebrands, and, in fact, per-

sonating the evil genii of their own mythology. The Romans thought they were madmen; and, as a Lucumo had sent them forth, "as mad as a Lucumo" became a common phrase in Rome. They were at first very much dismayed, and thrown into disorder, but an unaccountable shouting on their own side, made them believe that spirits were also fighting for the fortunes of Rome; and Cossus at that critical juncture advancing with the cavalry, rallied and turned them. The officer who had been sent behind Fidene, saw from the height on which he was posted, that the left wing had been put to flight, and hastened with his reserve to overtake and drive them back again, in which he succeeded. He told his troops that the beings they so much feared, were only men like themselves, and that if they had courage and presence of mind sufficient, to wrest these dreaded and fearful looking weapons from the hands of their enemies, they would then be able to turn their own brands against themselves. The Romans, recovering from their alarm, grappled resolutely with the fire-bearing Tuscans, armed themselves with the torches of those they slew, and in the end gained a complete victory.

Niebuhr denies that Cornelius Cossus was master of the horse in this battle, or that he took any share in it, and he also disbelieves the story of the Fidenians rushing out with torches. It was, however, by no means an unlikely stratagem for the Tuscans, and the effect it had upon the Romans, who took them for the demons they represented, was perfectly

natural. We are only inclined to believe that it was a stratagem of the women—perhaps the priestesses—rather than of the men, and that they imagined this method of assisting their husbands and terrifying their enemies. It was surely not more extravagant, than the expedient of one of our own generals during the last war, to keep off the French, when they threatened an invasion of the Welsh coast, by lining the heights with women in red cloaks, whom our simple-minded enemies imagined to be soldiers. Robert Bruce made use of the same *ruse* at the battle of Bannockburn with equal success.

On the loss of this battle, the Tuscans were of course obliged to a precipitate flight towards Veii, and many a brave soldier was drowned in endeavouring to cross the Tiber. The Fidenians sought safety within their city, but the Romans were so close upon them, that they entered the town together, and both city and camp were taken and given up to plunder. The Dictator assigned by lot one captive to each Knight and Centurion, and two to such as had particularly distinguished themselves, and the rest he sold by auction into slavery.

As this was not followed by any farther hostilities, on the part of the Romans against the Tuscans, we learn that, notwithstanding their success, they feared to cross the Tiber, and that Veii was too formidable and too well defended, to be looked upon as their prey. Whether they offered a truce, or that proud state proposed one, we do not know, but

after the death of Tolumnius and the second capture of Fidene, the war was terminated by a peace with Veii for twenty years.* Some writers, in order to exalt still further the glory of Rome, speak of a naval engagement at Fidene; but we need not criticize this, as Livy dismisses it at once, and terms it "a legend equally incredible and impossible." As the final result of this contest, Fidene was ceded to Rome, and again settled as a colony, the Tuscans being all degraded or enslaved, and their lands distributed among the conquerors. It continued quiet for eight and thirty years, but nothing could extinguish in the breasts of this people the love of their own nation; and in A. R. 367, they struck one last expiring and vigorous blow for liberty, which, though it did not end in re-union with Etruria, yet greatly altered their lot, and caused them to be admitted amongst the Tribesmen, and free citizens of the Roman people.

During the period of fifty years, which we have been considering, or over which we have glanced, we have heard nothing of Etruria Nova, and therefore conclude that country to have remained in peace. At any rate, no violent convulsion can have disturbed her, though Livy, in his account of the many various incursions of the Gauls, leaves us to fix some of their periods, at what time we please. It is, however, most likely that this division of the Etruscan people, had enjoyed a long period of tranquillity, because the appearance of the Gauls, twenty-five years

* A. R. 330, A. TARQ. 764, B. C. 423.

later, on the frontiers of Central Etruria, caused such extreme alarm, and their encampment before Chiusi, such unfeigned terror and surprise. Herodotus, who about this date, visited Cære, takes no notice of any wars in the north of Italy, and must have heard of them, had any been then raging. He would gain his information from the magnates and merchants in the state of Agylla, and these men would learn at Voltumna, all the news which concerned the various divisions of their nation. He places the Celts in the west of Europe beyond the pillars of Hercules, and speaks of a portion of the Umbri, as then dwelling at the foot of the mountains in which the Inn and the Drave take their rise. These Umbri had been forced northwards by the former Gallic invasions, and the Gauls of Mediolanum, Brixen and Verona, were at this time quiet and innoxious.

In the South, of which we have heard nothing since the fatal battle of Cuma, all was not so free from trouble. A very few years after the peace of Veii had given security to Etruria Proper, the metropolis of southern Etruria, the largest and wealthiest of her cities, was taken by the Samnites.* This was Vulturnum, afterwards Capua, which, as we have said before, was the Tarquinia of the south;† the chief city of the twelve states settled there, and one, whose overthrow, probably broke their union. The Romans, whose account of the catastrophe is the only one preserved to us, knew nothing of

* Diod. xii.; Livy iv. 37.

† Vol. i. p. 394.

Southern Etruria, and felt no interest in her history; but from the few lines in which Livy describes the fate of Vulturnum, we learn that the Etruscans of Opica, had been for many years at war with the Samnites, and that they were obliged to make peace at last, by admitting this tribe to a share of their lands, and also to some kind of settlement within the walls of their city. The King of Vulturnum must have been a weak and foolish man, to have complied with these conditions, nor is it easy to conceive how any people could be induced to admit its enemies within its gates. It may be, that as Isopolites, they entered the city in vast numbers, or that a colony of them came as a band of the Sacred Spring, and on this plea were welcomed to a quarter of the city, which would be willingly yielded up to such visitors and suppliants.

By whatever means they made their first settlement, they were now under a leader called Capys, the Etruscan name for a hawk, which alone may give us an idea of his military talents, and his reputation for vigilance and activity. The Samnites had no share in the government of Vulturnum, but only enjoyed protection within her ramparts, under their own laws and discipline. Capys being equally ambitious and unprincipled, formed the design of possessing himself of the city, and reducing its lawful masters to subjection. This he could do the more easily, because the King of Vulturnum was a man, who neglected every wise precaution, and who was fonder of feasting than of fighting. The luxuri-

ousness and indolence of the South, had produced their effect on the habits of the Etruscan settlers there, and they had become by this time, an essentially different people from those of the centre, and the North. During a festival, all the warriors of Vulturnum had made themselves heavy with sleep and food, and Capys, whose men were not accustomed to such self-indulgence, and who despised the vices from which they were as yet free, fell upon the Tuscan Patricians and massacred them.—They then possessed themselves of the citadel and the town, and Vulturnum became a Samnite city, and changed its name to Capua. Such of the Tuscanian military as escaped, we have strong presumption for believing joined their countrymen in the Athenian army, and fought in the Peloponnesian war. Thucydides* mentions the Etruscans in that army, and says, that when Athens had resolved upon her great expedition against Syracuse, she sent into Etruria to ask for help, whereupon several of the maritime cities, willingly took part in the quarrel. They manned three Pentekonteres, and gave such timely aid as to ward off utter destruction from the Athenians, when their fortunes failed, towards the end of the siege. Thucydides says that hatred to Syracuse, induced the Tyrseni of the coast to accept the offers, and join the forces of the Athenians;† and it was but natural, that the fugitives of Vulturnum, should seek employment and honour by the side of their own countrymen.

The greater part of the Tuscan population re-

* vi. 33, vii. 53, &c.

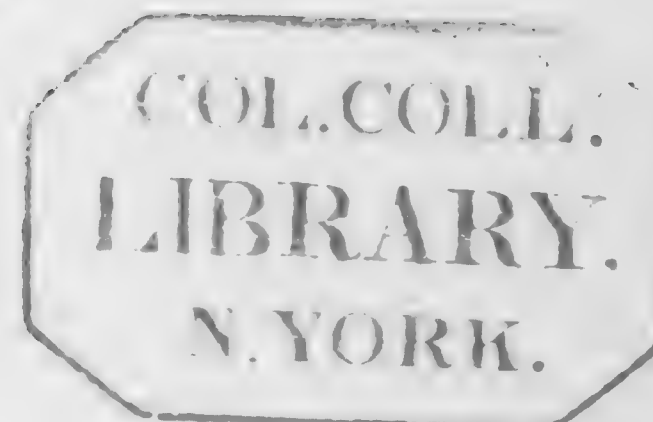
† Müller Etrusk. p. 198.

mained in Vulturnum, and kept themselves quiet under the Samnite rule. They seemed to have changed their once warlike character for the peaceful habits of traders, selling to their countrymen and to the Italian Greeks, vases, purple mantles, and other wares, and no longer seeking to lead, either as statesmen or as warriors. When Capua, the Samnite town, was, long after, taken by the Romans, she was as full of purple and gold as the cities of Tyre and Sidon; and the Etruscans formed the bulk of her Plebeian and Ærarian population, until she was destroyed. Vulturnum of the Rasena, is supposed to have been taken by Capys, about 420 B. C., in the year of Tarquinia 767, and its history, short as the fragment is, proves it to have been at war with the Samnites many years before that period.

Dionysius calls this city by the remarkable name of Larissa; that very name which Bochart* tells us, the Greeks gave to the ancient Resen after it was destroyed. When Capua, in the course of time, became a prey to the Romans, they themselves said it could only be compared to Corinth and Carthage, and this, as Müller observes, could not be owing to the Samnites, for there is no example amongst them of great cities, great refinement, or extensive trade and commerce. According to Müller, the population of Vulturnum, at the time it was seized by Capys, consisted of Tuscans, as the ruling class, and of Oscans, as the mass of the people. The Oscans,

* Biog. Sacra.

as we have before remarked, were the original inhabitants of the whole country, before it was conquered by the Tuscans, and these two races continued to live together, down to the latest trace we have of either. Accordingly, even in the days of the empire, a dialect of Oscan continued to be the language of the common people throughout the cities of ancient Opica. The Oscan writing is not Greek, but a national modified Tuscan, which Müller conceives to be an undeniable proof of the predominant Tuscan influence, and of the Tuscans having taught the ancient people all that they could boast of knowledge or civilization.



CHAPTER XIV.

FROM A. R. 340 TO 360; A. C. 413 TO 399; A. T. 774 TO 794.

THE SIEGE AND FALL OF VEII.*

Veii observes the truce—Overflow of Tiber—Veii changes her form of government—Threatens the Feciales—Renews the war—Eighth Seculum—Rome besieges Veii—Takes Ardena—Diet of Vultumna—Prince of Veii affronts the Diet—Etruria indignant—Romans winter before Veii—Troops complain of cold—Appius Claudius insists on their remaining—Tuscans raise the siege—Assisted by Faliscia and Capena—Defeat Romans—Siege renewed—Severe winter—Capenians repulsed—Rise of Lake Alba—Tuscan Haruspex—National prophecies—Emissarium—Delphic oracle—Tarquinia aids Veii—Faliscia calls a meeting at Vultumna—Diet permits troops to hire themselves—Faliscia defeats the Romans—Rome in great alarm—Camillus Dictator—Battle of Nepete—Camillus undermines the city—Asks how to dispose of booty—Vows temple to Juno Veientina—Veii assaulted—Capitulates—Sacked—Her greatness and opulence—Gods and treasures removed to Rome—Camillus seeks the desolation of Veii.

* Authorities: Livy iv. 48, &c. v. 1–23; Dion. xii.; Nieb. vols. i. ii.; Ant. Hist. xi. xvi.; Plut. in Camil.

THE last war with Veii had been concluded by a peace for twenty years; but notwithstanding this, the Romans continued in perpetual fear, lest their contests with the nations on the other side of the Tiber should tempt the Tuscans to break it before the time. The year in which A. Cossus and A. Cincinnatus were associated in the supreme command of the sacred city, seems to have been a special trial to their forbearance, and Livy says, that they certainly would have attacked Rome in the twelfth year of this peace, had not an inundation of the Tiber, so injured their land, and especially their country seats, that they found it more convenient to remain quiet. Veii could have had but very few country-seats upon the line of the Tiber, and we do not understand how any injury done to these could have affected the operation of her troops. Neither can we imagine, if the Etruscans remained tranquilly at home, by what means the Romans could have known that but for this inundation, they would have attacked them. We should have thought it much more likely to have caused, than to have prevented an invasion from the Veientes, not only because their lands were at all times so much better secured against injury by water, than those of their rivals, but because any harm done to Etruria by the overflowing of the Tiber, must have fallen with tenfold greater force upon Rome. If at this day, the streets, houses and temples, are sometimes in danger from the swellings of the Tiber, we wonder that in ancient times they were not half drowned.

However this may be, the extraordinary overflow to which we have alluded, so cooled the military ardour of the Etruscans, that they preserved the stipulated peace, not only through the year on which they had planned a hostile irruption, but for eight years afterwards, till the original time had fairly expired. Nay, more, when the Quirites were nearly perishing from one of their usual famines, in the A. T. 778, the Tuscans were the most prompt amongst their neighbours to relieve their necessities; they sent them supplies from all their ports on the Turrhene Sea; and Livy says, the largest quantity of foreign corn which they received was from the Tiber, on account of the very active zeal of the Turrheni.

At length Veii being tired of taking fright at the Tiber when it overflowed, and of sending food to keep up the strength of her hostile-minded rivals, remembered that the peace was at an end, and determined to recommence the former struggle. It would appear, that after the death of Lars Tolumnius, the Senate of Veii changed their form of government and tried Consuls, as Rome had done, after the banishment of her kings; and with no better issue, for the people continued discontented and disaffected. The year in which the war should have recommenced, Veii was in such a state of dissension, that her rulers would very gladly have deferred it until they were more united amongst themselves, and they sent ambassadors to Rome, to express their willingness, on certain terms, to prolong the

peace. Livy gives us to understand, that these terms were, until they should have settled their domestic quarrels, and be more able and ready to oppose their enemies with success.

The Romans, however, even in these early times, when Egypt and all the great monarchies of Asia were crumbling to pieces through luxury and old age, even in these ages of poetic heroism and childish simplicity, thought that these terms were rather unequal, somewhat bordering upon the extravagant; and therefore they sent four *Feciales* to the Veientine Senate, to declare that they did not as yet consider that they had received sufficient satisfaction for the last war, and that they must have other conditions proposed, if there was to be a continuation of friendship between them. What must have been their amazement when the senators of Veii replied to them—that unless they were contented with the terms already offered, and left the city instantly, they would treat them as Lars Tolumnius had treated their predecessors, the ambassadors, in his day. Upon this the *Feciales* returned without delay to Rome, and reported the contemptuous message to their own Senate, naturally giving and adding to it, the warm colouring of their own offended pride.

When we, who live at the distance of so many centuries, hear or read this message, we feel our own blood run quicker with indignation, and we consequently expect the whole nation to rise as one man, in order to revenge the insulted majesty of Rome. But this

was not the effect. The Senate treated the matter with the utmost coolness, or at least with the most leisurely anger, for they merely ordered the military Tribunes to *propose* to the people a war with Veii, as soon as they could find a fitting opportunity. The tribes being assembled, felt no moving wrath against Veii, and did not seem to consider their own honour at all implicated in punishing the gross affront which had just been offered to their ambassadors; on the contrary, they agreed that they saw no necessity for war upon that account; that they had already as much upon their hands as they could support; that they required all their strength, and more than all, to keep off the Volsci, and that they believed the Patricians to be much more dangerous enemies to them than the Etruscans. They also objected, very particularly, to begin a quarrel with such a state as Veii, which they called “a most powerful nation,” and which they feared would soon rouse all Etruria to arms against them. In short, so strong was the determination of the Romans, not to draw upon themselves these dreaded enemies, that the Senate was obliged to defer the war, at least until the next year, when the people might be in better spirits.

Seven *Sæcula* of Etruscan time had now run their course, each *Sæculum* averaging one hundred and ten years. The eighth had commenced, and very early in its period, the first history of Etruria was written, being compiled from the dry but carefully preserved pontifical annals of the various states,

and from the names and dates which marked their principal temples. The Etruscans were, doubtless, moved to attempt this species of composition by the success and example of Herodotus, whose writings they could not fail to know; and it is a curious fact, that their literature received its first great impulse, when their political power, both at land and sea, was visibly on the decline.

In the mean while, the Romans had taken Terracina and Anxur, two rich cities of the Turrhene Volsci, and they were thereby enabled to send off colonies, and to give their soldiers a considerable portion of booty; but still they were unequal to organize a war with Veii, until the Senate had pledged itself to an unheard of concession towards the army, viz., that every Plebeian who served in it, should receive pay all the year round from the state. This measure caused such excessive joy, that it opened at once the eyes of the refractory tribes and centuries, and they now clearly discerned, what before they could not see, that they had been unpardonably affronted by Veii, and that they must exact from that state a full and ample satisfaction.*

Accordingly, six military tribunes raised their legions, and were able, by unusual good management, to cross the Tiber, to march over the twelve miles which lay between themselves and the capital of their enemies without being defeated, and to invest their strong and beautiful metropolis. This is full confirmation to us, that the domestic dissensions

* A. T. 784.

in Veii were of unusual violence, otherwise her troops would have opposed the Romans, as they had done upon former occasions. But the encampment of the Quiritary army beneath the walls of Veii, though a sufficiently unusual circumstance for the annals of the Pontiffs to dwell upon with triumph, was, in fact, an occurrence of no more consequence than the encampment of the Etruscans upon the Janiculum had been in former wars. Each party had invested their enemies only upon one side, and therefore, whilst the others were free, as was the case at Veii, and open to supplies and assistance, the attack could be but a temporary inconvenience, and more mortifying by showing a want of generalship, than alarming, by exposing them to any formidable danger. It is but human nature to allow that some of the Veientine Patricians were glad to see the enemy on their lands, and that though they did not assist, yet neither did they oppose them. They were not traitors, but their civil contentions made them pleased with the distress of the opposite party.

At the time when this war was first declared at Rome, and made popular among her subjects and allies, by the concession of pay, a full meeting was held by the Etruscans at the temple of Vultumna, to consult whether Veii was in danger or not, and whether the rest of Etruria was required to give her assistance. In the great National Diet, the Veientes themselves were evidently divided into two parties, and argued on different sides, for the princes of the other states preferred no charge against them,

and yet they left the grand question for which they had assembled, undecided. They felt that should a Lars Tolumnius rise again amongst the great men at Veii, she could be in no distress, and that the other Lucumonies might pursue their inland occupations and commerce, and carry on their trade and manufactures in perfect security.

During the first and second years of their contest with Rome, their enemies did not show themselves formidable, being able to do little more than keep up the lines they had made upon the eastern side of Veii, but they were fortunate enough to free themselves of the Volscian war, by taking the town of Artena, which gave rise to a most desirable peace with that people. Niebuhr believes Artena to have been originally Tuscan town, built and named whilst the Tuscans ruled over the Volscian territory, and it has sometimes been confounded with Artena, one of the four towns anciently within the limits of Agylla, which was destroyed by the Roman kings.

The Romans felt their deliverance from this war, as quite a providential circumstance, because they and their allies were now able to turn all their forces against Veii, at the time it had become strengthened by the thing they most dreaded, the election of a second Lars Tolumnius, a "Lucumo Superbus," or, in other words, an imperious and talented man, to be their king. It seems as if the Romans would gladly have concluded peace, but the Tuscans did not choose it, for Livy lays the rancour and animosity of the war to their charge; and says,

that it was evident from their conduct that one of the contending cities must be destroyed.

The Veientines were tired of their Consuls, and remembering their former victories under their Kings, resolved once more to return to the monarchical form. As this was the government under which all, or almost all their brethren of the League, were flourishing and prosperous, they could not have decided upon a better step, or one more acceptable to this aristocratic confederacy, but unfortunately the man they chose for their Lar was of so insolent a demeanour, and so overbearing a character, that he was generally disliked by his former equals; and though his riches and talents gave him the pre-eminence in his native city, his haughty temper had made him odious to the princes of Volturna. The ambition and arrogance of this proud man, made him conceive that he had a right to be elected High Priest of Etruria, when the grand council met to debate the affairs of this war; and upon another Lucumo being preferred, and chosen to fill the office, he resolved to exercise his vengeance in a manner which should be felt by the whole Etruscan nation. He offered his handsome and richly-dressed slaves in large numbers to perform in the solemn Circensian, and other sacred games, and then in the midst of them, when the prizes were yet undecided, and the interest of the audience excited to the utmost, he rose from the assembly, ordered his chariot to return home, and commanded all his followers to attend him.

This was an insult, not only to the majesty of the assembly, but to the goddess of Concord, and to all the other gods and goddesses in whose honour the games were celebrated. The Veientine Prince was execrated for his impiety, but his name, unlike that of most unpopular sovereigns, has passed into oblivion; and no magnate of the eleven states affronted by him in their persons or representatives, would henceforth hold communion with him. It is strange that the Veientes should have elected such a man to rule over them, but great tyrants are oftener than not, men of superior ability and courage, and his election was probably after the fashion of the three Etruscan dynasties, who, one after the other, had seized the supreme power in Rome, but who all professed to hold the crown by the will of the people.

When the elevation of this man to sovereignty was known throughout Etruria, the National Diet again assembled at Voltumna, and there in common council passed a decree, that no assistance should be given to Veii in any of her wars, as long as she continued under his government. We can have no doubt that the haughty Lucumo was perfectly aware of the decree, and set it at defiance, but he was presumed not to know it, because none of his own subjects dared to inform him, and they were thoroughly persuaded, that had any of them given him warning, he would have put the person who did so, to death as a seditious malcontent.

The Romans were soon informed of all these* pro-

* Liv. v. 1.

ceedings, and were acquainted with the character of the King, and the resolutions of the Council, but they could augur nothing from them in their own favour, and they feared both the military resources of the former, and the wonted patriotism of the latter. The League had no intention of abandoning a member, but only desired that member to change its head. Uncertain, therefore, of what the Tuscans might be able to effect, and warned by past experience of their strength and skill, the Romans increased their fortifications, and put themselves in a posture of defence, in order to carry on a war which now assumed the aspect of determined conquest or extermination.

Having once gained a footing in the lands of their enemies, the Roman generals remembered the scheme and attempt of the Fabii, and endeavoured to profit by their example. They had as yet, established no colony to guard their own frontiers, or to annoy and harass their foes, and yet they found that without something similar, their investment of the city was a mere child's play. Some authors have thought, from the expressions of Livy, that they had erected a double wall of circumvallation, and that it was carried all round the city, the inner wall purposing to blockade it, and the outer to prevent help from their allies; but Niebuhr says, that this was not possible, because amongst other reasons, the mere circuit of the city was between four and five miles. Livy means, therefore, that the Romans established two encampments upon the plain, as near to the town as they could approach, and that the commu-

nication between these two, was maintained by a line of forts which they kept garrisoned all the year round, and which prevented the Tuscans from being able to cultivate any of their lands within the range of their foraging parties. If they, as heretofore, had laid aside military operations during the winter, and had gone into quarters, there was every probability that the King of Veii would contrive to regain the territory which the Consuls or Tribunes of Veii, through their own dissensions, had lost.

The Roman generals, therefore, equally to the surprise of their enemies and of their own troops, desired that they should continue in the field, heedless of the season, and ordered the men to erect huts, where they were necessary for their protection. In this situation, the soldiers murmured almost to mutiny, and showed a love of comfort and want of military ardour, which to modern troops would appear equally effeminate and ridiculous. They complained, by their Tribunes, that their tents and huts were covered with frost and snow, which made them perish with cold, and that whilst they were forced in this condition to be for ever on the alert, in order to resist the attacks of the Tuscans, they had the vexation of seeing them, when the daily skirmish was over, retire securely to their strong city on the heights, where they warmed themselves by their cheerful fires, within solid stone walls, and where they were close to their wives and children, even if they did not enjoy their society.

The Romans thought it quite enough to keep the

Veientines from actually bravadoing them at their gates, and had no desire for settlements within their impracticable territory beyond the Tiber. There was actually an attempt made by the Plebeian leaders in Rome to have the army withdrawn, but Appius Claudius prevented it, by representing that if this measure were carried, they should never subdue Veii, but that they would again expose themselves to all the sieges, and battles, and disasters, they had suffered from the Tuscans in their previous wars. It is well to note the horror which Rome always expressed at the idea of having the states of Etruria roused against her. It is repeated, year after year, in all her quarrels with her neighbour, and it seems to have been the strong argument urged by Appius Claudius, which eventually quieted all minds, and led them to agree in the necessity of the troops submitting to every inconvenience in order to keep the ground already gained. "If you withdraw," he said, "Veii will so arrange her affairs, that she will bring against us the power of all Etruria." The Plebeians believed it, and yielded the cause of their fellow-citizens, who had told them that they were perishing in the frost and snow."

Claudius is celebrated for his popular eloquence, and in his speech* enumerated several circumstances quite new to us, greatly to the delight and edification of all his hearers. He dwelt upon the murder of the Fabii, whom he called (not warriors, but) colonists, and he enlarged upon the impious assassination of the Feciales by Tolumnius, and the

* Livy v. 4.

crime, which he reckoned equally heinous, of bringing against them the other states of Etruria. He touched upon the late affront offered by the Veientine Senate to their ambassadors at the commencement of this war, but so very temperately, that we cannot help believing it was attended by some mitigating circumstances; such, for instance, as irritating conduct on the part of the ambassadors themselves, or that the insulting answer attributed to the Veientine Senate was the passionate speech of one man, their "Custos Urbis," or "Tribunus Celerum," and was disapproved and disallowed by the others.

The new circumstances stated by Claudius, which he must have learned from the popular ballads, unless he invented them for the occasion, were, 1st, that Veii had compelled the Fidenians to revolt. We have always been informed that the revolt in every instance, was their own proper motion; nor can we conceive how Veii *could* compel them, except by first taking the city, and then expelling or murdering the Roman colonists. 2nd, That during peace she was never faithful to her engagements. Now, excepting her secret designs, which were prevented by the overflow of the Tiber, we know of no instance where she was otherwise. 3rd, That Veii had a thousand times ravaged the Roman territories. This was a curious admission from a Roman Patrician. And 4th, (the climax of all her offences, and by far the most extraordinary and incomprehensible of them all,) that she now rebelled against Rome for the seventh time; whilst we did not even know that it was the first. Alas! that

Rome should seven times subdue Veii, and find no historian to chronicle the event; seven times triumph as a conqueror, over this mighty state, and not have preserved to us one of the details. Alas! that eight times she should have to renew the war before she could teach this troublesome and stupid people that they were vanquished. The French have sometimes made the same complaint of the armies of Great Britain, and it is one peculiarly provoking to a general and a victor. We sympathize in the vexation.

Claudius further pressed upon his countrymen that their army, at a vast expense, had enclosed Veii with immense works, by which the enemy were confined within their walls, so that they could not till their lands, and all between that city and Rome had been wasted, and kept waste, during this war. If the Roman troops were now withdrawn, the Veientines would demolish these works, and be obliged, in self-defence, revenge, and preservation, to make reprisals on the Roman territories. We cannot help smiling at fertile Veii, which so often had provided famishing Rome with corn, coming into her ill-cultivated and often-ravaged domains to supply herself. Excepting as a riding exercise for her troops, she might have told Claudius that it was not worth the trouble.

The military works, however, if he describes them truly, it must have been equally desirable for the one party to destroy, and for the other to preserve. He names a rampart and trench, both constructed

with immense labour, numerous forts and defences both opposite the city and towards Etruria—by which we understand Capena, her daughter colony, and perhaps Agylla and Fidene—lest succours should arrive from thence. He further mentions towers, covered approaches, and all the machines used in attacking towns. He then dwells on the danger incurred by procrastination, lest the other Lucumonies should change their minds, and send their besieged member aid. “At present,” he says, “whilst they are irritated by her King, they will allow us to take her if we can; but the king may die, or be dethroned, or may even resign when he finds himself a positive detriment to his subjects, and then all the States will help Veii, and drive us away, and cause our time, labour, and vast expense, all to have been in vain.” He concluded that to withdraw the army was actually to assist their enemies, and to bring on their own ruin. The Tribunes of the people believed him, and his arguments prevailed.

The troops were accordingly kept hard at work before Veii, and wonderful it is that no remains of these trenches, and mounds, and deep ditches, are to be seen on any side of Veii now, for the marks of a Roman camp are seldom obliterated in any country. They had advanced so far, that the battering rams and other machines were ready to be applied to the walls, when one gate, which they had neglected to watch, was suddenly thrown open, and a vast multitude sallied forth, armed with torches,

as they had before been at Fidene, and terrifying the troops in the same manner, they set the machines on fire, and destroyed them all. They then attacked and overthrew the ramparts, and vast numbers of the Romans perished by fire and sword. All Rome was filled with sadness at this disaster, and began to think Veii impregnable, and that their own camp must be removed; when the rich Plebeians of the first class came forward, and in the spirit of the ancient Fabii, offered to join the army, and serve the state at their own expense, forming an additional body of cavalry, and providing their own horses. No instance of such disinterestedness had before been known, and it was certainly inspired by the presentiment that extraordinary danger threatened their country, should Veii now be set free, either through her own efforts, or by the assistance of the Etruscan League. The Senate gratefully thanked the brave Plebeians, accepted their offer, and ordered them Equestrian rank, and the pay which in that position, was their due. Their reinforcement infused a new spirit into the troops on service, and enabled them to maintain their uneasy ground.

Livy says that Veii was then the grand object which engrossed all the public solicitude. But, alas! the Roman commanders, Virginus and Sergius, hated each other worse than the enemy, and disagreed in all their operations. Besides this, Capena and Faliscia now separated themselves from the other Lucumonies, and came to help Veii, being

persuaded, probably, by the emissaries of the obnoxious King, that were his city vanquished, they should be the next victims, or, at any rate, that they should lose their barrier and protection against an exulting and not over-scrupulous foe. The Faliscian Senate further considered that they had not behaved quite fairly to Veii when she lost Fidene, by at that time withdrawing aid from her, and therefore they made terms with her now, by mutual embassies, and sent her a very timely assistance. The possibility of messengers, and even of processions, as it were, passing between Veii and Faliscia, shows us that she was not surrounded by her enemies, but only that they had made a firm and dangerous lodgment beyond the reach of her missiles, and very near her walls, upon the side of the Cremera.

The Faliscians came upon Sergius by surprise, and alarmed his men so much, that they imagined the whole of Etruria to be upon them, and were greatly inclined to save themselves by flight. The Veientines, meanwhile, attacked them in front, so that they were obliged to make two faces, and were in danger both of losing their camp, and of being surrounded. Sergius could neither defend his own ground against the Faliscians, nor drive back the besieged. His forts were attacked and taken, his ramparts scaled, and his foes poured in upon him on all sides, and yet he was too proud and obstinate to send to his colleague for succour; and he preferred seeing his men slaughtered, and escaping with the remnant he could save, to Rome, to the

humiliation of asking help from a rival commander. Some of the fugitives early took refuge with Virginius, and told him the condition of their companions; but he answered that if Sergius wanted help he knew where to send for it, and forbade his troops to stir out of their lines, unless such a message should arrive. Sergius accused him of all his misfortunes before the Senate, and said his envy was the cause of his works being burnt, his army cut to pieces, and his camp given up to the Faliscii; but, as both generals were equally in fault, they were superseded, and both fined.

The Roman Tribunes urged that they saw no end to this useless war, for which both their boys and their old men were forced to enlist, and that they believed the youth were destined to wear out their lives and to grow old before the citadel of the enemy. The people were, however, better contented when four armies were sent against the Etruscans, and the lost camp was not only retaken by a junction of two of them, but, in spite of the Faliscian auxiliaries, it was strengthened with new forts, and settled with a permanent garrison. The other two armies made good a devastating march into the plains of Capena and Faliscia; and though they dared not attack the towns, they prevented the troops of those states from giving assistance to Veii, and they did much damage to the country, destroying the crops of vines, olives, and corn, and carrying off the cattle.

The winter of A. T. 789 was so unusually severe

that the Tiber was frozen over, and the shivering troops, in their half-protected quarters, envied the warm dwellings of their enemies, and wished much more to imitate than to subdue them. As this cold was followed by a pestilence, the Sibylline books were consulted in Rome, both Greek and Tuscan; for we find a *Lectisternium* ordered, as an expiation, by the magistrates, to three Tuscan and three Greek gods,—*Erkle*, *Turms*, or, *Mercury*, and *Minerva*; *Apollo*, *Latona*, and *Diana*; the first time they had been associated in such a ceremony. The feast was to last eight days, and as the distress of the poor was so great that almost all the rich deemed it advisable to follow this example, and to keep open house during the time, Rome must have exhibited a singular contrast of plenty, feasting, and religious pomp, opposed to famine, starvation, and nakedness.

The gods, however, were not yet sufficiently appeased to grant the Romans much success at *Veii*. Again *Capena* and *Faliscia* attacked the military works, and again their enemies were on the point of being defeated, but the remembrance of *Sergius* and *Virginus* stirred up the generals to support each other vigorously, and they succeeded in repulsing the *Tuscans*, after a severe struggle. Some of the legions which were returning from *Capena* came most opportunely to their assistance, and cut off the retreat of the *Capenians*, whilst many of the *Veientine* troops were slaughtered, because their own people shut the city gates before they had time

to enter, fearing that the Romans might get in along with them. For a twelvemonth after this, the contending parties seem to have been equal. The Romans could make no advances at *Veii*, neither were they in turn dislodged, and *Faliscia* still presented impregnable fronts to all the forces which her enemies could raise against them. The famous *Camillus* was sent against the former, and *Potitus*, scarcely less esteemed, against the latter; and yet they could do nothing but waste and scour the plains, as they had done before.

The war had now lasted eight years; and after the extraordinary winter, and the pestilence—caused, as our best natural historians believe, by earthquakes in various parts of Asia and the Mediterranean coasts—many prodigies were said to have occurred, and in all probability, many unusual phenomena actually happened. *Livy* says that they were little regarded by men in general, excepting one, which affected so many, and came so near home, as to excite great consternation. The Lake of *Alba*, which was once two hundred feet higher than it is at present, swelled and rose without any visible cause, any melting snows, or violent rains, and the waters continued to rise and rise, though the weather was fair and dry. The Romans could get no *Aruspex* of celebrity to tell them the meaning of this strange event, for the *Magi* of the *Tuscans* had withdrawn from Rome during this war of implacability, and none of their own *Augurs* pos-

essed the requisite degree of erudition, or had science enough to explain it.

The most renowned diviner of his day was an aged Patrician in Veii, to whose words all men gave heed. When he was told of the Lake of Alba, he said it was well, for the Romans could never be masters of Veii until the waters were discharged from that lake. It is the fashion, in our day, to disbelieve this and all similar stories, but we do not see why the Tuscan prophecies should not have been as true as those of Scotland, many of which are quite as inexplicable and quite as romantic. Some of them, of most improbable character, which we have known from our earliest youth, we have lived to see fulfilled; and it is not superstition, but observation, reflection, and experience, which induce us to give faith to a thousand things which we cannot understand, and about which, indeed, we conceive understanding to be altogether unnecessary. The traditions of all the Eastern and Northern nations concerning their visions, their proverbs, and their prophecies, incline us to regard the tale of Veii as a most natural occurrence; nor can we believe in any tribe, regardless of omens and portents, that would not have some sayings of a similar nature. This speech of the Aruspex was reported through Veii, and perhaps was as well known for fifty years previously to her people, as many of the Scotch sayings are to the Caledonians. For instance,

“The crown came with a lass,—with a lass it shall pass.”

“When Tweed and Pausayl join at Merlin’s grave,
Scotland and England shall one monarch have.”*

“Whate’er befall, whate’er betide,
Haig shall be Haig of Bemerside.”

This last is attributed to Thomas the Rhymer, who died in 1299, and has been true from that time to this.

Livy relates that this Veientine Aruspex, or, at any rate, that an elderly Veientine, who was walking along the wall, and listening to the scoffs of the Roman soldiers, told them this prophecy, to show them how secure Veii was from all their might, and all that they could attempt. The Romans repeated what they had heard in camp, and at last one of them asked a citizen of Veii who the person was that had uttered that prophecy. The citizen told him it was an Aruspex, upon which the soldier said that he was very anxious to consult him concerning an omen in his own family, that he might know what expiation to make, and begged for an interview.

As the Roman could not be admitted into Veii, and promised to come unarmed, the Aruspex went out of the city to him, and walked with him beyond the walls for some little distance, listening to his tale.

*The grave of Merlin is pointed out at Drummellzear in Tweeddale, beneath an aged thorn-tree. On the east side of the churchyard the stream Pausayl falls into the Tweed, and this prophecy was current as to their union. On the day of the coronation of James the First, of Great Britain, the Tweed overflowed, and joined the Pausayl at the prophet’s grave.

Suddenly the soldier turned, seized the old man, struggled with him, and overpowered him, after which he had him conveyed into the Roman camp. The general interrogated him concerning his prediction, but learned nothing more; therefore he sent him to Rome to be examined by the Senators. In their presence, being required to tell the meaning of the prophecy, probably under pain of death, which, however, little excuses him, he said that it was written in the *Libri Fatales* of the Tuscans, that the gods would never abandon Veii until the Lake of Alba should terrify men by its rise, and their enemies should discover how to discharge its waters, so that no large stream should reach the sea. We cannot justify any Tuscan for his weakness in telling so much, far less for his infamy in teaching the Romans how to fulfil the prophecy against his own country; and it makes us forget and forgive the treachery by which he himself was made a prisoner.

Müller calls him an *Aquilex*, or Director of the water-works, as well as an *Aruspex*; the Tuscan Diviner was now unworthy of a return to his people, and degraded in his own eyes, notwithstanding all the pretended honour with which he was treated by the Romans; he therefore settled amongst them, and became a citizen of the seven hills. He instructed them how to appease the Alban gods by renewing their ceremonious attendance on the *Feræ* at the temple of Jupiter Latialis, as well as how to reduce the lake by the usual Etruscan method of an *Emissarium*, built with such consummate skill that it still does the

work to which it was then destined, and has never required more than a very partial repair in the course of two-and-twenty ages. It consists of a tunnel cut through the hill of Castel Gandolfo, and when the water again reaches the open air, it is dispersed in many channels through the fields for irrigation. Only two men can work abreast in the channel together, but seven air-holes are pierced from the ground above down to it; and if workmen were let down by these, several pairs could carry on their operations at the same time. According to the view which engineers take of the manner in which it has been conducted, this work has been pronounced possible in three years and a-half, or not under nine. All stories, however, refer the direction of it to this traitorous Etruscan *Aruspex*, or to some soldier whom he had instructed.

Though Delphi knew nothing of Rome until several years after this, not even where situated, or by whom inhabited; and though she described her, when first certain of her identity, "as a city of the Hyperboreans taken by the Gauls," still Rome was very fond of fancying herself an object of interest to Delphi, and is said to have sent ambassadors to consult the oracle concerning the omen of the Alban Lake. Niebuhr thinks this embassy probable, because the Romans had no *Aruspices* of their own, and dared not trust the Tuscans at so critical a juncture. When the ambassadors returned, they brought for answer, "Oh Roman beware, lest the swollen waters be confined within the Alban Lake;

beware equally lest they reach the sea in a stream, but disperse their volume by conducting them in channels through the fields. Then press thou boldly against the hostile walls, for the secret I now disclose unto thee, will give thee victory over the city which thou hast besieged for so many years. The feud being ended, bring thou an ample gift unto my temple, and renew the sacred rites of thine own country (the *Feriae*) which thou hast omitted."

If the Romans really sent to Delphi, they must have done so by means of the Cerites, for they had no ships of their own which could undertake so long a voyage, and the answer of the oracle would be, "that the lake must be drained and the gods propitiated." But all answers were first made known to the Senate, and deliberated upon with closed doors; and it is the opinion of Niebuhr, that they concocted the words above given, in order to agree with the Tuscan *Libri Fatales*, and to ensure the fall of Veii, by circulating a general belief that the gods had ordained it, and therefore it could not be prevented.

This year Tarquinia made a diversion,* in favour of Veii, by sending a body of troops to ravage the Roman lands and carry off considerable booty. Where these lands were situated, it is not easy to guess, but perhaps about Ostia and the Salines. The expedition appears to have been a mere foray, for the Romans marched through the neutral territory of Cære, and overtook the Tarquinians on

* A. R. 359; A. T. 793.

their return home. They surprised them, fought, and retook the spoil, and with this they were content, without pursuing the enemy farther. They allowed two days for the injured landholders and peasants to reclaim their goods, and what remained on the third was put up to auction, when to their joy they found that it all belonged to the enemy. Of its quantity and quality we are not informed, but ten prisoners with their arms would be quite sufficient for the Roman story. "The Tarquinius" must either have been a hired regiment, or the clan of some one friendly chief, as the whole state certainly was not engaged, and the warfare, unfortunately for Veii, did not continue.

The next year Faliscia and Capena called a meeting at Voltumna, to represent to the states the importance and urgency of assisting their besieged member. The Romans and Latins were tunnelling through a shoulder of Mount Alba, and making channels for irrigating all their fields, upon the side whence the waters would issue. The Tuscans well knew that their own countrymen, and one of their own Aruspices, had taught them how to turn those waters henceforward, into their most useful auxiliaries; and more than this, had infused into them a spirit of hope and triumph, which nothing but the most vigorous measures on their part could allay. They besought the states to forgive the King "Lucius Superbus," the proud Lucumo of Veii, the insult which he had once offered to their authority, in consideration of the high-hearted ability with which he

now managed the reins of government, under the dangerous and critical circumstances in which he was placed. We learn from Plutarch that he did not neglect his own divinities and offerings, and he must have been a very wonderful person to keep up the spirit of his nobles and people, when they knew that their own oracles had doomed them to be destroyed. Though the adverse prophecy was circulated as far as the Romans could spread it, and though it was most undoubtingly believed, as far as it was circulated, we do not meet with one single instance of faint-heartedness in either king or people of the fated state, if we except the traitor who worked its ruin.

The Etruscan Diet did not perceive the imminence of the peril, and in the ordinary course of human affairs, they were fully justified in their views and estimate. According to all appearances, Veii and her king were fully equal to the emergency, and perfectly able to cope with Rome, only they could not dislodge the camp which had made a settlement close to their walls; and one vigorous effort of Etruria united to effect this, would probably have delivered them from danger for ever. The states were mollified by the representations of Faliscia and Capena, and had Veii been in any immediate distress, they would probably have given her their full assistance, notwithstanding that the haughty Lucumo had his personal enemies amongst them, who rejoiced over all his perplexities and humiliations. Veii, however, stood firm upon her lofty rock, uninjured on

all sides, and only annoyed upon one, which she had for years successfully resisted, and which in the opinion of the states she might continue to resist, until she and Rome, being mutually tired of the conflict, should seek a lasting peace. Lucumo the Proud, had shown himself quite as great a general as any the Seven Hills contained within her precincts, and the city was in no danger of famine, for all Etruria, to the north and west of her, lay open to supply her with corn. Niebuhr says, that the Romans never surrounded her, nor were able to cut off her communication with her sister states. Voltumna, therefore, gave for answer, "That at this juncture the States could not spare their troops to undertake her defence; for that they must guard the northern frontiers, (i. e., Aretium, Perugia, Chiusi, Fiesole, Lucca, and Luna,) against the Gauls, a strange nation, whose habits they knew not, and with whom at this juncture they were neither at peace nor war. Yet to the blood and name and present difficulties of their kindred, they would grant this much, that if any of the youth desired to assist in that war of their own free will, they would not prevent them."

The Romans heard this answer, and understood that a numerous host immediately took advantage of the permission, and joined Veii; and this fear and belief together, either paralyzed the camp beneath the walls, or else they trusted that on the draining of Lake Alba, the city would fall of itself, without any exertion or further trouble on their parts. This

we gather, because they lay perfectly still within their lines and did nothing; but their very inactivity and spiritless monotony made them long the more to return to Rome, and they were only kept from mutiny by the lately revealed prophecy, and the terrors of Appius Claudius and Camillus, two severe and dreaded Senators, who were resolute to continue the war, fully confident in its ultimate success.

The Roman Senate dispatched two military Tribunes with their armies against the Faliscii and Capenati, not to attack their towns, for that was too arduous, but simply to ravage their lands, carry off the cattle, and destroy the grain, vines, mulberries, and olives, so as not to leave a blade of corn nor a fruit-tree standing. It is very marvellous how quickly the trees sprung up again, in order to afford the Romans the annual amusement of destroying them. We, incredulous beings of modern mould, can only account for this, by supposing that the first year's ravages were confined to a few fields beyond the frontiers, and that the havoc of succeeding seasons was very gradual in its encroachments.

This year, however, the ardour of the military tribunes, carried them too far. They fell into an ambush, and after much hard fighting, one of them was killed in front of the battle. The other contrived to rally his troops, and retired to a height to form them again in order, but he could not prevail on them any more to face the enemy, and he was obliged to put up with the disgrace of a *confession* that the

Roman Legions did for once tremble before their Tuscan antagonists. The consternation in Rome and in the fortified camp at Veii was equally great. The Quirites had heard no such news for at least two years, and in despite both of oracles and prodigies, they as usual gave themselves up for lost. The soldiers could scarcely be restrained from a cowardly flight, for report informed them that two of their generals, with their armies, had been defeated and cut to pieces, and that the excited youth of Capena and Faliscia, full of hope and confidence, were marching onwards with rapid steps to inflict upon them the same fate. They further believed, that all the young men of all the rest of Etruria, were coming to unite with their successful countrymen, so as to enclose and destroy them, and at Rome itself report further alleged, that the camp at Veii had been attacked, and that the victorious enemy was in full march towards the city. Neibuhr thinks it probable that the Etruscans now broke the lines which connected the two camps at Veii, and thus, as it were, raised the siege, and that they were expected by the Romans on the Janiculum, whence they had so often overawed the city in former times.

Great, indeed, was the consternation within the banks of the Tiber, and a universal panic seems to have seized upon all ranks there. The Lake of Alba ceased to swell; the tunnelling which the Senate had commanded, proceeded without interruption; the aruspex still uttered his favourable predictions, but yet the military tribunes had been

killed, the army was disgraced, and the enemy in overwhelming numbers were preparing to encamp before the walls of Rome. On they appeared to come, to the excited fancy of the Romans; the Falisci and Capenati, flushed with victory; the exasperated troops of Veii, eager for revenge; and all the strength and youth of Etruria, pouring in their train. The Roman men then ran to their walls, and the women to their temples. The one grasped their swords to defend their homes, or to sell their lives dear, the others spread out their hands, and fell upon their faces, beseeching the gods to turn the destruction which threatened them, from their own houses, walls and sanctuaries, and to hurl it back with ten-fold fury upon the hated, dreaded, and ever restless Veii. Livy tells us, that from this day forward, Veii expected to share amongst her people the spoils of Rome, and that many of her citizens had confidently portioned out for themselves habitations there.

A. R. 793, A. C. 394.

There were among the Magnates of Rome, however, men who did not despair, and who were resolved that the prophecy on which they built so much, should not fail of its accomplishment through any neglect of theirs. The expectations and hopes both of their citizens and allies, must have been kept up by the very prudent measures they adopted, and in proportion to the nervous instability of the governed, seems to have been the cool firmness of those who were then at the head of affairs. In their present extreme peril, all discord

was silenced. The Emissarium of Lake Alba was completed—the waters were let off and dispersed through the fields, reaching the sea by various inconsiderable channels, and the Latin Feriæ were most pompously solemnized, to celebrate the fulfilment of the work. The renowned Lucius Camillus was named Dictator, and Pub. Corn. Scipio, was his Master of the Horse.

Camillus's first act was to make an example of the troops who had just fled from Veii, and to inspire his soldiers with more fear of his inexorable severity, than of meeting the enemy. Camillus acted his part with the most consummate prudence, and knew how to take advantage of the holiest feelings and most powerful motives that actuate the bosoms of men. Before commencing operations, he went to reconnoitre Veii, and to ascertain if there was any way of investing it more closely. Perhaps he followed in the wake of a retiring enemy, for otherwise we do not know how the Etruscan troops, which had occasioned so vehement a terror, could have been removed from Rome. Camillus then levied a large force amongst the Latins and Hernicans, whom he thanked for their former services, and he made a public vow in presence of the army, that when he had taken Veii, (thus expressing that he was fated to take it,) he would celebrate the great games in honour of the high Italian gods, and, moreover, repair the temple of Mater Matuta, (the Eluthya and Bona Dea of Rome,) which had been dedicated by Servius Mastarna. We presume that

she was one of the forms of Nortia or Fortune, otherwise what connexion could she have had with a successful siege?

Camillus left these assurances of his to work their natural effect upon the minds of his own men, and the temper of the enemy, whom he would neither irritate nor excite. He left Veii unattacked, as though he could subdue it when he chose—as though its doom were certain, and he had only to await the day appointed by the Fates. Meanwhile, not to be idle, he marched through the territories of Capena, and far into those of Faliscia, coming up with the enemy at Nepete, where he retaliated upon them, in a bloody battle, the defeat of the Tribunes in the previous year, and took their camp. He then fell back upon Veii, and pitched his tent with the soldiers, who so long had been stationed there. He awed them into a discipline which was entirely new, suffered no skirmishes, and no relaxation, and ordered the erection of more forts upon their line of entrenchment. This looked as if he expected some hard fighting in the plain, and was preparing for a desperate conflict. The very stillness of his arms, and the clanking of his hammers, seemed ominous. It is said that the wicked worthless Aruspex, now become a great man in Rome, suggested to the Dictator the connection which existed between the draining of the Alban Lake and the ruin of Veii,* by a tunnel or mine, which should issue within the walls; and we hope if he did, that he died of vex-

* Vide Sir W. Gell, article Veii.

ation afterwards, in seeing all his fame given to another.

Camillus divided his men into six bands, so that five parts should always be in camp, or working at the entrenchments, whilst the sixth, without being missed, should labour day and night at the mine. It was the same breadth as the Alban Emissarium, and only two men could work in it abreast, whilst their companions were engaged in handing them stones, shovelling out the earth, &c. This mine was begun through an overhanging rock which protected the parties from observation, and it was situated at some distance from the fortifications, where Camillus appeared to be concentrating his strength for some great effort, and on which he contrived to fix the earnest attention of his opponents.

From this moment he always spoke of Veii as if already in his possession, and gradually persuaded his countrymen to look upon it in the same light, as a doomed city, which could not escape, being given to them by the gods. He sent to ask the Senate what he should do with the spoil, as he wished to be prepared before hand, and he knew the city to be immensely rich. His letter to the Senate is as follows: "By the favour of the immortal gods, upon my councils, and the patience of the troops, I have put Veii in the power of the Roman people. How do they wish the booty to be disposed of?"

The Senators debated this point in all the assurance of his own spirit, and had nearly quarrelled upon the

subject, whilst Veii was still in all her life and grandeur, and whilst she felt certain that her great Lucumo, having expiated her sins, would be able to avert her fate. Livy's whole account of this exciting history gives us the impression that no dejection or despondency ever damped the spirits of her defenders. The Roman Senate at first proposed, that every man who chose, should be permitted to join Camillus, and should then be entitled to share in the spoil; but Appius Claudius said, in his opinion, the Senate ought to create out of it a military fund, from which they could pay the army, and remit to the Plebeians the soldiers' tax. In this way every man who had contributed to the victory would profit by it, and the treasures which they hoped to gain, would not be dissipated amongst the idle rabble. The Senate, after due deliberation, considered the first proposal as the most likely to conduce to their end, that is, to reinforce the fighting men, and to keep up their present enthusiasm. They, therefore, gave the desired leave for all to share the spoil who joined the camp, and multitudes set forth to place themselves under the command of the severe and redoubtable Camillus. What an altered tone since the beginning of the war, when men could scarcely be found to serve, and yet the outward aspect of things was no more in their favour now, than it had been before. The Veientes were as strong in hope and courage as ever, but in the Roman mind an indomitable religious enthusiasm had taken the place of a cool selfishness, a moody discontent, and a heartless indifference.

The Dictator, who had roused, also carefully cherished this spirit. On the arrival of his reinforcements he had the auspices taken, and with an imposing pomp, he vowed one-tenth of all the spoils to Apollo, and implored Juno Kupra, the patron divinity of Veii, to transfer her residence to Rome, and to come and reign there. "Led by thee," he cried in the presence of all his troops—led by thee, "O Pythian Apollo, and inspired by thy spirit, I go to destroy the city of Veii; therefore, unto thee do I vow the tenth part of the prey. To thee, in like manner, O Juno Regina, who now protectest Veii, do I pray that thou permit us to bear thee to our city, and make it for the future thine. There a temple shall receive thee, worthy of thy greatness."

This ceremony over, and the mine being finished and ready to spring, the expectations of his people also being wound up to the highest pitch, Camillus gave the command for the final assault. His men were to charge with their battering rams, and endeavour to scale the walls in all directions, in order to distract the attention of the enemy and to require their presence at every point, excepting the one where alone it could have availed for their delivery. The Veientes had been so lulled into security by the apparent inactivity and infatuated presumption of Camillus, who talked as if he expected their walls to fall down at the blast of his trumpets, like those of Jericho, that they had laughed at, and defied him; but no one had observed the mine, or taken any precautions against it. We may well

believe that Camillus had consulted the Aruspex, as to the line of its direction, in order to avoid conducting it where the noise of his instruments would be heard. The Veientes, when they were startled by the loud triumphant shouts of the Romans, and saw them swarming towards the gates, or surrounding the walls, and attempting to climb the rocks, or to scale the fortifications, thought that they had suddenly gone mad, and the Tuscan soldiers mounted the ramparts resolutely and soberly to drive them back, and restore them to their senses. Their King was in the citadel preparing a sacrifice to Juno. Their augur proclaimed that he who offered up that sacrifice should be the victor; they had no fear for the event, when, alas! the mine was sprung, and suddenly they saw the enemy within their walls. Their gates were seized and opened; the Ponte Sodo amongst the first, and their houses were wrapt in flames before they could ascertain the extent of the danger, or whence it had arisen. For a while they could not discover how the Romans had effected an entrance, and for some minutes must have been stupified by astonishment and confusion.

Camillus marched into the temple, and killed the King with his own hand; the fight became desperate and general everywhere, and the women and their slaves mounting up to the roofs of the houses, poured down stones and firebrands upon the soldiers in the streets. At length, after a hideous slaughter from men excited and prepared, towards an enemy

surprised and half stunned, after the walls were surmounted and the citadel was taken, Camillus proclaimed a truce, called a parley, and promised if the town submitted, that none of the women and children, or the unarmed, should be injured, and that he would stop the effusion of blood. Then Veii surrendered, then she bowed before her foe, "Yielding herself," says Livy, "not to the might of her enemy, but to Fate. She was the most opulent city belonging to the Etruscan name, and showed the majesty of her greatness,* even in the hour of her destruction. For ten summers and winters in succession, she had resisted all the power of the Latins, inflicting upon them far greater loss than she ever suffered in return; and when she was overcome at last, it was by successful cunning—by art and stratagem, and not by military force." One hundred thousand souls were contained within her circuit: she was as large and fine a city as Athens, and far richer and more beautiful than Rome.

When her spoils came to be estimated, they far surpassed the utmost imagination that Camillus had formed of them, and Livy says, that her wealth exceeded all that had been taken in former wars put together. Camillus was so amazed at his conquest, that he thought the heavens themselves would envy him his fortune, and he prayed, lifting his hands upwards, that if either gods or men required some counterpoise to a success so brilliant, they would visit it on him alone, and not on the Roman people. Having said this,

* Lib v. 22.

he turned round and fell, which was taken as an omen that evil would ere long visit him and also his city by the sword, and this was supposed to be fulfilled in the taking of Rome by the Gauls a very few years after.

Camillus had now the painfully proud task of a victor to fulfil, in putting up to auction the many thousands of once free citizens in Veii. The King had fallen in his own proper place, either sword in hand in the midst of the citadel, or at the foot of his patron divinity, while engaged in an act of worship. He survived not the humiliation of his country. Those of his nobles who were not fortunate enough to follow his example—those few who were taken prisoners while opposing the foe, and stemming the red tide of slaughter which flowed from the unarmed and overwhelmed Ærarii, must have gone into Roman slavery. But the greater part escaped to their own kindred in the other states of Etruria; for they would either seek safety in flight, as soon as they perceived resistance to be useless, or they would sell their lives dear, and refuse all quarter. No Tuscan Patrician would trust his honour, his wife and children, to the tenderness of an exasperated and half-frantic foe. The money resulting from the sale of these prisoners was all that went into the Plebeian treasury, and the Plebs were so angry with Camillus as afterwards to procure his banishment; for they said that before his conquest he had deceived them by golden promises, and afterwards reduced their gains to nothing.

Camillus now proceeded to remove the gods from their temples, and their treasures from the shrines; but this was done more in the spirit of a worshipper than of a captor. Juno Kupra, to whom his vow had been made, he approached with the utmost reverence. Only one family, hitherto, of native Veientes, had been suffered to appropriate her priesthood, or to offer up her sacrifices. He bowed lowly before her, supplicated her forgiveness, and requested her to remove with all honour to Rome, and reign there a queen, as she had formerly reigned in Veii. It is said that the image moved its head in token of assent; and this we can well believe from what we have ourselves seen in the construction of Etruscan images, the head being often most ingeniously placed upon the shoulders in a loose socket. It is also said she smiled; and why should she not smile in the eyes of her adorers, as well as the pictures of the Virgin Mary, which are frequently said to do the same? Upon this, Camillus appointed some of his handsomest young men, having washed their bodies in pure water, to come up to the image, and to bear her, with careful reverence, to a shrine already prepared for her reception upon Mount Aventine.

Veii was now deserted by her gods, and Camillus felt certain that she could never rise again. Why he hated her with so deep a hatred we are unable to divine, but certain it is, that "Delenda est Veii" was in the Roman spirit before the same sentence

breathed from the lips of him who pronounced from the darkest depths of his inmost soul, "Delenda est Carthago."

As the town had submitted upon certain terms, Camillus was bound not to destroy the buildings, public or private. Her houses and palaces were finer than those of Rome, but he was resolved that they should never again be inhabited or kept up. He reduced the wealthy to poverty, the free to slavery, and he had decreed within himself, that ruin should be the doom of Veii and that time should crumble her to dust; that she should be abandoned to destruction and neglect; that the owl should roost in the chambers of her kings, and the fox look over her once peopled ramparts. Therefore, when the Plebeians, and even some of the Patricians of Rome, wished to better their condition by removing to that city, he opposed it, as if they sought to destroy all the fruits of his victory, and as if the object of the whole war would thus be rendered useless. He said that Veii was so superior in many essential points to Rome, that the people settled there would soon cease to be Romans; that they would adopt her as their own country, and so become rivals and enemies to their own blood.

The fiery eloquence and imperious passions of Camillus and his party, alone prevented the resettlement of Veii, and, perhaps, her ultimately becoming the mistress of the world, instead of the eternal city. How strange to think of the different

fates of these two powerful rivals, Rome and Veii! The one, only six years after her proud success, was reduced to smoke and ashes, from which she revived with more than phoenix-like vigour, through long ages to live and flourish, to die and live again, to be brought to the verge of extinction, and yet never to perish. The other, which at that very moment received her fugitives, and towered aloft resplendent in beauty, almost uninjured by military violence and the fearful consequences of her unexpected overthrow, now, in our days, is not to be distinguished from the sods of the mountain, nor, excepting some scattered pieces of broken pottery, has a trace been left, to show where once she stood. "Veii is become a fold for flocks, a pasture for cattle. The lamb crops the grass within her forum; the hare plays around her citadel; and the shepherd tunes his pipe where once rose the altar of imperial Juno, within the precincts of her sacred temple. Strangers dance and laugh upon her burying ground, and the children of the north hunt over her streets, her fortress, and her shrines."—"Sic transit gloria mundi."

No trace of Camillus's mine has yet been found; perhaps, having been made to serve only a temporary purpose, the earth and stones, and occasional earthquakes of ages, may have filled it up; it was hollowed out without much attention to durability, and the volcanic convulsions and physical changes of so many centuries, may have choked it with earth

and stones. Camillus's camp was pitched at what is now the Arco del Pino, and his mine is supposed to have been excavated at La Valca, about the heap of stones on the Via Veientina.

CHAPTER XV.

WARS AFTER VEII.—GAULS.—COLONIES.

Rejoicings in Rome on account of the fall of Veii—Discontent with Camillus—Conquests of the Gauls in Etruria Nova—Fall of Melpum—Dionysius in the Adriatic—Attacks Pyrgos—Romans wish to settle in Veii—Make an alliance with Capena—Sutrium and Nepete—Besiege Faleria—Faliscia allies itself with Rome—Volsinia and Salpina make war on Rome—Embassy from Clusium—Aruns leads the Gauls against Clusium, and then on to Rome—Romans retire to Veii and Cære—Tuscans defeated at Veii and the Salines—Veii abandoned by the Romans—Volsinia and Tarquinia make war on Rome—Siege of Sutrium—Attack on Cortuosa and Contenebra—Attack on Sutrium and Nepete—Meeting at Voltumna to refix the boundaries—Savage war between Tarquinia and Rome—Cære assists Tarquinia—Loses part of her Roman franchise—Colonies—Ardea—Anxur—Circeium—Tusculum—Antium.

FROM AN. R. 359 TO 405; FROM A. C. 394 TO 348; FROM A. T. TO 793 TO 839.

WHEN the Romans found that Veii had actually come into their possession, their joy knew no bounds. They were at last delivered from perils which hitherto had never ceased to menace them,

* Authorities: Livy v. vi. vii.; Dion. Hal. vii.; Diod. Sic. xi. xii.; Plut. in Camil.; Ant. Hist. xi. xii. xvi.; Niebuhr i. ii.; Arnold's Rome i.; Müller's Etrüsker.

from their nearest and direst foe, and they felt as if their liberty and security could never again be endangered. They were masters of a city, larger and richer than their own, and their territories and population were nearly doubled. The matrons, who so lately had been supplicating the gods for the lives of their sons and husbands, now flew to the temples to return thanks, and the Senate, which alone had not abandoned itself to despair, ordered a worship of four successive days to be rendered to the Dii Majores. All ranks went out to meet the Dictator, to sing his praises, and to swell his triumph; and in that triumph he assumed honours which properly belonged to the gods alone, and for which the spectators believed him afterwards to suffer punishment. He painted his face with vermilion, and clad in the robes of empire, he went up to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, in an open chariot, drawn by four white horses, sacred to the sun, with the regal crown upon his head, and the ivory sceptre in his hand; his army, prisoners, and spoils followed, and the procession was closed by the priests and nobles of Rome. Camillus was elated by his victory, which all men at that time thought they could not sufficiently exalt, as marking him out to be a favourite of the gods; and the importance of which, to the increase, and even to the safety of Rome, they believed it impossible to overrate.

Camillus laid down his Dictatorship, but yet was thought to take too much upon him, considering himself as the first of the Romans, and the accepted votary of Fortune, the *Bona Dea*. He repaired

the fane of Mater Matuta, his Nortia, without delay, and built the temple he had vowed to Veientine Juno, upon Mount Aventinus. This last he dedicated four years afterwards, and the matrons showed peculiar zeal in their offerings and devotions. Camillus then endeavoured to collect the tenth of the spoils which he had vowed to Apollo, but as he had been obliged to allow his soldiers to plunder at discretion on the surrender of Veii, he had no means of estimating the worth of that property which they had destroyed or appropriated, and he laid it upon each man's conscience to tax himself.

The troops, who had never understood that he vowed for any but himself, were highly indignant, and still more so, when Camillus was convicted of having taxed himself unfairly, in not valuing a pair of bronze gates taken from the city, which he claimed as his own. Camillus further irritated his men, by declaring that his vow included both the buildings in the town and the newly conquered land out of it, one-tenth of which was Apollo's, and must either be considered sacred, or redeemed. He further insisted, that this property must be represented by a golden offering of eight talents' weight, to be sent to the temple of the god in Delphi; and as gold to melt was not forthcoming, the matrons brought in their bracelets and earrings to the amount required. The metal was weighed, valued, and paid for, and then manufactured into a golden bowl; and the Senate, in acknowledgment of this meritorious conduct in their ladies, ordained, that

they should henceforth be permitted to drive in open carriages through the streets every day, and in covered ones at all the games and upon every festival.

The Tuscans would not fail to hear all the circumstances of Camillus's triumph, and of his thank-offerings, so insulting to them. Besides the loss of Veii at this juncture, they had to mourn over the weakening of their influence, and the diminution of their territory in Rhoetia, Etruria Nova, and the north-west boundaries of Etruria Proper. The Diet of Voltumna had refused assistance to Veii, because the troops of so many of the Lucumonies were required at home, to be in a state of watchful preparation and armed neutrality. They were obliged to keep up a strong force along a wide line of frontier, against the Gauls, who were then in movement amongst themselves, and throughout all their colonies and settlements in Rhoetia, and along the Po and Tessinus; and the final result of their counsels and intentions seemed to be very uncertain.*

The Lingones and the Boii (from whom the Bohemians of the present day trace their descent) had traversed Etruria Nova from west to east, one hundred and twenty-six years previously, when Tarquinius Superbus and the influence of Tarquinia reigned supreme in Rome. The Boii had founded Laus Pompeia, now Lodi, and had afterwards yielded their territory to the Insubri, probably the tribe, or kindred of the tribe, settled at Mediolanum. At the same time they crossed the Po, and possessed themselves of

* Müller, p. 156, &c.

Parma, Mutina, (now Modena,) Felsina, and Adria, and colonized temporarily many places along the line of their irruption, even to the shores of the Adriatic Sea. The Lingones conquered and settled themselves between Felsina and Ravenna. But they had overrun, rather than subdued the country, and their want of discipline and of fixed purposes, enabled the Tuscans to recover their strength, and to repossess themselves of their chief towns, not long after they had fallen. Adria was a rich and flourishing commercial port of Turrhenia, for a very long period after the Gauls were expelled, and Felsina presently became, under the name of Bononia, the metropolis of Northern Etruria.

At this time, of which we are writing, the Senones first invaded Etruria Proper, not, as it seems, in consequence of any communication with their kindred, but because their chief was allured from his home by the representations of Aruns, a wronged and offended prince of Clusium, and whilst a very large army followed him into Central Italy, other bands were sent under other leaders to visit and augment the colonies of their countrymen along the Po, and as far as the shores of the Adriatic.

It was these bands, the Boii, Insubri, and Senones united, which alarmed the Senate of Voltumna, when for the last time, it refused assistance to Veii, and they created a very serious war, which lasted for many years. The Boii reconquered Felsina and Adria, whilst all the three tribes joined together to take Melpum, at that time the capital of

Northern Etruria, and her wealthiest and most important city. Melpum fell on the same day with Veii, and created almost as much consternation amongst the various tribes of the Etruscans. "The rich Adria and the mighty Felsina," as Müller calls them, once again recovered their liberty, and became places of wealth and renown; but of Melpum we hear no more, and in the course of time she was, like Veii, so utterly destroyed,* that even the spot on which she stood cannot now be ascertained.

Scylax, who compiled his *Periplus*, describing Italy about thirty years posterior to the fall of Melpum, says, that Adria and Felsina then were Tuscan, and that the Tuscans extended from sea to sea. He gives the distances of many towns from each other, Müller thinks from Spina to Pisa, and mentions their roads, and method of communication for three days' journey; whence Müller infers, that the Tuscans reconquered the country, when the main army of the Gauls marched along with the Clusian Senones, to the south of Italy. Scylax speaks of the Adriatic Gauls of his time as being merely the fragments of former tribes, the Insubri and Cenomani, occupying a small spot on the Adriatic. They seem to have been settled amongst the Tuscans and Umbri, somewhat as the Jews have been mingled with the nations of Christendom. They dwelt in small colonies and separate quarters of their own, but not as masters of the districts. Müller says, they conquered to occupy, but not to rule. The Adriatic Gauls sent an embassy to Alexander the Great, one

* Pliny iii. 17.

hundred years after, by which time, Müller believes them to have possessed themselves of almost all Etruria Nova; and Pliny, four hundred years later, still mentions them, and the Tuscans, and the Umbri, as all three inhabiting that coast.

When Felsina, the successor of Melpum, declined from her glory and became subject to the Gauls, Mantua rose into importance, and was the capital of the Northern Tuscans, so that Virgil in his time mentions the *Patriciate* at Mantua, as composed of three different people, viz., the Tuscans, the Umbri, and the Gauls.

But Etruria had yet another enemy to contend against, besides the Romans and Gauls. Whilst she was lamenting over the loss of Veii and her subject provinces on the one hand, and whilst she was trembling for all her *Lucumonies* upon the Po and Tessinus on the other, Dionysius the elder, Tyrant of Syracuse, strove with his Sicilians to annihilate her trade in the Adriatic, and to deprive her both of ports and vessels in that sea. The Tuscans had permitted his merchantmen to fetch race-horses from the Veneti, and he thus unsuspectingly gained a free passage amongst their settlements. He then founded or colonized a town in Picenum, which he called Adria, to deceive foreign traders into the belief of its being the renowned harbour of the Turrheni; and he also built a factory at Ancona, so as to command the line of coast which formerly had belonged to the Tuscans and Umbri only. Dionysius was the friend of the Gauls, because he saw the

immense use his ambition might make of them, as tools, in his desire to humble all the powers of Italy, and therefore he played into their hands on this occasion; thus originating the first league of the Greek and Italian towns, which was made against him and the land and sea forces at his command.

The next year, when the power of Etruria was so essentially diminished in the north, in the centre, and upon the Adriatic, Dionysius planned another expedition, and ventured into the Turrhene Sea itself, against Cære, in order to recruit his own exhausted treasury, by seizing upon the enormous riches which he knew to be accumulated in a temple there. He wisely supposed, that the Cærите troops would be quite unprepared for an attack, and therefore he sailed into the harbour of Pyrgos, now San Severa, by night, with sixty Triremes,* and took the town and citadel by surprise. The people were wholly unable to resist him, few troops being either in the port or at Cære, and they were, in consequence, forced to an immediate compliance with his terms. He plundered the country for three days, destroying all the vines, and he pillaged the sacred temple of Elythya, the richest in all Italy, carrying off one thousand talents, five hundred of which were in gold. Dionysius then took to his ships, and returned safely home, without the Tuscans having had it in their power to make any reprisals. Niebuhr thinks that the Roman Consuls were bound to assist the Cærites on this occasion, and neglected

* Diod. Sic.

to do so; for which reason, they were degraded and removed from their office. The collators of the Roman Annals did not choose to record this, because it would have cast a shade upon the all perfect Republic. They, therefore, imputed the removal of the Consuls to sickness, and said that they were at this time changed, because they were so ill as to be unable to fulfil their arduous duties.

The temple of Elythya was too much injured by Dionysius's attack ever to be restored to its former beauty; and, indeed, the power of Cære, as a state, was too much on the decline, for any place within her territories once destroyed, ever to regain its former wealth and splendour. The merchants of Turrhenia, Carthage, Greece, and Egypt, henceforth invested their gifts and their offerings, in some better protected, and more secure temple of Nortia, or the Bona Dea, further north; storing up their beautiful things in the harbour of Cosa near Vulci; of Populonia, and above all, of Pisa, which sent out the largest fleets, and was the maritime station of most importance. Henceforward the once victorious Elythya dwindled into a neglected Fane, whilst the harbour of Pyrgos lost its arsenal and towers, and Cære, the ancient and celebrated Agylla, sank into a country haunt of invalid Patricians, who did not mind the sight of decayed grandeur; who could bear to see all streets deserted and all palaces ruined except their own; and who required for a season, a better atmosphere and warmer waters, than they could find in Rome or the cities of Latium.

But to pursue our history; we are inclined to think that little more than the Agger of Veii, and the lands between her and the Tiber, came at this time into Roman possession, or could be occupied by her new masters, notwithstanding that seven acres apiece were voted to every Plebeian concerned in her fall; yet for many years, some part of her territory was a mere battle-plain to the Etruscans; and all around her, Capena, Faleria, Sutrium, Nepete, Cære, and Tarquinia, were independent and untouched.

One of the Roman Tribunes proposed that half the Plebeians and half the Patricians should remove to Veii, and the motion was only lost because a Plebeian proposed it, and would have headed the colonization, which was too great a shock for the pride of the Patricians. No one disputed what the Tribune and his party urged, that this new conquest was more desirable than any other land under Roman dominion—her territory more fertile and extensive than that of Rome—her situation more commanding and far more healthy, and her edifices, both public and private, more magnificent and commodious. The attention of the Plebeians was fortunately distracted from this subject of discord, by the events of the still enduring war, and the difficulty which the Roman Tribunes found in reducing the allies of this ancient and powerful Lucumony to subjection.

The Roman generals were sent with the victorious legions against Capena and Faleria, and were unable to make the slightest impression on either city. They

could not surround them, nor scale their walls, neither could they, whilst Veii was yet fresh in their remembrance, attempt to reduce them by the stratagem of a mine. They would have been countermined, even into the midst of their own camp; they, therefore, left Faleria unattempted, and once more ravaged the plains of Capena, cutting down, as they had done before, all the fruit-trees, and destroying all the crops, only, as the soldiers now could spread themselves more securely and widely over their territories, they did their work more effectually. Capena seems to have been cut off from Faleria, and to have thought it most prudent to accept of peace; the Romans also were too anxious to diminish the number of their enemies to be very difficult as to terms, and Livy simply says, that “when the Capenians were in danger of perishing by famine, because they had lost their fruit, they asked peace of Rome, and it was given them.” Generous and considerate Romans! Capena ought surely to have been attached to them by ties of gratitude for ever.

Along with Capena, the free towns of Sutrium and Nepete also became municipia of Rome, bound never to make war themselves, nor permit others to make war against her, and to assist her if attacked. Beyond this, they were not subject, or interfered with. We have mentioned them in the first part* of this work, as amongst the oldest cities of Etruria, and Müllert† thinks it probable that they, with

* Vol. i., p. 125.

† Etrüsker ii. 2.

Capena and Fidene, may all have been dependencies of Veii. He says that "they were large and flourishing cities, having their own princes, customs, and laws," and yet they never sent representatives to the Diet, nor were they esteemed as important or territorial enough, to be numbered amongst the law makers of Etruria. They must, therefore, have followed the fortunes of one of her leading members, and as they all fell under the influence of Rome when Veii was conquered, and were neither claimed nor defended by any of the other states, he conceives them all to have been considered in the light of Veientine provinces and governments.

On the submission of Capena, Faliscia was exasperated beyond all bounds, roused her citizens, and vowed to be to the Romans as desperate and implacable an enemy, as they had lately found in Veii. Camillus was sent against Faliscia, the second year after his glorious conquest, which may give us some idea of the indomitable foe with whom the Romans had to struggle. Camillus began, as usual, by ravaging the plains, and certainly had free access through the lands both of Veii and Capena. But when he had entered within the bounds of Faliscia itself, he found the roads so steep and narrow, and the passes so well guarded, that he did not know how to proceed. At length he perceived his enemy's camp placed upon a height at the distance of a mile from their metropolis. To attack it was hopeless, until he could, by bribery or terror, induce one of his prisoners to guide him

to an eminence still higher, whence he could command it. When the Romans gained an advantage over the Tuscans, it was generally by some sort of treachery.

Upon this elevated ground the Romans entrenched themselves, and Camillus divided his army into three parts, one of which was appointed to labour, whilst the other two held themselves in readiness to fight. The Tuscans hazarded an attack to prevent him from fixing himself there, and were so severely repulsed, that they fled, passing by their own camp, into Faleria. The camp was accordingly taken, and the spoil given to the Quæstors, to value and apportion. The town was then invested, and Camillus hoped for additional laurels, could he succeed in taking it, as he had taken Veii. He was so far favoured, that the whole strength of Rome was at his disposal, whilst the Tuscans were obliged to keep the main armies of their nation upon the northern frontiers, against the formidable and startling invasion of the Gauls.

Faleria was, however, no wise dismayed. She was strong in the unanimity of her Senate, and the courage of her men. She was amply magazined, and Camillus himself soon judged that, in whatever manner he might invest her, there was no prospect of the siege being terminated under a ten years' blockade. During this interval, the Gauls might move to other countries, and Etruria be free to defend her own members; nay more, to reconquer the provinces she had lost; whilst the Volsci or the Sabines might draw off

the legions of Rome, and force them to fight for her dominions in an opposite direction. But the child of Fortune, though he might have his moments of despondency, was not to be abandoned. He had maintained the credit of prophecy; he had repaired the temple of Matuta, and secured the favour of imperial Juno, and he was to prosper still, by spiritual influences upon the minds of men, where the force of arms might fail.

The head of the chief college in Faleria was a traitor, a man of vulgar and overweening ambition, seeking either his own elevation or his own revenge at any price, even at the cost of his country's ruin, or of his own eternal infamy. We cannot doubt that his vanity had been deeply wounded by some sarcasm, imagined affront, or neglect, from some of the nobles of Faleria, or he would not have sought, as he did, to rise by the favour of a stranger.

Faleria, in the early part of the campaign, was so secure, that he every day led forth his young pupils to exercise beyond the walls; and even after the camp was taken, he continued the same practice. Both Romans and Falerians must have been persuaded, that this was a plot to entice the enemy to their destruction, or he would have been stopped; for he could not pass the gates, without the warders opening them for him, or without his proceedings being known along the whole line of the ramparts.

One day he led his young victims further than usual, up to the enemy's camp, and through it, into

the tent of Camillus, where, presenting the boys to him, he said, that he thus surrendered to his generosity and discretion the city of Faleria, for that these youths were the sons of her princes, and that they would accede to any terms for their preservation. According to the Roman legend, Camillus saw no advantage to his country, or saving to the blood of his men, in this proposal. He, who had gained his present position by the treachery of a prisoner, was above such vulgar considerations. He, therefore, made in return a very fine speech, full of virtuous indignation and romantic heroism, about the Romans not taking advantage of their prisoners, nor using stratagems, nor making war upon youth; and he opened a safe road to the town, through which he ordered these betrayed boys, to flog their unworthy master back again; placing a scourge in the hands of each of them, and stripping his back naked to the lash. In this manner, the head of the college re-entered the city, and no doubt he was soon thrown from her rocks to feed the wolves and bears, beneath whose nature he had degraded his own.

The story continues, that the Senate of Faleria had sworn, before this occurrence, that they would rather have endured the fate of Veii, than have *accepted* the peace of Capena. But now they are overcome by the magnanimity of Camillus, and they enter into a treaty with him, expressing their gratitude in the most extravagant terms. They are painted as sending ambassadors to the Queen of the Tiber, beseeching her to take their

arms and hostages. They assure her that they surrender themselves voluntarily to her sway; they profess themselves her dutiful and faithful subjects, and say that they are convinced they shall be happier under her government, than under their own.

We cannot suppose that Rome was so uncivil as to refuse these very flattering offers. She highly extolled the justice and good faith of Camillus, politely requested the Lucumony of Faliscia to subscribe one year's pay to her army, and then left these new enthusiastic subjects to themselves, satisfied that their own laws and customs, (which were celebrated above those of all other states, for justice and wisdom,) were better adapted to their prosperity than any new ones which she could propose. She did not even send to Faleria a new governor, or acknowledge her devotion by a Roman garrison; and it is with unfeigned surprise that, when we next read of her, thirty-six years after, she joins Tarquinia in an unsuccessful war upon Rome; and fifty years posterior to Camillus's heroism, we find her regretting that she cannot break her last truce with his country, in order to assist her own descendants in the territories of Capua, against the Roman armies. Rome, in gratitude for this latter observation of public faith, then gladly changed the truce into a permanent alliance, and gave to Faleria,* the Jus Latium, and the franchise of Cære.

The Falerian Legend explains itself. Camillus was by no means the person to reject fraud in active warfare, neither was he, who had already cheated

* Livy vii. 37.

the Plebeians, and who had tried to cheat Apollo of his due in the Veientine booty, exactly the character to soar into such heights of romantic sublimity. He was evidently in treaty with the traitorous President before the boys were led forth; and who will not glory in deceiving a traitor? He gave to him and to the youths he guided, a safe conduct to his camp, and when there, he sent to inform the Senate of Faleria of what had happened, and to offer them such terms as would spare him the trouble and uncertainty of a ten years' siege. Peace with the Romans, (probably for one hundred years,) and a twelve months' pay for his men, was all he asked. For this he would retire, restore all his hostages, and give up the traitor with circumstances of merited disgrace, to await their future judgment. The Senate required him to be whipped back into the town, exactly as the ballad relates, and accepted the terms with feelings of gratitude to Camillus, which prevented them for long afterwards from becoming foes to Rome, and from injuring her, or taking advantage of her, in the day of her distress.

There are authors who think that the Tuscans hired the Gauls to attack the Romans, but we have quite as good reason to fancy that at this juncture, during the uncertain and perilous wars of Faleria and Veii, the Romans hired the Gauls to distress and divide the Tuscans. The year after this war was concluded, the great games were celebrated at Rome, and the year following, Camillus, who had conferred such signal and inestimable benefits upon

his country, was obliged to banish himself to Ardea, one of the colonies, because of his dishonourable and avaricious behaviour about the spoil of Veii.

Though so large a part of Etruria had by this time either bowed to the power of Rome, or agreed to a league defensive and offensive with her, the States, whose barrier was removed, and who, in case of a dispute, would be the next exposed to her attacks, were not inclined to submit so very tamely to an agreement, which had been made without their consent. Müller believes that Volsinia, now Bolsena, succeeded to the place of Tarquinia in power and influence amongst the other States, after that Lucumony lost her dominions and influence beyond the Tiber. Volsinia lay between Tarquinia, Faliscia, and Clusium. When, therefore, the Faliscians became the allies of the Romans, Volsinia felt that the line of her Southern frontier was uncovered; and she, in conjunction with the Salpinates, a subject tribe, made an incursion into the Roman lines, and carried off much spoil and booty unharmed.

The following year the Romans sent a powerful army, under four military Tribunes, against them, two of the Tribunes being ordered to march into Volsinia, and two into Salpina, in order to divide the Tuscan forces. The Volsinians brought a strong army to assist their allies, but they did not make so good a stand against the Romans as was usual with the Tuscan troops. We are told that they fled at the first onset, and that the Roman cavalry pursued

them. They, ere long, came up with the fugitives, surrounded eight thousand of them, and forced them to surrender at discretion. We know not what degree of credit should be given to this extraordinary victory, nor by what reverses it might be afterwards counterbalanced. No city was taken in consequence, and no triumph claimed. But the Romans do not seem to have sustained any defeat, and they succeeded in the ultimate object of their expedition.

Etruria at this epoch, once more reminds us of the man with the bundle of sticks. Had she, even now, attacked Rome with her united powers, she would have been much more than a match for that proud republic; but the cord, the bond of union which once united her members at the shrine of Voltumna, was now unloosed and broken. Piecemeal, and one by one, the Lucumonies, with unformidable armies and unsteady purpose, attacked Rome, and piecemeal, one by one, they fell before her centre of unity, and her gathering strength. In the same manner as they dissolved one into many, she gathered many into one, until she ruled alone, and became the head of the nations. After the defeat of the Volsinians, the Salpinates feared to take the field, and kept themselves within their walls and fortresses. Volsinia now found the struggle unequal, because Faliscia had her hands fettered, and Clusium and Tarquinia could not be moved to her support. These two states therefore made peace with the Romans for twenty years. The terms are

said to have been that they should give the Quiritary army a year's pay, and restore to them the booty which they had taken. Niebuhr imagines Salpina to have become the Urbs Vetus, now Orvieto.

This war being ended, Camillus banished, and Rome delivered from his influence and deprived of his sagacity, ambassadors arrived there from Clusium, praying the Senate for aid against the Gauls. From this it would appear that after the peace of Faleria, Clusium also, the chief of the Northern Tuscan States, had made a league, offensive and defensive, with Rome. The Gauls had been for many years on the frontiers of Etruria, but they were a new enemy before the great city of Clusium; they had poured down upon her, an immense host of armed men, thirty thousand strong,* and encamped themselves against her walls. They were led on, as the Clusians themselves related, by Aruns, one of their own Tuscan leaders, a brave and powerful noble, who had been deeply injured by the King of Clusium. Aruns, that is, a younger branch of one of their powerful families, had been guardian to the Lucumo now upon the throne.

This Lucumo, when in possession of supreme power, fell in love with Aruns's wife, and seduced her from him, and Aruns not being able to raise a civil war with any prospect of success, and burning with an indignation, which nothing but the death of his adversary could appease, turned to the Gauls, and

* Nieb. ii. n. 1184.

invited them to settle in his own fruitful country. He did not solicit any of those tribes which had long kept the frontiers in alarm from Perugia up to Luna. He left them still to keep the States in check, and to prevent any of those members of the League, from sending assistance to Clusium. He went direct to Gallia, the cradle of the Race. Livy says that tribes of this people had been settled for two hundred years in Italy, and that they had made four different irruptions, previous to the one we are now considering. The first band, in the days of Tarquin the Ancient, had established themselves at Mediolanum, which they built; the second came in, before the days of Tarquin the Proud, and conquered a tract of country for themselves, about Brixen, and Verona; the third burst upon Italy nearly at the same period, and settled on the Tescinus; the fourth caused that great influx of Umbri and Etrusci into Southern Italy, which we have already mentioned, and spread themselves along the Po to the shores of the Adriatic.

The tribe which now attacked Clusium was that of the Senones, and a branch of them had already marched into Etruria Nova, and had occupied the country between the rivers Uteis and Œsis. It is not known whether the Clusian Gauls came alone, or whether they had asked the assistance of their countrymen already settled on the Po. But they consisted of armed men only, and unencumbered by women and children. Aruns is said to have enticed them onwards by the glowing descriptions which

he gave of the fertility of his country, its riches, and the excellence of its wines. Of this last he carried them some specimens, and he promised that if they would avenge his quarrel on the perfidious Lucumo, he would secure to them a settlement amongst his people. He well knew that the Northern States could give little or no aid to Clusium, without exposing their own frontiers, and that Faleria could not assist her without asking the concurrence of Rome.

When the Romans heard the Ambassadors' story they were not inclined, on their account, to plunge into a war with the Gauls, who were to them a new and strange people; but they offered to send Feciales who should mediate a peace, and if that could not be effected, they then promised to aid the Clusians with a military force. The men whom they chose as their Feciales, were three of the Fabian house, and were unfortunately not more distinguished by birth, than by the haughtiness and rashness of their characters. They departed on their mission, full of the idea that the ancient fame of their clan, the recent conquests of their country, and the very name of Rome would be sufficient to overawe and terrify the Gauls. This fierce people, however, happened never to have heard the names of any of the three before, and therefore when they were told they must not attack the Clusians, *because* they were the allies of Rome, they said they knew nothing about Rome, nor why they should not act towards her allies as they pleased.

A council of the Gauls was held to receive the Roman Ambassadors, and to them they gave answer, "that the name of the Romans was new to the Gauls, but that they supposed them to be a brave people, since the Clusians had asked their help in this season of peril, and since they had preferred trying to negotiate a peace with Brennus, the Gallic leader, rather than to attack them at once by force of arms. For this reason they would not despise their mediation. The Gauls required land, and the Clusians had more than they occupied. If they were content, therefore to share with the Gauls, they would be happy to make peace with them; but if not, the Clusians must expect war. They would be glad to receive an answer to this ultimatum in the presence of the Roman Deputies; because if the declaration were for war, they then could testify in their own homes, how much the "Gauls excelled in bravery all other mortals." When the Romans asked what right the Gauls pretended to possessions in Etruria, they fiercely answered, "That their Right was in their Might, and that all things belonged to the brave." Upon this answer, both the contending parties flew to arms, and the Fabii, instead of returning to Rome, violated the rights of nations, and disgraced their own sacred Feacial character, by taking the part of the Clusians with all their train. The reinforcement they brought, though not considerable, was probably that of a few hundred men, and in joining the battle, they in a treacherous manner, compromised their whole nation.

The Gauls never suspected that the *Feciales* would take any part in the quarrel, until a fresh message should come from their nation to authorise them. However, in the battle, Quintus Fabius engaged one of the Gaulish generals, and killed him. In his eagerness to secure the *Spolia Opima*, he dismounted, and stopped to strip the body, and then his dress and banner, different from the *Clusians*, caused him to be recognised by the *Gallic* officers. They immediately sounded a retreat, full of indignation at the Roman breach of faith, and their first impulse was to leave *Clusium*, with which they really had no quarrel, and to march to Rome, which had insulted and deceived them. But Aruns, or some other chief, who knew more of Rome than they did, persuaded them that the fault of the *Fabii* was not that of the nation, and that if they sent a complaint against them, they would probably be disavowed by their rulers, and punished. If the Gauls now left *Clusium*, and engaged themselves in a real quarrel with Rome, fighting because their passions were roused, and their pride and vengeance required to be satiated, there was no chance of the tyrannical *Lucumo* being dethroned, nor of Aruns gaining the satisfaction he had sought, with the sacrifice of all he held most dear, even of his national honour, and the independence of *Clusium*.

When he became an enemy to his country in this exasperated and unjustifiable manner, all his property was confiscated to the State, and his children must have either become outlaws, or *Plebeians*. He

allowed his private wrongs to triumph over his patriotism, and because one powerful man had deeply injured him, and his own class did not risk their lives and properties to avenge his quarrel, he scrupled not to bring foreigners into his land, and to spill the blood and ruin the fortunes, of thousands of his kindred. His vindictive spirit was, perhaps, not so dark as that of Brutus, and his wrongs were far greater; but he should have avenged himself through his own people, and not through those, to whom Tarchun and Tages were equally unknown, with the names of Rome and the *Fabii*. This deed of evil, in forgetfulness of his duty to his country, was not, perhaps, worse than that of Coriolanus. Alas! why had he not such a mother? Or why has no bard invented for him the story of such a mother, who could have persuaded him to save and pardon his native city, and to lead his hostile allies against some other foe.

Aruns died in arms with the Gauls. Probably he guided them on their southern expedition, and soothed his wounded soul with the belief that he was revenging Veii, and enabling her to lift herself up again, free and formidable as she had been before. *Clusium*, whether triumphant or not, was again free; abandoned by that enemy, and delivered from them for ever. Often as the Gauls afterwards made inroads into Etruria, they besieged *Clusium* no more. It is scarcely possible to conceive more galling ingratitude, or deeper injuries than those under which the spirit of Aruns groaned; but nothing can jus-

tify a human being for the selfish inconsideration which would ruin his own country by strangers, and make all his kindred weep, for his own private insults. Our country is our mother, and though the child may part from the unjust and unnatural mother, and may think of her only with sorrow and coldness, yet she may not be rebelled against.

The Gauls sent their embassy to Rome, complaining in strong terms of the Fabii, and demanding that they should be given into their hands. The Senate were quite sensible of their crime, and did not desire to bring the armies of the strangers upon them. At the same time, the Fabii were too powerful for the Fathers to venture upon their condemnation. They, therefore, with a weakness which ill suits the usual tone of Roman vaunting, referred them to the judgment of the Centuries, in which all their clients and kinsmen now had votes, and where, consequently, they were tolerably sure of their acquittal. The Centuries not only decreed to pardon the Fabii, and bring them back in safety to their own palace, but they awarded to them the most distinguished honours for their high spirit, and their contempt of those trammels which bound the meaner minds of the Gauls and Tuscans. They created all three, military Tribunes, with consular power, for the ensuing year, and of course had them brought back with pomp and honour to the city. Camillus was in exile, Appius Claudius silent; the Tuscan augur who destroyed Veii, we hope, dead; and as the gods were resolved to punish Rome,

Livy says they blinded her,—“*Quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat.*” How often do the highest dictates of human wisdom, and the words of revelation agree! How true could even Heathens perceive it to be, that “Pride goeth before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall!”

The conduct of the Romans needed no words to explain it, for of itself, it was a declaration of war to the sword's point. The Gauls, on hearing that the Fabii were named amongst the governors of the Roman State, in reward of the insult they had offered to them, breathed threatenings and slaughter with a fury that could not be restrained. They snatched up their ensigns and began their forward march, with one will in every bosom, and one feeling in every breast. Thus they proceeded upon their road in disciplined array. None strayed for plunder; none desired rest. They halted before no towns, ravaged no lands, destroyed no crops, and fired no villages. The peasants fled, but they were not pursued; the cities armed, but the enemy passed on. We wish another “Lay of ancient Rome” would illustrate the still and rapid march of Brennus, as it has done the glorious array of Lars Porsenna, for surely a more awful host never poured through Italy. All was so sudden, that for a time, Clusium knew not whether she was delivered; knew not if she should be thankful; if her foes would be swallowed up by the conquerors of Veii, and return no more; or if, after having made Rome a heap of ashes, they

might not insist upon a domicile extending from the Fossa Cluillia up to the brazen gates of Clusium.

The Gauls marched on with banners streaming, and pipes and trumpets wildly sounding, and they proclaimed, as they poured along, that their quarrel was not with Italy, that it was with Rome alone. They probably pursued the course of the Clanis to its junction with the Tiber, and then went by Fescennium, Feronia, and Cures, down the course of that river; as we find they met the Romans upon the Allia, and that the Roman army lay between the Allia and the Tiber, encamped to the south-west of their enemies.

The chief events of this war belong to Roman history only, and are so well known that we do not mean to dwell upon them. The infatuated Quirites, after their complete defeat upon the Allia, ran away to Veii. The left wing did not fight at all, but threw away their arms and crossed the Tiber, while those who were in the sacred city, and without a hope of defence there, immediately deserted it, and found within the walls of their late rival a refuge and a second home, in which they hoped to spend their days in peace. The aged men who could not flee, were murdered, most of the houses and palaces were fired, and the strong walls of Servius were much injured, though not destroyed. Those who were capable of bearing arms amongst the Senators and the Patricians, together with all the soldiers who could be collected, and the right

wing of the defeated army fortified themselves in the citadel.

So complete at this time was the separation between Rome and Veii, that Livy says, Those that were shut up in the citadel knew not the fate of their fellow-citizens, but believed that the multitudes who had escaped were all dead. Nor were they probably aware of the real fact, until Pontius Cominius contrived to climb the rock of the Capitol, and together with the message from Camillus, to bear to them, tidings of the multitude, who had found in Veii a safer and a second Rome. It is strange that at this time, all the Romans sought safety in Etruria, and none of them either in Latium, amongst their own original blood, or in Sabina amongst their faithful and long-tried allies. Yet the Gauls poured in upon them from the Etruscan side only, and first invaded Italy as the foes of that nation.

The Gauls were some days after the battle of the Allia before they marched into Rome, because they feared treachery a second time, and could not believe in the pusillanimity of any armed nation, thus leaving its gods, its temples, its palaces, its gates, its walls, and all it held sacred and dear, to the discretion of an exasperated enemy. The Gauls had asked land from the Clusians, and they had been forced to halt, and wait before the Tuscan city, though they had arms in their hands, and an incensed and bold Noble of the Clusians at their head; but the Romans gave them up their lands, their Agger, and their city, without even waiting

to be asked for them. They were at this time certainly the most nervous people in the world, and when they came to be known to the universe as potent warriors and mighty statesmen, we find that scarcely one of their celebrated men was born on the territory, which at this date, belonged to Rome. These men were, indeed, Romans, as holding the franchise of the city, but they were Etruscans, Samnites, Sabines, Latins, Volsci, or Campanians, as to the land of their nativity.

But to return to the history. During the few days of uninterrupted fright and agitation, which the Gauls allowed to this wonderful people, the women, children, nobles, and citizens, escaped with all the effects they could carry or convey, beyond the Tiber. The greater part secured themselves within the walls and upon the heights of Veii, building up the gate of the Ponte Sodo, and that one, the brazen doors of which Camillus had borne away. The rest bent their steps to the peaceful and friendly Cære, which seems to have prospered in quiet, when all the States around her were shaken with the storms of war.

The first movement of the Plebeians was to cross the Tiber, and to take refuge on the Janiculum, whence they dispersed to whichever Lucumony of Etruria best suited their convenience. The meagre annals of Rome from the days of her foundation, which were kept by the Pontifex Maximus and the priesthood, were safe within her fortress; and thither were also borne all the annals and public records, the Fasti,

and the Fescennine verses which could be collected together. The Flamens and the Vestals, with their holy fire, immediately turned to Cære, the birth-place of their sacred rites; and such papers of public import, or we should rather say, such linen, books, and palm-leaves, as they had no possibility of taking with them, and no time to secure in the Capitol, they nailed up in casks and buried under the house which stood next to that of the Flamen Quirinalis. These consecrated persons then took their way on foot, in their robes of office, and bearing the sacred fire in their hands, up the Janiculum, in order to pursue their course towards Cære. Lucius Albinus, a rich Plebeian, and from his name very likely a descendant of some ancient Lucumo, was driving his wife and family in a carriage, in order to take refuge in the same city. On seeing the Vestals, he immediately stopped, alighted, and said, that he would never ride, whilst the ministers of the gods had to go on foot. Accordingly he insisted upon their taking his place, and had himself the pleasure of conducting them to their home in the friendly city.

In this party there were six Vestals, beside the Flamens and the driver; therefore we find that the vehicle in which Lucius was travelling was one of those long covered carriages drawn by four or six horses, which are often represented on the Etruscan monuments. The Vestals were received in Cære with the most lively joy, and they were shown all possible honour and hospitality, until

more fortunate times allowed them to return to their own homes. The Romans, when again restored, returned the Cærites public thanks, and are said to have named all their sacred rites "Ceremonies," after them, in gratitude for this act. But we believe that their religious rites were always so called, even in the days of Romulus. The Romans set up a brazen tablet recording their thanks, to the eternal honour of the Cærites; and they probably meant to be practically grateful, when they again were strong enough to have it in their power. But the convenient opportunity never came; they had too many concerns with other nations when once more independent, and they granted the Cærites no privileges, which they could possibly withhold. They are said now to have given them the strangers' franchise, and to have made with them a league of Isopolity; but unless Cære had been Isopolite with Rome before the invasion of the Gauls, her citizens could not have turned thither, in their state of panic, with such unhesitating confidence; and the strangers' franchise, Cære had possessed from the infancy of Rome onwards. Indeed, the ingratitude of the Republic to her Tuscan benefactress was often afterwards cast in her teeth, and the *privilege* of the Cærite franchise became a proverb of ridicule amongst her citizens.

The Gauls blockaded Rome for many months, and when tired of having nothing else to do, detachments of them besieged Ardea and Antium. In the meantime, the Roman emigrants, who had

believed themselves safely lodged in Veii, were alarmed at the report of a Tuscan army marching down upon them. Whence these Tuscans came, we are at a loss to conjecture. They were not from Capena, nor Faliscia, for these two states observed faithfully their treaties; but they may have been the former nobles of Veii, who had escaped when that city was taken by the Romans, joined to the bands of Aruns, or to the troops of Volsinia or Tarquinia.

We cannot help laughing at the indignation of Livy against this host. It was not long since the Romans had conquered from the Tuscans, Fidene, Veii, Capena, and, according to his account, Faliscia also; and yet he laments over the Tuscans' want of generosity in not pitying the city which had wrought them so much harm, and in not raising her up again, by all means in their power, to be as formidable and mischievous to them again as ever. He says "they had no compassion for a nation which, during four hundred years, had been their neighbour, and now was oppressed and overcome by a monstrous and unheard of enemy, but that, on the contrary, there were certain of them who selected that very time to make incursions into the plains of Veii, to carry off prey, and even to threaten the city itself (the last resource of the Roman fugitives) with a siege." He adds, that they were actually so unfeeling, as to pitch their camp close to Veii; so that the Roman soldiers could see them wandering about the fields, and gathering themselves together in bands to go

out in search of booty. At first they could scarcely believe in anything so inhuman and inconsiderate. They said to each other, "Are these men the Etruscans, who have driven the Gauls upon us, and turned them off from themselves? are they now come to mock at our misfortunes?" The Romans in Veii were filled with indignation at such insolence, and after having watched their proceedings until they were sure a second siege of Veii was in contemplation, they took courage to attempt the desperate adventure of leaving the walls, and attacking the Tuscan camp by night. This was an attack so unexpected, on the part of men who hitherto had appeared perfectly resigned to their fate, whether it were insult, blockade, or spoliation, that we cannot wonder at the Tuscans being taken by surprise, and doubting whether those who attacked them, were really the Roman fugitives from Veii. They were defeated in the confusion and obscurity of night, and obliged to retire towards the Salines, near Ostia, and north of it upon the coast. Nor was this all: the Romans were so pleased with their revived prowess, that they ventured upon a second attack, covered by darkness, and as the Tuscans had laid their account with nothing less than being followed, they were again surprised and again defeated, so that they retired finally from the territory of Veii, and troubled her no more.

The consequence was, that the fame of Veii as a place of refuge, increased, and with it the num-

bers of those who congregated there, so that at length Camillus agreed to leave Ardea, and to take the command over the large Roman population of Veientine Refugees. He dwelt probably in the very palace where the haughty Lucumo, whom he overthrew, had dwelt before, and he issued his orders, and made them to be trembled at, in the very citadel, whence that Lucumo had so often defied the Romans, and laughed at the neglect of his own neighbours and his own kindred.

It was in the city of Veii that Camillus formed, and from its conquered gates that he led forth, the army which at last delivered Rome,—which made it once more the home of the Quirites, and which prevented the Gauls, a second time, from returning to it. It was this army from Veii, which, assisted by the Cærites, gave them so signal a defeat near Gabii, and took back part of the spoil. Veii was once more partially deserted, and her empty streets began to show that the swarming multitudes which had lately given life to her Forum, and the armed men who, with proud step, had walked her battlements, were not her native children. We doubt if at this time, they spoke a foreign tongue, or one that differed more, than the French and Germans on opposite sides of the Rhine. We believe that, like most borderers, they were bilingual, and that each could perfectly well communicate with the other.

When the Emigrants returned to Rome, she was totally changed,—desolate, comfortless, and in ruins; her atmosphere tainted with pestilence, her walls

surrounding stones and ashes, and heaps of rubbish. Where her inhabitants had left their houses, their temples, and their palaces, they could not bear now to look upon their blackened roofs, and gaping breaches; and the buildings which remained entire, (as many did) only seemed to make the destruction of the others more offensive from the contrast. The Capitol, with its sacred edifices, was unscathed, and so were the Fabian Palace on the Quirinal, the dwellings upon the Janiculum, and many others upon all the Seven Hills, which had been inhabited by the Gauls. The proud Patricians, whose houses had been spared, once more congratulated themselves in the halls of their fathers, and could not understand the mean spirit of those, who looked back with fondness to Veii, and who still insisted upon taking up their quarters there.

So intent were the people on removing to Veii, having once tasted of its comfort, enjoyed its salubrity, and felt themselves secure in its almost inaccessible position, that Camillus, in the renewed height of his power and fulness of his influence, could scarcely dissuade them from carrying out their scheme. Livy puts into his mouth, one of the most eloquent speeches to be found in the whole of Roman history. He tells them that they are unjust to their own victors, who have saved the Capitol; that they are abandoning the city of their fathers, in order to identify themselves with the people whom they have vanquished; that when they have become citizens of Veii, they will still have to

contend for their liberty, for that the Equi, the Volsci, and the Gauls, will then establish themselves in Rome, and that whilst they threaten them on the one side, Etruria, which occupies the whole breadth of Italy from sea to sea, will distress them on the other, and though not equal to them in warlike skill and valour, yet will never suffer them to live in peace. He ends by conjuring them, in the name of their gods, their temples, their sacred fire, their Anciliæ, and the many miracles which have been worked in their behalf, not to forsake Rome; and specially he named the bleeding head, which was found under the Capitol, and the prophecy that whoever possessed that building, should rule over the whole of Italy.

The fear of impiety, which had prevented the secession of the people three years before, now influenced them again. Juno Kupra, the patron divinity of Veii, had accepted of a habitation on the Aventine. Could they be sure she would willingly return to that city, which she had deserted without reluctance? and would their own gods patronise them in a foreign land? Would their own Lares and Penates follow them to the shrine of their enemies? They began to waver and hesitate, when a fortunate omen brought them to a decision. The Senate was debating the matter in the Curia Hostilia, when a cohort of the guard passed by, and the Centurion called out in a loud voice, "Ensign, fix your standard; it is best for us to remain here." The Senators exclaimed, "Let us accept the omen."

The people heartily gave their approbation, and the doom of Veii was fixed for ever. The stones of her dwellings became a quarry, to rebuild the streets of her rival, her palaces sank into chambers for the poor, and shops for the small traders, and her Forum was turned into the market-place of a mere country town. A small Roman colony was fixed within her precincts, neglect and decay crumbled down her temples; she dwindled into insignificance, and soon became a vision of the past, a thing unvisited and forgotten. One more attempt seems to have been made, and one only, to redeem her from oblivion. That one was unsuccessful, and the Etruscans, equally with the Romans, seem to have been convinced that her gods had deserted her. Their own day was now declining to its evening-time, and Veii, magnificent and glorious Veii, was left alone to perish.

Rome had scarcely begun to raise herself up from her ashes, when Etruria once more threatened her on all sides, with the troubles of a new war. The Diet of Voltumna had been held as usual, and the fair was not omitted, though the terror spread by the Gauls throughout Italy, during the siege of Rome, and their march onwards into Apulia, had probably made it less brilliant than usual. Latin merchants, were, however, there, as heretofore, and on their return to their own country, they informed the Roman Senate, that the Etruscan princes were debating on the expediency of renewing the contest with them, and that, with some portion of the

League, the cry for battle had prevailed. It is certain, from the result, that this was not a case of general hostilities, in which all the twelve States were engaged, but one in which Tarquinia and Volturnia probably asked the approbation of the meeting, upon their project of trying their strength against a too successful and encroaching foe. Niebuhr thinks that the fall of Sutrium had roused them into action, because their territories were thus endangered, joining as they did the lands of Capena and Faliscia, and therefore they had every incitement to check, whilst there was yet time, their new and dangerous neighbour. We also judge, from the events of the war, that the Umbri of Ameria and Narnia joined forces with them.

The Romans, in great alarm, and not being able to ascertain the true extent of the peril, appointed Camillus, for the sixth time, Dictator. A large Etruscan force had reappeared in the territory of Veii, and this he immediately opposed and caused to retire; but he was told that they had fallen back upon Sutrium, which was sustaining a regular siege from the Tuscans, in order to force her magistrates to break their alliance with Rome. Messengers arrived from this city, requesting immediate relief, or they could no longer resist, but should be obliged to submit to the arms of their countrymen. From the story it would appear that many Roman settlers had been admitted into the place; for Sutrium was forced to surrender, and the people neither hailed the Etruscan soldiers as deliverers, nor were they

hailed by them; and, on the other hand, though ill-used and plundered, they were not insulted as deserters from their country, nor were they reproached with treachery. When Camillus marched to the relief of the town, not knowing that already it had been vanquished by the Tarquinians, he met with a multitude of unarmed and poverty-stricken men, lamenting women, and weeping children, and they told him that they had been turned out without food, or change of raiment, or means of defence, to perish from want and destitution on the road, or to find their way to the Roman frontiers. Camillus pitied and relieved them, bidding them not fear, for he would soon reinstate them in their homes. He desired them to turn with him, to join his rear, and to travel with his baggage-train,—a portion of baggage which a general is usually most anxious to be quit of, but on this occasion he was glad of their company, for they swelled the appearance of his host, and animated the courage of his men.

When the Etruscans had got possession of the city of Sutrium, and rid themselves of this beggarly multitude, whom we presume to have been Romans, they suspected not that any enemy was nearer to them than the plains of Veii, or the shores of the Lake Sabatinus, and with a most unsoldierly negligence, which reflects the utmost disgrace upon their commander, they left the gates of the town open, and the walls unguarded, whilst they abandoned themselves to plunder. Camillus marched up with his well-disciplined army, and surrounded the place

without attracting any particular notice. He then summoned it to surrender, and the Etruscan troops, dispersed and in disorder, were in no condition to resist. The sagacious Camillus was resolved that they should not gain new strength from despair, and immediately proclaimed that he would do no harm to those who submitted without opposition; that he would, moreover, spare the lives of those who laid down their arms, and that the women and children should not be touched. The Tuscan general had time to secure himself in the citadel; but being wholly unprepared for a siege, having already himself breached the walls, and finding that the town was now in possession of the enemy, he surrendered upon terms, and Sutrium was restored to her own magistrates, and to the occupation of her former inhabitants, as the sworn allies of the Roman people.

The riches of this city astonish us greatly, for it could not have been a place of much commerce, and it never was a leading member of the League; and yet the quantity of gold found in it was so great that the Roman Senate was enabled not only to restore to their matrons all the precious metal they had borrowed from them, when they ransomed their city from the Gauls; but to make of the surplus three golden bowls, which repaid a portion of that, which they had been obliged to take from the sacred treasury in the temples of the Capitol. These bowls were not laid at the feet of Jupiter, but of Juno Capitolina, which inclines us to the belief that Juno, or Kupra, was the patron deity of Sutrium. Much money was also brought into the

Roman treasury by the vast number of prisoners whom Camillus disposed of by auction.

Such of the natives of Veii, Capena, and Faliscia, as now sought the alliance of Rome, were not only received with cordiality, but were admitted to her citizenship, given the Cærite franchise, and had their lands inscribed in the Roman roll as forming part of her acknowledged tribesmen. The friendship and good-will of these people enabled Camillus to insist upon and effect the evacuation of the city of Veii, into which, despite all his prejudices, his arguments, and his power, the Roman people continued to flock, and which they still seemed resolute to occupy and maintain as the rival of Rome. The Plebeians at length gave up the fruitless contest, and obeyed the recall, bowing to the strong will of their victorious Dictator; and this was the last attempt made by either Romans or Tuscans to avert the doom of the once large and opulent, the mighty and splendid Veii, now obliterated from the face of the earth, and her very site left as a matter of dispute to the Italian antiquarian.

A. C. 385, A. T. 802.

The next season the Romans made an expedition into Tarquinia, to punish the enemy on their own ground, and maintain the war, if possible, in the very heart of Etruria. Cortuosa and Contenebra were two towns which had grown out of the increase of Tarquinia. They were at first suburbs beyond her walls, and not included within the Augury limits of her Patricians. They were now under

separate magistrates, and protected by separate forts and garrisons. The Roman Legions marched through Veii, across the mountains, and down upon these towns, without any warning; coming upon them like a thunderbolt, and managing at one stroke to cut off their communication with Tarquinia, with the coast, and with each other. Cortuosa was so effectually surprised, that it was quickly taken by storm, burned to the ground, and plundered. Contenebra underwent a siege, but the Roman force so outnumbered their enemies, and the town was so unprepared for an attack, (the first apparently she had ever sustained,) that her citizens were soon worn out by fatigue and constant watching; and after a short resistance, were compelled to surrender. As the King of Tarquinia gave no assistance, and as the whole affair appears to have been a rapidly-conducted, and well-managed stratagem, attended by no important results, we shrewdly suspect that it was effected, whilst the King with his nobles was absent at Voltumna, and that the Governor of the city was paralysed by his own stupid security. The Tarquinii revenged themselves, by again renewing their attempts upon Nepete and Sutrium, places which the Romans considered as barriers to them, against the invasions of the Etruscans, and to the inviolability of which, as their allies, they attached great importance.

Camillus showed his fear of the Etruscan military talents and restlessness, at this period, for upon being appointed Dictator once more, and obliged in

person, to head the Legions against the Volsci, he left a regularly organised and disciplined army in Rome, prepared to oppose the Tuscans, in case of any attempt through Veii, on the part of Tarquinia or Volsinia. The Romans also, now guarded their frontiers, in the same politic manner which the Etruscans, through more than seven ages, had found so successful with the Umbri. They made tranquillity along the borders, the interest of the Tuscans themselves; for they created four new tribes out of the conquered territory of Veii, and the allied provinces of Faliscia, Capena, and Narnia, calling them the Stellatine, Sabatine, Narnian, and Tromentine; and not only endowing them with the Cærite franchise, and enabling them to claim privileges and immunities during peace in Rome, but actually permitting them to vote in classes, along with the Centuries, and to be eligible for every office open to the native Plebeians. We have difficulty in believing that the concession of such privileges was not the fruit of some successes on the part of the Etruscans, or some reverses on the part of the Romans, which their historians have not thought it necessary to record.

The Tarquinians and Volsinians laid siege to Nepete and Sutrium; the first capitulated after a feeble resistance, but the second had been so severely treated during the last war, that it defended itself with the most determined spirit. Both towns found means to send messengers to Rome, explaining their dangerous situation, and praying for help. The

Senate sent these messages forward to Camillus, who was blockading Antium, and he, without hesitation or delay, committed the siege to one of his lieutenants, reinforced himself with the city legions, and marched straight against the Tuscans. He found part of the town of Sutrium already in the power of the hostile force, and the other part contended for, inch by inch. The citizens had barricaded all the streets, and bravely defended them as they retreated. Camillus divided his army into two parts, one of which he appointed to assist his distressed allies, whilst the other took possession of the walls, whence they had every advantage over their foes. The Tuscans finding themselves overmatched, and fighting between two fresh enemies, abandoned the contest, and poured out of the city by one of the gates which had been left unguarded. Many were killed before they could reach this gate, and the others, who escaped, were pursued, and numbers of them slaughtered in their flight, ere they could cross the Mount Ciminus, or fall back upon Tarquinia.

Having achieved this victory, Camillus settled a Roman colony in the place, and then marched forwards to Nepete, and summoned it to submit and expel the Tuscan garrison; but, alas! though very willing, because afraid of the consequences, should they refuse, her populace had no power to comply. Camillus then ordered all who were friendly to Rome to show themselves, and separate from her foes, but this also they dared not do. The Town

Council was believed to be entirely in the interest of Tarquinia, and resolved to hold out as long as possible; he therefore invested the city and ravaged the country all round, hoping to work upon their fears and selfishness. But the rulers in Nepete mocked at the thought of famine, and he appeared to make no progress. After a while, Camillus brought up his machines, and ordered the town to be stormed. The fight lasted with fury for some hours, when a breach was made in the walls. The Romans forced their way in, and the place was taken. Almost all the natives were spared, and their property respected, excepting the magistrates, who were put to death along with the Tarquinian troops. These men, whether armed or disabled, were slain without quarter, as an example to terrify others. Camillus's motto was, "*Parcere humiles, debellare superbos*," and he was the first Roman who, since the days of Mezentius and Julius, had won land within the borders of Etruria, and altered the limits of her dominions; the first, since the overthrow of Vetulonia, who had caused a change amongst the members of the League; and the first, since the landing of Tarchun, who had diminished in Central Etruria the extent of country, which was subject to her sway.

Nepete probably asked for a Roman garrison, being in constant danger of an attack from the Tarquinians, and almost a temptation to them; and not being strong enough to defend herself without foreign assistance. One was accordingly placed there; and the year following, though Niebuhr says

not until ten years afterwards, the place received a Roman colony, and became, to all intents and purposes, separated permanently from Etruria. Sutrium and Nepete formed the armed frontier, between the Quirites and the Rasena, for sixty years; and were placed on the footing of allied Municipia, obliged each to furnish a regiment to serve in the Roman wars, but being governed by their own blood, and according to their ancient laws and customs, except in so far as they preferred placing themselves under the laws and customs of their new head. These places had voluntarily joined themselves to Rome by treaty, upon the cession of certain stipulated privileges, and therefore they were never in the condition of conquered or tributary and suspected cities; even though they admitted the colonists to a share in their lands, and probably adopted the leaders into their *Curiae*.

The Roman historians do not mention the peace or truce, which was now concluded with all the Etruscan States, for they must in full Diet have agreed to the re-settling of the frontiers, to the election of some other *Lucumony*, which would make up their sacred number of twelve, in the room of Veii, and to the long cessation of hostilities which followed these last victories of Camillus. One of the Roman Consuls held an assembly* of the tribes at Sutrium, and passed a law about the Patrician share of the spoil in future battles, a proceeding quite unprecedented and forbidden for the time to come.

* A. C. 354.

A. C. 356, A. T. 831.

We hear of no more wars for four-and-twenty years,* and then the truce being over, the Tarquinians made an incursion upon the Romans, which reminded them of their old troubles in former days, and of the necessity of most vigorous measures and most able commanders, if they desired to avoid a repetition of them. A consular army was accordingly sent against the Etruscans, but met with a severe repulse, and three hundred and seven Roman officers, who were taken prisoners, were treated with much insult and hardship, and then transported to Tarquinia and put to death in the Forum there. But for this rash act, the Tuscans might probably have commanded an advantageous peace, instead of the war lasting, as it did, for eight weary and disastrous years. Part of the defeated Roman army retreated upon Faleria, which was still bound by its treaty with Rome; but when the refugees wished to quit the city, they found themselves forcibly detained, and as the Faliscii would not give them up, even when solemnly demanded by the Feciales, the Romans considered this conduct as equivalent to a declaration of having joined with the Tarquinians, in the war against them. Another consular army, the following season, engaged the united forces of Tarquinia and Faliscia, but being constantly repulsed, and kept at bay by them, it was forced to retire without having effected anything, if we except having prevented the Tuscans from ravaging the Roman territory.

* Livy vii. 15, &c.

In the third year of this war, the two united Lucumonies found themselves opposed by a Consul of the Fabian house, and as the story of the Cremera was well known to them, they made more than common efforts to defeat him. To their no small joy he was routed in the very first encounter, and his men were so terrified with the strange appearance of their enemies, that he could not persuade them to stand the assault. A band of the Tuscans, whom Livy calls priests, came forward, as they had done in former wars, representing the Furies, with lighted brands in one hand, and snakes of coloured stuff or worsted in the other; and the Romans believing them to be spirits, who fought on the Turrhenian side, fled away in frantic consternation. When the officers, however, could make their voices to be heard, reproaching and striving to rally them, and still more when they could show a torch which they had wrung from the hands of a wounded Tuscan, the Romans recovered from their panic and renewed the attack. Fabius besought them to stand against their enemies, by all the wrongs and the glories of his house, and by their own former victories and invincibility, until they caught the infection, and began to covet for themselves, some of that fame of which they had heard so much. They turned and fought, and repulsed their enemies, attacked their camp, and then marched in triumph back to their own intrenchments. They afterwards made songs upon this battle, and were wisely taught to ridicule

the spectacle which had so nearly proved their overthrow.

The next year, Tarquinia and Faliscia got assistance from some other members of the League, and advanced upon the Romans, by the ancient Tuscan possessions of the Salines, near Ostia. This caused so much alarm at Rome, that a Dictator was elected, and a large army raised, which he led carefully down the banks of the Tiber, sometimes on one side and sometimes on the other, until he found an opportunity of attacking his foes to advantage. The Tuscan generals allowed their camp to be surprised, and after the loss of eight thousand men, were obliged to retreat within their own frontiers. They still, however, considered themselves as quite equal to the Romans in military strength, and never suffered them to enter the borders of either state; nor in the campaigns of the next year, did they permit them to gain any advantage of any kind within the dominions of Etruria. In the sixth year, they fought a bloody and hardly contested field, in which they were not so successful, for though they kept their ground, and inflicted great slaughter upon the enemy, they themselves lost a multitude of noble prisoners, who could ill be spared. These men, to the number of three hundred and fifty-eight souls, were sent to Rome, beaten with rods in the Forum, and then beheaded; to the disgrace of those who knew not how to observe better, the laws of civilized warfare. It is true, they professed that it was to

avenge the three hundred and seven Romans whom the Etruscans, with a barbarity equally unjustifiable, had massacred six years before; but admitting the ancient law of retaliation, and the natural principle of "life for life," why did they immolate fifty-one innocent persons, unarmed and at their mercy, without a pretence of virtue or justice to exculpate them?

The outrage was so great, that even the peaceful Cærites, Livy says, felt compassion for their kindred, and were roused to express their displeasure. They suffered some of their men to join the united Lucumonies, and to help them in plundering the country about the Salines, and then they allowed the booty to be carried into Cære. The Roman Senate, without delay, proclaimed war against Cære, though their long tried and hitherto faithful friend, and sent troops into her domains. The cautious ruler, or rulers of the Cærites, certain of not being able to cope with the Republic, and of having their commerce interrupted, and perhaps ruined by the war, disavowed the proceedings of the army, and claimed the forbearance and forgiveness of Rome, for one rash and unauthorised act, in consideration of the refuge which this state had granted to the Romans, with their Lares, Priests, and Vestals, in the hour of their worst distress. According to Livy,* they said "that the Tarquinians had marched through their territory as a neutral State, and had obliged the peasantry to join them, and they intreated that Cære,

* vii. 20.

the sanctuary of the Roman people, the refuge of her priests, and the asylum of her sacred things, might be left unhurt and unviolated by the horrors of war, in consideration of the Isopolity contracted with the Vestals, and with the Gods, whose worship had been there preserved."

The Fathers wisely judged that it was their interest to divide their opponents by allowing this plea, and the Cærites, in consequence, for ever forsook the Tuscan political alliance, though they kept the religious one, and sent Deputies to Voltumna, as worshippers of Concord, and as men of the same blood with the rest of the Rasena, but not as compromised in their quarrels, or as bound to join in their wars, or to share in their dangers. They made peace with the Romans for one hundred years, at the end of which period, the wealthy and prosperous Cære was of little more importance than the new colony which now occupied Veii.

It was probably at this time, that Rome altered and diminished the ancient Isopolite privileges of Cære, and degraded her to a Municipium. Niebuhr* says, it was after the Gallic war, and yet her troops had all the honour of defeating the Gauls in Sabina, when Rome trembled at their power, and again near Gabii, on their return home. Strabo† reproaches them justly for their ingratitude, and for that mean feeling, which prompts the prosperous to forget the benefits rendered to them in the time of need. It is only the little soul

* ii. n. 140.

† v. 230.

which fears to make itself still less, should it acknowledge former obligations, to those whom fortune or accident, in the course of time, have caused it to surpass, in worldly rank, riches, or power.

Though thus abandoned by Cære, Tarquinia and Faliscia still maintained the war for two successive years, in order to revenge their murdered prisoners, and to pacify the minds of the noble houses who had been injured through their destruction. Nothing of importance, however, distinguished the contest on either side. The Roman Dictator ravaged their lands, but could not besiege any of their towns, and the war was at length concluded by a peace for forty years,* each party keeping the advantages they had acquired. Eight years later the Faliscians accepted of the Quiritary franchise, and became, like the Cærites, the indissoluble allies of the Roman people, breaking the political confederation which had hitherto bound them to their kindred, and only remaining united by religious ties to the other children of Tarchun and Tages. Alas! how changed—how enfeebled—how disunited and dismembered was now the once glorious and powerful Etruria!

* A. C. 348; A. T. 839.

COLONIES.*

THE Colonies of the Turrheni, which we intend very slightly to notice, are Ardea, Anxur, Circeium, Tusculum, and Antium. They were all to a great degree independent of the mother States from their first settlement, being only bound to allow connubium and commercium, and to abstain from every act of violence against them. But they never were members of any of the Leagues, nor sent representatives to any of the Diets.

ARDEA.†

This place still retains its ancient name, and its walls are built in the Tuscan fashion, with large square blocks of tufo in regular courses, and with mounds behind them, which Gell imagines may have suggested the famous Agger of Rome to Servius Mastarna. This place, the capital of the Rutuli, was colonized by Mezentius and his thousand men, when they were driven out of Cære. Pliny‡ bears testimony to its early civilization, and says, that there were paintings

* Authorities : Livy, passim ; Dion. Hal. ; Pliny ; Virgil ; Müller's Etrüsker ; Gell, Rome and its vicinity ; Arnold, Rome ; Nieb., Rome.

† See vol. i. p. 329. Müller, Einl. p. 115. ‡ xxxv. 3.

in its temples older than Rome. Virgil makes the Ardeans allies of the Faliscians, Cærites, Tarquinians, and Vulcians. Festus* says, that one of their early monarchs was Lucer or Lucumo, with whom, or from whom, the Luceres came to the banks of the Tiber. Servius† tells us that the name Ardea means "Noble," and that the Feciales were derived from Ardea to Rome.

Turrhene Ardea was in alliance with Rome under the Tarquins, and joined the League of forty-seven States which agreed to sacrifice to Tiana Aventina, under Mastarna. She traded with Carthage at that time. Tarquin the Second is said to have besieged her, for the sake of her rich spoils, and after his dethronement, the Romans concluded with the city a peace of fifteen years; but Niebuhr thinks this whole story impossible. Ardea, being merely a colony of the Turrheni, whilst the mass of her population was always Rutulian Latin, united herself to the great Latin League of the thirty States, which sacrificed to Jupiter Latialis on Mount Alba, and she signed the treaty of Sp. Cassius, made between the Latins and Rome.

Some time after, she concluded a separate peace with Rome, and then referred to that nation, a dispute she had with Aricia, about the division of some conquered lands. The Romans seized upon the land for themselves, but afterwards, judging the friendship of Ardea to be the more valuable of the two, they restored the lands in question, helped the

* v.

† Æn. vii. 412.

Patricians in a civil feud against their own Plebs, and in the year of Tarquinia 746 (B. C. 441) formed with them a bond of mutual privileges and concessions, and admitted them to become in every sense Roman citizens. They were to live under their own rulers and laws, but to join Rome in all her battles, and to share in all her spoils. Camillus took refuge in Ardea, when driven from his native state, and headed the Ardeans when they were attacked by the Gauls. They, in return, helped him to maintain the conquest of Veii, and to redeem Rome from her Gallic chains. *Castrum Inui*, the shrine of the Tuscan goddess, now *Rudera*, belonged to Ardea, and lay between her citadel and Antium. This rich, strong, and polished town, was ruined by dissensions amongst her own magnates, until she gradually dwindled into her present village-like condition. In the days of the empire, a number of elephants used to be kept here.

ANXUR.*

Anxur was a great and strong town, situated on a lofty rock, which rises above the Mediterranean, and was called *Terracina*, after its conquest by the Volsci, a name which it still retains. Arnold says, that it originally belonged to the *Turrheni*, i. e., the same people who founded *Circeium*, and settled themselves in Ardea. We find it mentioned as an ally of Tarquinian Rome in the treaty of Carthage, but it was subdued by the Volsci. The

* Livy iv. 59.

Romans retook it soon after, but as their rule did not please the people, *Auxur* again revolted to her Volscian conquerors. This city was the object of many hard contests, and finally became united to Rome in the A. Tarq. 860.

CIRCEIUM.*

This beautiful spot lies close to *Auxur*, but it is situated in the plains bordering upon the sea, and not upon a height. Its promontory was known to the earliest Greek traders, and Apollonius ascribes it to the *Turrheni*, in the days of the Argonauts. The Volscians possessed themselves of it, and Tarquin the Second conquered it from them, and sent his son Titus to rule there with a *Turrhene* Roman colony. We accordingly find its trade and safety provided for in the treaty with Carthage, and after a time it joined the Volsci and drove away all the Romans. It was conquered by Coriolanus, and reconquered by the great Volscian warrior and prince, Attius Tullius. It gained for itself an *Isopolity* with Rome in A. Tarq. 729, and became a Roman *Municipium* in A. Tarq. 796. It had a celebrated grove and temple of *Feronia*, the Tuscan goddess of freemen.

TUSCULUM.†

The profound Niebuhr, the learned Müller, and our own Arnold, believe this place to have been founded by the Tuscans. Like many other *Turr-*

* See vol. i. p. 387. Müller, ii. 66.; Serv. *Æn.* vii. 799.† Müller, *Einl.* p. 114.

hene settlements, it was a Tuscan colony amongst the Latins, and according to the tradition of the people, their founder came from Circeium. In oriental phrase, he was "the son of Circe," and fixed his home in Tusculum, three generations before the Trojan war. His name was Mamilius, and he became, like the Roman Tarquinius, a chief prince amongst the Latins, so that his Dynasty ruled in Tusculum for many successive ages. Sir William Gell quotes Lycophron, who calls the Tusculans "Turrhene Pelasgi," i. e. Etruscan wanderers or foreigners; and again he says, "they connected themselves with the founders of Agylla and Tarquinia."

We find Tusculum in the Latin League with Mastarna, and the Prince Mamilius was married to the daughter of Tarquin the Second. He received his father-in-law and all his Roman partisans, when deserted by their old allies, the Etruscans under Porsenna, and the Sabines; and Mamilius fought bravely for Tarquin, and headed the Latin forces at the great battle of Regillus. Niebuhr* quotes Tusculum, as an example of the antiquity of Dictators, and their long duration; and he names an Egerius amongst them on the authority of Cato. We presume the Tuscan Mamilii and Egerii to have stood in the same position, as the Guelphs in England and the Holsteins in Russia. We find Tusculum as a member of the Latin League, in the treaty of Sp. Cassius, and a Mamilius, with his troops, helped the Romans to regain the Capitol from Herdonius

* Rome, vol. i. on Dictatorship.

and the Sabines. The Volscians at one time, surprised and took possession of the citadel, but were soon starved into a surrender; and Arnold believes that at the time the Romans sought to amend their laws, Tusculum was the only free city between Rome and the Volscians.

The Roman army, which unsuccessfully raised itself against the Decemvirs, took refuge here. About the year of Tarquinia, 809, the Volscians sustained a defeat from the Romans, and many Tusculans were found amongst the prisoners. The Roman Senate resented this, but the Tusculans disclaimed their countrymen, who had joined the Volscian army; and peace and friendship stricter than ever, between the two States, was the result of an event which threatened a desperate war. The Tusculans became not merely Isopolites, which they had been ever since the treaty of Sp. Cassius, but were admitted to all the privileges of Roman citizens, keeping their own laws and governors. They willingly entered into that Municipal union, which received as much as it gave. The ancient city is now called Frascati.

ANTIUM.*

Another celebrated colony of the Turrheni, was Antium, situated very near the Mediterranean, and best known as one of the strong and warlike capitals of the Volsci. Niebuhr†

* Livy vi. viii. ix.; Dion. Hal. ix.

† ii. n. 557.

makes Antium Turrhene in its commencement, then Latin and Roman Turrhene, and then admitting the Volsci, and uniting with their confederacy out of hatred to the Romans. Its port, in ancient days was Cerium, one mile distant from the city walls, and it was early known both to Greeks and Romans, as a dangerous and piratical state. We find it provided for in the treaty of Carthage, as a subject ally of Tarquin the Second, and as a place of trade; and both Dionysius and Livy combine, to represent it as a place of great wealth and first-rate importance, long setting at defiance the armies of the Republic. The Antiates fought for Tarquin at the battle of Regillus. The sailors of Antium seized the ships of Gelo of Syracuse, upon their return from taking corn and an embassy to Rome: they put the ambassadors in prison, and threatened war, but the mediation of Rome released the ambassadors and preserved peace.

The Turrheni always remained here the bulk of the inhabitants, though under the rule of foreigners; in the same manner as the Hindus will ever remain at Delhi, Agra, or any of the other cities in their land, though they are subject to the power of the English. The Antiates became discontented with their Volscian governors, and about the year of Tarq. 720, drove them away, and placed themselves under the protection of Rome. Coriolanus, the Roman exile, lived in Antium, was made a member of its Senate, and had a stately sepulchre erected to him in its Necropolis,

when he died, beloved and respected in a good old age. The Roman Consul Numicius attacked Cerium in A. T. 719, and burnt two-and-twenty vessels, destroying the roadstead, and levelling the castle with the ground. Antium was after this, for a long time, one of the most dreaded Isopolites of Rome, and when angry and stirred up to fight, gave her unceasing trouble. The great Camillus strove against the city long unsuccessfully, until at length, in A. Tarq. 851, A. C. 336, his bright star prevailed, and it became a Roman Municipium, having the Roman franchise, but not being permitted to vote, and being obliged to renounce the right of making war, and to deliver up all its cherished vessels. The walls and citadel were destroyed, most of the ships burnt, and the Rostra of many of them were taken to Rome, and suspended as trophies, on a pillar in the Forum.

Twenty-three years after this, the spirit and nationality of the Antiates seems to have entirely disappeared or expired, for they sent an embassy to Rome, to beg that they might henceforth live under her laws, giving up their own, and soliciting one of the leading Patrician families to settle amongst them as their hereditary prince, under the name of Patron. Antium is now Capo d'Anzo, and its port of Cereum is Nettuno, preserving many but little noticed and yet precious remains of antiquity. Should our readers ask why we reckon as Turrhene, a city which never comes forward in history except as a capital of the Volsci, we would

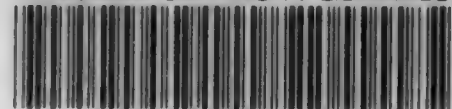
reply in the words of Servius and Diodorus already quoted, "that all Volscia and all the Volscians were once subject to the Etruscans, and that time was, when they formed part of the dominions of maritime Etruria."*

* Vol. i. p. 389.

THE END OF VOL. II.

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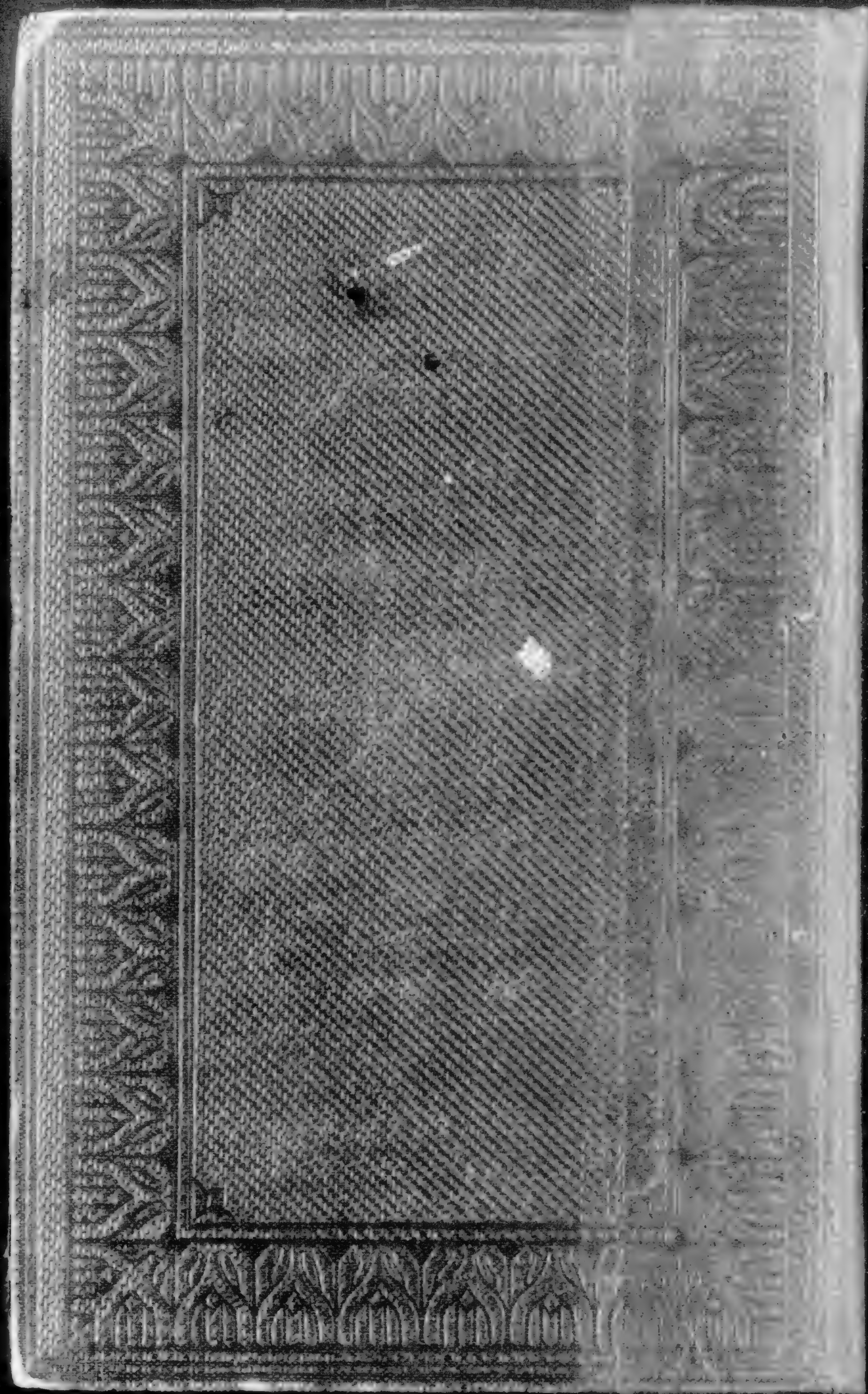
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THE
HISTORY OF ETRURIA.

PART III.

THE
HISTORY OF ETRURIA.

PART III.

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS,
ARTS AND LITERATURE, OF THE
ETRUSCANS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN OF KARL OTFRIED MÜLLER.

BY

E. C. HAMILTON GRAY.



HATCHARDS, 187 PICCADILLY, W.

Booksellers to H. B. H. the Princess of Wales.

1868.

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PREFACE TO VOL. III.

THE Writer claims the indulgence of her readers for the errors and misprints which have crept into this third volume. She was abroad, in ill health, during the whole time that it was going through the press, and was therefore unable to superintend—as she otherwise would have done—the correction of the proofs.

20565

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Page	Line	Misprint.	Corrections.
vi	10	TATES	STATES
5	6	terror, and which	terror, which
7	24	and he prepared	and prepared himself
10	24	one of his army	to his army
11	10	which was	this was
	19	to a city	to the city
12	12	Part of the	The
22	1, 2	fine 500,000	fine of 500,000
27	12	was peace	was this peace
28	17	dignity, with	dignity, and with
30	21	consent, and usurped seats in the Senate from claims of equality, and began ..	consent, usurped seats in the Se- nate, and from claims of equality began
31	4	from bottom, even claimed	ever protested
35	11	is just what	is precisely what
37	10	would certainly	would probably
39	1	215), Libri	215), The Libri
	9	Casa	Cosa
40	19	it as tantamount	it tantamount
	25	city, demanded the host- ages	city, and demanded hostages
42	7	were greatly dispelled ..	were dispelled
43	11	spears, axes	spears, with axes
49	16	Cornii	Comii
51	7	Nascia	Nasica, of the Gens
53	17	now their	now that their
54	3	noise, murder	noise; murder
57	18	Gravisia	Gravisca
	23	181 L.	181 B.C. L.
60	14	and forced them to a pitched battle, and gained	forcing them to a pitched battle gained
61	1	Cladius	Claudius
65	2	Roman	Romans
72	11	Gravisia	Gravisca
76	19	Panna	Parma
80	12	giant	gigantic
81	26	around there	around these
82	17	Vala Ceria	Volaterra
83	30	Phidias, for	Phidias, an
87	10	Padus Eridanus	Padus, "Eridanus"
92	25	we came to	we come to
95, note	Aahotess	Aah-t-mes	
98	9	Zanete	Zancle
107	11	Geta, Agrigentum, Catarra	Gela, Agrigentum, Catana
108	2	demaretecia	demareteia
109	13	Kamass	Kamers
110	20	coins	coin
112	4	Gravisia	Gravisca
115	9	of state	and state
118	7	Gravisia	Gravisca
121	10	Capitol, and, therefore, were they of such wide dimensions	Capitol (therefore were they of such vast dimensions) an

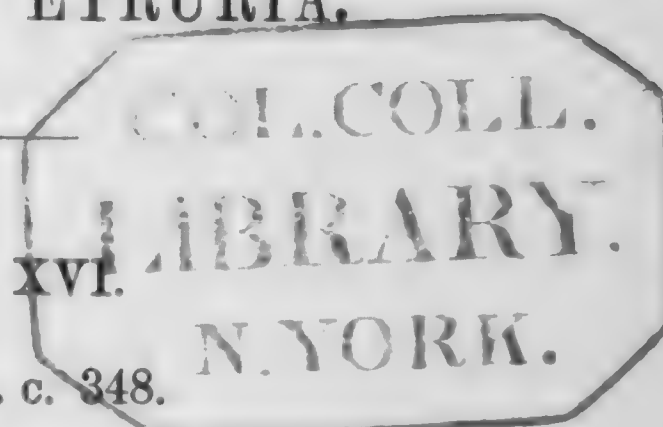
Page	Line	Misprint.	Corrections.
122	26	conquerors,	conquerors;
124	27	burgess	burghers
126	10	of the centuries (infantry)	
		was	of the infantry in the centuries was
127	5	is least	is at least
	11	Altus	Attus
	26	bore any rule	bore rule
	30	patrons. Here	patrons; here
131	17	and	who
132	17	Census	Census
		<i>Dele the two last lines of the note.</i>	
133	3	Etruscan,	Etruscan;
136	24	which was	this was
139, last line,		stream	line
149	5	accepted	occupied
	7, 8	arts of divinity	art of divination
	13	religion, we	religion. We
154	9	Etruscans, Haruspices	Etruscan Haruspices
158	12	war; also the	war. The
	18	to it seems	to it, seems
161	18	Vannes	Oannes
163	12	Palitanus	Palatinus
169	8	Diances	Dianus
174	27	Matula	Matuta
176	9	Cardo	Cardo
	17	Vigovis	Vejovis
178	29	Vortumnus	Vertumnus
181, last line,		natural	native
184	10	These were	There were
	14	ranus,	ranus;
		from Juno	for Juno
188	2	slaves	sprites
190	2	Genii to be	Genii are to be
191	5	judge and punish	judge, punish
195	3	horses	heroes
		last line, Mamere	Mamers
197	21	these men	these, men
199	6	Proctor	Prætor
210, last line,		Cossa	Cosa
220	16	divines	diviners
	23	These	The
224	8	626 (B.C.) they	626 (B.C. 127) they
225	4	tune were	tune was
226	10	to them	to it
	24	plates, and drawn	plates, drawn
	30	horseback. Tho	horseback; the
229	25	organ but called	organ, called
230, lines 7 and 8		should be joined.	
	22	times, to	times as to
232	22	Hister Histriones	Hister, Histriones
235	9	pomp is	pomp as
236	3	secure an im-	secure im-
238	16	Hulina	Falerii
242	4	adopt	adapt
		last line, the arts and the	between art and manual
243	2	their	Etruscan
244	13	vessels frequently	vessels so frequently
245	9	arts	art
247	7	foot	feet
	16	large	lasting material
248	20	copper, and which	copper which
250	7	earrings, whose	earrings, the rings whose
	21	arts	art

Page	Line	Misprint.	Corrections.
253	17	scarcely	easily
	28	skill to Demaratus, in	skill with Demaratus into Etruria
		Etruria	quinia. This city
255	31	quinia, the city	Greece
	7	Greek	degraded. They
	14	degraded, they	variety
	29	flexibility	freed itself
256	24	freed themselves	been, all
	31	been all	his rule
260	10	this rule	these first
265	19	these; first	Hellenic;
	20	Hellenic,	ever
	27	even	yet took
266	10	yet that they took	and that in
	13	and so in	song joined with them
267	19	song to accompany	and which the old
	22	and the old	connected
268	17	connexional	city was
269	3	city, however, was	ortom
		note, line 6, oriom	dersecor
		7, dersator	Hister
270	11	Hester	their writing
275	13	this writing	of the Etruscans
	25	of Etruscans	them
276	4	them by	it like
277	4	it as like	their later in-
	13	their in-	rounded
281	2	sounded	the much
282	18	the important	found
283	11	formed	vowels
285	21	vowel	Padus land
287	5	Padus-lund	of Tuder
288	12, 13	of Publece	be very
293	10	be any	cans fixed at
294	12	cans at	That
295	14	But that	so pertinent
	19	so serviceable	or none; a day upon which as well
	28	or none; on the	as upon
297	17	fall	fell
298, last line,		temple at	temple of Nortia at
303	23	propheying augury	prophetic augury
304	21	not to perceive	not perceive
	28	believed in, and	believed, and
306	8	progress. The	progress—the
307	17	the test of	instead of
	29	Aquilicea, Aquileges, Aquilegi	"Aquilicea, Aquileges, Aquilegi"
308	14	still	steel
	15	Tuscan seems	Tuscans seem
	20	and to enchantment	and of enchantment
	21	part	past
309	2	and yet utilitarian	and utilitarian
311	14	activity,	activity;
		land, full of	land, and full
312	28	war or sacrifice	war and sacrifice
	29	bably other	bably for other
314	2	whole	the whole
	7	the one strictly	the strictly
		primeval, the original and	primeval, original and national
		the	
		<i>Dele Bolsover Castle,</i>	
		<i>23d July, 1867, L.D.</i>	

HISTORY OF ETRURIA.

CHAPTER XVI.

AN. R. 405; B. C. 348.



Alexander of Epirus—Alexander the Great—League with Samnites—Mons Ciminus—Battle of Lake Vadimon—
— Arretium—Gauls—Gellius Egnatius—Pyrrhus—
Punic and Gallic Wars—Sulla and Marius—Final Extinction of Etruria.

IN the year of Rome 405, that growing Republic and the States of Etruria were at peace. Capena, Sutrium, and Nepete, had become Municipia. Veii, Faliscia, and Cære, had the Jus Latinum; and the Veientines and Faliscians were incorporated in the Plebeian tribes and admitted to all the privileges of the Roman Plebeians. Capua, which once was Tuscan, was granted the Jus Latinum in 416; and the whole of Campania was admitted to the Roman citizenship without the suffrage in A. R. 424. In the meanwhile Alexander of Epirus had landed at the Greek city of Tarentum, and had concluded

an alliance with Rome, which brought him to the knowledge of the Etruscans. His illustrious brother-in-law, Alexander the Great of Macedon, had sent back some captive pirates from Antium, who were only known to him as foreigners from the country with which Alexander of Epirus had just concluded an alliance, which he expected to be highly advantageous to the Greeks. The Etruscans, who had already suffered from Antiatic piracy, sent an embassy to Alexander the Great at Babylon, thanking him for his kind intentions towards them, and soliciting his protection for their commerce. At the same time they enlightened him as to the real state of the case, and deprecated the sufferance of pirates anywhere along the west coast of Italy. Etruscan sailors had served with the Athenians already in the Peloponnesian War.

About A. R. 442,* the successes of the Romans against the Samnites stirred up the jealousy of the Etruscan States, lest, should Samnium be conquered, they should become the next victims. They, therefore, formed a league to create a diversion on the western side of the Peninsula before it should be too late; but from this league Cære, Faliscia, and Arretium, chose to stand aloof. There seem frequently to have been ties of peculiar amity between the grandees of Arretium and those of Rome. The Umbrians also receded, between whom and the Tuscans some coolness seems to have arisen.

* B. C. 311.

In the Consulate of Junius Brutus and Q. Emilius Barbula a formidable Etruscan force appeared before Sutrium, and placed it in siege. They attacked Barbula, who with inferior numbers attempted to succour the place, and drove him from the field, but both armies suffered too much to renew the fight. The following year Quintus Fabius took the command and relieved Sutrium, but without dislodging the main body of the Etruscans. His military genius taught him to post his troops upon a hill whence they could command their foe; and they did such execution with their spears and arrows, that a large body of the Tuscans fled with the loss of their camp, their booty, and thirty-eight standards, and did not think themselves safe until they were hidden by the impenetrable shades and tangles of the Ciminian forest upon the Mons Ciminus near Viterbo.

This black forest had a reputation for danger and mystery, which made the Romans dread to follow; and Fabius, whose bold spirit did not sympathise with the superstitions of his men, and whose victory was balked by the large force he had failed to drive off from Sutrium, called a council of war to explain the bold plans by which he intended to triumph over his enemies. All the commanders, excepting the Consul, refused to venture through the forest. They said it would prove a second Caudine Forks. The Tuscans alone knew the roads, the Romans would be taken in a trap, and their enemies, warned by the recent breach of faith

with the Samnites, would not grant them a chance of release.

Amongst the officers, fortunately for Quintus, was Kæso Fabius, his brother, who, like most noble Romans, had been educated in Etruria, and who, unlike most of them, spoke the language perfectly. He had a slave, who was also probably an Etruscan, or he would have been of little use; and he offered with this slave to venture his life in order to explore the forest, to discover the position of the enemy, and to penetrate to the neutral republic of Camerte, with the Senators of which he might possibly conclude an alliance, and so place the Tuscans between two fires. The Camertines, usually most faithful allies, had at this period some special cause of anger against the Tuscan League. Kæso and his slave disguised themselves as shepherds, and with hatchets and javelins in their hands traversed the ill-omened forest undiscovered, and presented themselves as envoys from the Roman Consul in the Senate of Camerte, where they offered to avenge the wrongs of that people, and invited them to a treaty of mutual assistance. The Camertines were overjoyed. They promised to join the Romans with auxiliaries so soon as they should have cleared the forest, and to supply their troops with thirty days' provisions. Kæso returned to his brother with the glad intelligence, and then became his guide through the dark woods, past the Tuscan camp,* and by Ameria† and

* Livy, ix. 35, 36.

† Niebuhr.

Tuder to Camerte. Apparently no watch was kept there, for they deemed themselves impregnable. They also seem to have had no commander amongst them of common forethought and ability, for they wasted their time in idleness, not seeking to repair their losses or to prevent the further advance of the enemy.

Meanwhile, the Roman Senate, hearing that Quintus had ordered his army to march forwards, were so dismayed at his audacity that they sent five Tribunes to forbid him to attempt the foolhardy adventure. Had they forgotten that their troops had crossed the Mons Ciminus eighty years before to attack Volsinia? Many merchants must also have traversed it to attend at the fairs of Voltumna. The Tribunes found the ground on which the camp had stood near Sutrium now deserted, and the deed already done. On their return to Rome this exploit and the strategy involved in it were considered so heroic that the Senate decreed the Consul a triumph to commemorate it, and waited with confidence for the next intelligence from his adventurous army.

Great was the consternation of the Tuscans when they found their impregnable barrier broken through and their sacred forest violated. They had a Roman army joined to the angry Camertines between them and the rest of their people. They now made every exertion, and gained a promise of assistance from each of their own free states from all parts of Umbria. Even Arretium agreed to give aid, and

they collected in a very short space of time an army of 60,000 men.

Quintus Fabius, who in the first moments of surprise had poured down upon the undefended and richly cultivated plains of Perugia, and had excited a panic of terror, and which enabled him to carry off an immense booty, now showed every symptom of fear short of retreat. He intrenched himself strongly, shut his forces up in their camp, and refused every provocation to fight. The Tuscans, glorying in their superior numbers, and believing that they had him completely in their power, began to deride and insult him, and as usual neglected the proper precautions for their own security. They would not so have acted in King Porsenna's days; and it is indeed difficult to believe how any commander could so frequently fall into the same fault. Fabius, whose scheme they were completely fulfilling, attacked them whilst they were heavy with profound sleep in the earliest dawn of a summer's morning. He took their camp and all their immense treasure, killed or captured 60,000 of their stupefied warriors, dispersed the remainder, and completely annihilated what the day before had been one of the proudest hosts Etruria had ever marshalled for the field.* Arretium, Perugia, and Cortona, each concluded a separate armistice for thirty years, and soon after Volsinia and Tarquinia followed their example. Etruria was humbled and

* B. C. 309.

weakened, Sutrium was delivered, and Fabius returned to celebrate his triumph in Rome.

The Umbri, amongst whom the routed warriors took refuge, seem now to have continued the war, and to have collected together all the Tuscan auxiliaries they could muster in the neighbourhood of Lake Vadimon—a large mere, then abounding in floating islands, to which many legends were attached. It is supposed to be the Lake Sabatinus or Bassano, now nearly dried up, near Salpina or Viterbo.

Some of the Perugians or their subordinate towns had violated the truce; so had also some of the Volsinians, and the hosts which were collected together boasted that they would march upon Rome.* The Consul Decius Mus was despatched in all haste to oppose them. A Roman garrison was sent to the city of Perugia, and was received to prove its loyalty; and a year's provision for the army was exacted from Tarquinia, and yielded for the same reason. Many detached forts of the Volsinians were attacked and destroyed, and at length the Consul found himself face to face with the mighty host upon Lake Vadimon, and he prepared himself for a desperate and decisive battle. The Umbri and Etruscans were fully aware that their freedom depended upon their success, therefore they took the sacred vow which bound all who swore it to conquer or to fall together.

* Micali, vol. v.

The Lucumoes in the hostile camp had ordered all their young men into the field under pain of confiscation of their goods and condemnation of their persons to the infernal gods.* Each man chose his mate, and so went into battle. On their irresistible assault the first line of the Romans was cut to pieces, the second line was driven back, and the third was brought up almost in despair; but the cavalry, which was fresh, joined them and succeeded in breaking the phalanx of the Tuscans. The Triarii, with renewed hope and courage, pursued them, drove them from the field, and took their camp. The Etruscans so far never recovered this defeat, that besides cutting up their noble families, it destroyed the prestige which had hitherto environed their Ciminian forest, their dark lake Vadimon, and their Sacred Vow.

We are surprised not to find more important consequences to Rome attending such a glorious success; but, apparently, the Romans had suffered too much to follow up their advantages; and the aid of the Consul Fabius, with his legions, now released from Samnium, seems to have been absolutely necessary to prevent another attack being made upon him by a second army of the indomitable Umbrians, who were assembled near Menavia on the Clitumnus.† The appearance of Fabius, whom they imagined at a distance, took them by surprise, but they endeavoured to prevent him from fortifying his camp, and

* Ant. History, vol. xvi.

† Micali.

to overwhelm him with their numbers. He, ever prudent and watchful, opposed them with a persevering and skilful resistance, which finally threw them into disorder and disconcerted all their plans. They agreed to a long truce and gave hostages yielding at the same time Otricoli to Rome, and thus giving the Romans a further position in their greatly divided country. It must, however, be granted that, as a general rule, the Roman treatment of their allies, new allies especially, and when they were in danger from other enemies, as now from the Samnites, was eminently calculated to soothe all feelings of humiliation or dependence. Provided they made no war against the consent of Rome, and were true in furnishing the stipulated contingents of foot and horse, no other interference was attempted with their government, and they shared in all the Roman conquests.

It is about this date that the maritime cities aided Agathocles in his war against the Carthaginians. He had both Etruscans and Samnites in his pay.*

Eighteen Tuscan vessels helped him against the Carthaginians on his second voyage into Africa, and gained a victory over them. This is the last naval battle recorded of the Etruscans.†

The Consul Decius marched onward into Tarquinia, and concluded with the Lucumoes an

* Müller. Ant. Hist.

† Micali, vol. vi. p. 10.

armistice for forty years, annexing the condition that they should provision his troops and give each man two suits of clothes. He thus effectually separated them for a long period from the Etruscan warlike league, though he would not grant them the *Jus Latinum* and the equal franchise which they demanded, and which upon the next Roman extremity they obtained.

This detachment of the Tarquinians at this critical juncture was of vital consequence, for many of their states joined the Samnites in their third and last desperate struggle with the Romans; and, had the whole league joined them, there can be no doubt that the Eternal City would have fallen into their hands.*

The strong fortress of Nequinum, in Umbria, which the Tuscans had partly garrisoned by Samnites, was in B.C. 303, betrayed to the Romans and destroyed. Two of the citizens who had houses near the wall caused a mine to be worked from their residences to beyond the fortifications, and thence issuing into the Roman camp offered the Consul to introduce a body of men into the city. The Consul sent 300 men, who opened the gates to one of his army in the night, and the place was quickly taken.† The territory was immediately colonized, and the name of the town was changed to Narnia.

Immediately after this, the Romans were alarmed

* For the wars in this chapter see Livy, x.

† Livy, x. 10.

with the idea of a fresh Etruscan war, because the wealthy and powerful family of the Cilnii—probably the Lucumoes of Arretium,—being expelled by a rebellion of the Plebs and the ambition of their rivals, took refuge in Rome, and claimed the assistance of their allies to regain their position.

Marcus Valerius was appointed Dictator and ordered to reinstate the Cilnii. His master of the horse was surprised by an ambuscade, in which he lost several standards; which was considered so disgraceful that the Senators closed the tribunals and put the city in a state of defence. The Etruscans, however, did not follow up their advantage, and the master of the cavalry, recovering from his surprise, had thoroughly reorganized his forces, and before Valerius took the command he marched without opposition into the state of Rusella (which proves that the Tarquinians allowed him a free passage through their territory), to a city which had been partially burnt. Here the Arretians concealed an ambush within the ruined walls, and thence drove some cattle towards the Roman camp. The commander, suspecting stratagem a second time, would not allow his men, though furious to avenge their late disgrace, to leave their lines. Upon this one of the seeming herdsmen called out to the others in a taunting voice, that they might safely drive their cattle through the camp of the timid enemy. The General, having these words interpreted to him, inquired whether the language was that of the common people or of their superiors; and being told it was

that of a patrician, "Go, then," he said, "and tell them to uncover their ambush, for that this time I shall neither be conquered by fraud nor force."* He dared not, however, attack, but sent to Valerius to hasten his approach. A battle ensued, which was for some hours uncertain; but when the Etruscans were tired, fresh bodies of Roman cavalry galloped through the lines and decided the day. The Arretians acknowledged themselves vanquished, and sought for peace, the Cilnii were reinstated, and the Dictator returned to Rome to enjoy a triumph.

Part of the Roman policy in every state was always to side with the oligarchy.

Livy tells us, that some states of Etruria prepared to violate the truce and again make war on Rome, but an irruption of Gauls upon their northern frontier suspended the design. There is no doubt that during the third Samnite war, from B. C. 299 to B. C. 293, the Samnites under their great general, Gellius Egnatius, made unremitting efforts to secure and maintain the alliance of the Etruscans and Gauls against the Romans, and that, had they succeeded, the event would have proved fatal to their proud rival: but all their combinations came too late, and the Etruscans, with their many separate treaties and interests, were now rather a religious federation of small states than one great and warlike nation. Cære never more took the field against

* Livy, x. 4. "Nec magis jam dolo capi, quam armis vinci posse."

Rome; Tarquinia, Faliscia, Arretium, or Cortona, very seldom, and never for long. At this period the Etruscans, who were very wealthy from their extensive commerce, bought off the Gauls, and then demanded their co-operation against Rome in consideration of the money they had paid.

The Gauls replied that they had taken the money as the price of their abstinence from ravaging the Etruscan lands as they passed through; but they were perfectly willing to engage in a war with them against Rome, on condition that sufficient land was granted to them for a settlement amongst the nations of Italy. The States dare not accede to such terms, and the negotiation consequently came to nothing.*

Polybius, however, asserts, that the Gauls marched through Etruria into the territories of Rome, and carried off an immense booty, with which they safely returned across the Apennines, having spread terror wherever they appeared.†

To keep the League in awe, and prevent their alliance with the Gauls, a Roman force was sent against them under the Consul, Titus Manlius, who fell from his horse on first entering their territory, and was so much hurt that he died. This was considered at Rome such a fearful omen, that the people wished to appoint a Dictator; but they acquiesced in their armies being committed to the tried valour of the Consul, Marcus Valerius, who forced the Etruscans to keep within their trenches; and, after

* Niebuhr.

† Livy, x. 11.

ravaging the country, led off his troops into Samnium, where they were imperatively required. Livy mentions petty wars with Etruria for many years, but his language is so loose that it is difficult to know what he means by the word "Etruria." Not the twelve states certainly, for Veii had ceased to exist, Cære and Faliscia were in bonds of strictest amity, and Tarquinia, Arretium, Cortona, and Perugia, were bound by a long truce.

There remain, therefore, Volscinia, Clusium, and the Northern States, upon which the Gauls bordered, such as Volterra, Populonia, Pisa, and Luna. Under the Consul, Lu. Scipio, there was a hardly-contested battle in Volterra, which lasted the whole day, and which the Consul claimed as a victory, because the Tuscans abandoned the field at night. However, instead of pursuing them, he retreated to the strong and friendly city of Faleria. Had it been a real victory it would have been recorded upon his well-known sarcophagus.

The Lucumoes, however, held a meeting at Voltumna to decide upon their future proceedings, and their debates were so stormy, that the Romans fully believed they would complete an alliance with the Gauls and Samnites, which would place Latium in the utmost danger; and under this impression they broke their own laws by electing to the Consulship for the fourth time Quintus Fabius Maximus and Decius Mus.

When the Lucumoes heard that these renowned generals were in command, they decided that it was

best to keep the peace, and consequently they refrained from at present helping the Samnites, and from throwing their weight into this all-important war.

The Roman Senators were reassured by envoys from Sutrium, Nepete and Faliscia, who guaranteed to them Etruscan neutrality, and they gladly contented themselves with an advantage which enabled them to turn their whole strength against Samnium.

In consequence they were successful through two campaigns; and one of the Samnite chiefs, Gellius Egnatius, changed the plan of the war, and marched with a considerable army into Etruria, where he demanded another assembly of the Lucumoes at Voltumna, to consider his claims for their future aid.*

"You," he said, "who are the most powerful nation in Italy for men, arms, and money, ought to support us in maintaining the cause of liberty. You only are capable of doing so along with your neighbours the Gauls: a people born in the midst of arms. If you have the spirit which animated your ancestors in the days of Porsenna, there is nothing to prevent you from expelling the Romans from all the lands on the north of the Tiber, and compelling them to fight for their very existence, instead of, as latterly, for an intolerable and supreme dominion."

The Lucumoes were persuaded by this eloquent and heroic man to act contrary to their convictions;

* Livy, x. 16.

and almost all the states, *i. e.*, Clusium, Volterra, Perugia, and others, with Volsinia at their head, joined in forming a league with the Gauls, and in summoning the Umbrians to give them their wonted assistance in a national war.*

Arretium seems not to have joined, as it obtained assistance from the Romans against the Gauls, B.C. 284, whilst the other states carried on war by the help of Gallic mercenaries.† The Cilnii probably maintained the alliance.

Appius Claudius was sent with 36,000 men into Etruria to try and break this formidable confederacy, and he prevented some of the more timid states from fulfilling their engagements; but he had very dubious success in the battles he fought, and was at one time so much pressed, that he wrote to the Consul Volumnius to leave Samnium and hasten to his rescue. By the time Volumnius arrived he was in a better position, and ashamed of having sent. The men, however, were clamorous that Volumnius should remain with them, and that the two consuls should together lead them out to the combat. A battle was fought in the absence of the great commander, Gellius Egnatius, and the Romans gained a victory, which revenged their former disasters, and in which 7000 of the enemy were slain. Volumnius then returned into Samnium, but he does not seem to have left any terror of the Roman arms behind him; for Gellius Egnatius immediately raised a

* A. R. 457.

† Niebuhr.

fresh army, to which an immense body of Gauls was joined. Rome was in such alarm that a second time the tribunals were closed, and the *Liberti* were enlisted into the army. Appius Claudius wrote supplicating letters for reinforcement, and said that he had four warlike nations to contend against, who were already near him, covering the earth with their separate camps. Fortunately Volumnius, who so lately had experienced the strength of the enemy, presided over the elections, and through his influence Quintus Fabius and Decius Mus were again appointed generals. The Consul Fabius was given Etruria because it had been the scene of his former glory; and we find that, after joining Appius Claudius, now Prætor, at Aharna, he led his forces to Clusium. His first march was so rapid that he came upon the Prætor's men by surprise as they were foraging for wood to make an additional stockade. "You have stockades enough already," he said; "go and level the rampart:" implying that their courage ought to be sufficient defence against the enemy. The men shouted with joy when they knew that he was to be their commander; and Appius, who was jealous of him, returned in displeasure to Rome, and exaggerated both the dangers of the war and the reckless spirit in which Fabius was inclined to prosecute it.*

It would appear that up to this time the main army of the Gauls had not crossed the Apennines

* Niebuhr.

because they were impassable from snow. To check them, and to avail himself of the aid of the friendly Camertians, Fabius stationed a legion at Cameurium, though the rest of the army was near Nucena. A reserve, to overawe the Umbrians, was posted in the State of Faliscia, near Otricoli.

However, Fabius had to leave his post and appear in the Roman Forum, in order to quiet the dread of his countrymen; and here he asked for the assistance of the second Consular army under Decius Mus, and said that with him he had always strength enough and never too many enemies. The two Consuls, commanding upwards of 90,000 men, now marched forwards with the confidence of victory, and first came up with a body of Senonian Gauls near Camerte, who had defeated and cut to pieces the forces of L. Scipio, and were returning to their camp with the heads of their enemies and the spoil. These men, being tired, encumbered, and surprised, were easily defeated and cut to pieces; and the Consuls then proceeded to Sentinum, near which they pitched their camp. Their estimation of the danger which they had to meet may be judged of by the enormous forces under their command, *i.e.* two Consular armies, with a prodigious body of cavalry, and double that number of allies and of Latin confederates. Besides these, Cn. Fulvius lay with an army of reserve at Assisi, whence he was desired to ravage the lands of Clusium and Perugia.

Opposed to them were the Samnites and Gauls in one camp, who were to begin the fight, and the

Etruscans and Umbrians in the other, who were to attack the Roman camp during the heat of the engagement. This plan, however, was betrayed by Clusian deserters, and the Consuls summoned two other armies posted on the borders to join them.*

The Consuls drew out their troops in order of battle every day, and endeavoured to provoke the enemy to an engagement. On the third day a hind fled between the armies, pursued by a wolf. The hind fled towards the Gauls, and was killed by them. The Romans allowed the wolf to escape, and one of them called out, "This is an omen to us from the gods." On that side where the animal, sacred to Diana, lies are flight and slaughter. On this, where the wolf of Mars has escaped, a Victor, unscathed and untouched; it reminds us that we and our founders are the people of Mars.

Fabius attacked the Gauls, and Decius the Samnites with their allies, but they were so equally matched, that had the full force either of the Etruscans or the Umbrians joined them, instead of having been called off to defend Clusium and Perugia, the Romans must have been defeated. Decius, not being so prudent as his colleague, made an impetuous assault with his cavalry, and soon became utterly disordered, because the Gauls rushed upon him with their war-chariots, and the very noise frightened the Roman horses, and drove them panic-stricken from the field. Decius, in despair, remembered his

* Livy, x. 27.

father's self-immolation, by which victory had formerly been won against the Latins. He called upon the Pontiff who rode near him to devote him as the general on the one side, and all the forces of his enemies on the other, to the infernal gods.

In the picturesque words of the oath he said, "Before me lie terror and flight,* slaughter and death, the wrath of the celestial and infernal gods: dire contact of my funeral with the standards, the arms, and the weapons of the foe. On the same spot with me may ruin seize the Gauls and Samnites." He then rushed into the battle and fell among the thickest of his foes.

The Romans after this fought with a degree of fanaticism totally insensible to danger. The Gauls and Samnites were wearied and surprised, and Fabius, who had been successful on the other wing, was able to bring up a body of reserve, which decided the fortune of the day. The loss of Decius was fully compensated by the death of the Samnite hero, Gellius Egnatius, at the foot of his own ramparts, as the enemy were endeavouring to enter his camp. The slain on the Roman side were numerous, but Livy reckons that the Gauls and Samnites lost 25,000 slain and 8000 taken prisoners out of an army of 40,000 horse, 1100 chariots, and more than 200,000 foot. The arms of the enemy were burnt upon the field as an offering to Jupiter Victor.

* "Contacturum funebribus diris signa, tela, arma hostium: locumque eundem suæ pestis et Gallorum ac Samnitium fore."—LIVY, x. 28.

Cn. Fulvius at the same time gained a victory with his legion, in which 3000 Clusians and Perugians were slain, and their standards were taken.

The Perugians are indeed singled out as being the most obstinate in the quarrel, next to the Volsinians, and after his great victory at Sentinum Fabius had to turn his arms against them, and is said in a pitched battle to have slain upwards of 4000, and to have ransomed upwards of 1700 more, which supposes that these great successes which broke up the Etruscan federacy were once more followed by a truce. During this Fabius celebrated in Rome his grandest triumph over the Etruscans and Umbrians, the Samnites and the Gauls, four nations, three of which had made the Eternal City tremble for its very existence more than once.

The effects of their humiliating defeat may be seen upon the Etruscans in their neither advancing into the Roman territories, nor yet being able to send auxiliaries into Samnium. The war, which still continued, seems to have been purely defensive, and Arretium, Volsinia, and Rusella were the principals in it. The Consul Postumius, who succeeded Fabius, ravaged the state of Volsinia, and captured the city of Rusella; but all danger to Rome was soon averted by "three very powerful cities of Etruria," "*validissimæ urbes Etruriæ capita*," to use Livy's expression,* Volsinia, Perugia, and Arretium, suing for peace. They promised to supply the Roman

* Livy, x. 37.

army with corn and clothing, they each paid a fine 500,000 asses, and they concluded a peace for forty years.

Perhaps Livy has mistaken some other name for Volsinia, otherwise it could only be a short truce with that State, as the war continued for nine years longer.* Postumius, on his return to Rome, triumphed for his successes by the will of the Plebs, contrary to the judgment of the Senate, who could not compare this tame peace to the great victories of Q. Fabius. The Clusians, with the Umbrians, and some other States, still remained in arms, faithful to their alliance with the Samnites; and some of the Roman Confederates, complained of their ravages, and demanded aid to repel them. Amongst the States accused, of which Volsinia was assuredly one, we are surprised to meet with Faliscia; but the Senate considered the rising of the Faliscians as so imminently dangerous that Carvilius was despatched in all haste with a Consular army against them. His first exploit was to besiege Trossulum, *i.e.* in Volsinia, which he took by storm, allowing, however, 470 of the richest inhabitants to ransom themselves, thus gaining for himself a certain and easy spoil. He then captured several forts in Faliscia; and the Faliscians, seeing themselves unequal to the contest, sued for peace. They were only granted a truce for a year upon the payment of 100,000 asses; and when that truce had expired, or,

* Niebuhr, n. 686.

† B. C. 290.

as others say, when they were tempted to break it, they were conquered by the Consul, D. Brutus; but of the terms which were granted them, or the events of the campaign, no record remains. About this period the famous Bronze Wolf of the Roman Capitol, and the colossal statue of Jupiter, which Spurius Carvilius dedicated to Alban Jove, in the Roman Forum, were cast by Etruscan artists from the metal taken as spoil in these wars.*

Amongst the great encroachments of Rome consequent upon the battles near Volsinia, may be reckoned the reduction of Saturnia into a Prefecture, thus binding it not to make peace or war without the permission of the Romans.

The war with the Volsinians, and probably other maritime towns in conjunction with the Gauls, always continued, although it was carried on languidly; but the Greek city of Tarentum, on the opposite side of Italy, becoming jealous of the great increase of Roman power in that direction by the recent conquest of Lucania, endeavoured to keep up the courage of the Etruscans and Gauls as a counterpoise to themselves. Dion tells us that they sent ambassadors to the Etruscans, Umbrians, and Gauls; and some authors say that they made an alliance with them. Certain it is that the Etruscans, along with an army of Senonian mercenaries, enraged at the refusal of the Arretians to join the League, besieged Arezzo; which thereupon invoked the aid of the Romans, and the Prætor, L. Metellus, was sent

* Micali, vi. p. 44.

to succour it with 20,000 men.* The result spread consternation in Rome, for the general, with seven Tribunes, and 13,000 men, were left dead upon the field of battle. Indeed the whole army was destroyed, and the day of Sentinum seemed to be avenged; but the victors knew not how to take advantage of their successes, and instead of marching forwards, they lingered idly about Arretium. The next Prætor, Curius, was sent as ambassador to the Gauls, to treat for the ransom of the prisoners; and Britomaris, the Gallic king, equally ignorant and contemptuous of Italian usages and burning with anger for the loss of his father, who had fallen in the battle, would not give audience to the embassy, but seized the Feciales and sacrificed them to the manes of his deceased parent and chief. This forced the Romans to send another army, animated by the most furious resentment, under the Consul P. Dolabella, who marched straight through the friendly States of Etruria into Cisalpine Gaul, where he slew the peasants, ravaged the land, and carried off the people as slaves. The Senones flew to the rescue of their countrymen, and a pitched battle ensued between the armies. The contest was long and bloody, but it ended in the defeat and capture of Britomaris, who was exhibited in the triumph of Dolabella at Rome, and afterwards beheaded.

The Senones were reduced from a nation to a tribe, and the colony of Sena was founded in their territory. "This dreadful catastrophe, happening

* Niebuhr, n. 731.

to a people which, a hundred years before, had destroyed Rome, and penetrated as far as Apulia, filled their kindred, the Boii, who dwelt between the Apennines and the Po, with such rage and apprehension, that their whole military population took arms and marched into Etruria in the direction of Fiesole."*

The fugitive Senones joined their ranks, and once more began their march to Rome. The Romans, however, whose vigilance never slept, and whose command of valiant allies was increasingly great, came up with them near Lake Vadimon, of evil omen to the Etruscan people, and here forced them to make a stand.

According to Polybius, ii. 20, the Boii armed all their youth, and returned into Etruria, B.C. 282. 10,000 of them were placed in ambush in the neighbourhood of Populonia, and would have brought the Roman army into great danger had not the vigilance of the Consul detected and frustrated them.

The battle was desperate, for each army was animated by revenge against the other. It was maintained by prodigies of valour on both sides; but Roman discipline prevailed at last, and the Gallic and Etruscan host sustained a signal defeat.† This second contest, on the shores of the sacred Lake Vadimon, is the last great battle between the Etruscans and the Romans, and in it the strength of the nation was completely broken. They made

* Niebuhr.

† B. C. 283.

some feeble efforts at resistance the following year, but at the same time sued for peace, which was granted them on very hard terms. The Gauls are believed to have been treated more leniently, as for fifty years they kept the peace. It seems that the Consul, M. Philippus, was the general who finally terminated hostilities, as Dolabella triumphed one year and he the next for victories over the Tuscans, and these are the last recorded in the *Fasti* as national triumphs. It seems also that the hard terms imposed by the Romans were not observed by many detached states of their high-spirited enemies; for two years later Coruncanus Nepos celebrated another triumph over the again vanquished Volsinians and Vulcientes; and this time a Latin colony was established in Cosa, one of the cities of Vulci. This was a severe mortification, and tantamount to keeping a garrison in the country. Saturnia, a city of Volsinia, was forced to become a prefecture, *i. e.*, to receive Roman citizenship without the franchise, and was necessitated to contribute men and money to the Roman armies when they had to take the field.

During this desultory war, so far as all the States, excepting Volsinia and Vulci, were concerned, a new enemy to the Romans appeared in Italy. The Tarentians, after grossly insulting the Roman ambassador, called in the aid of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, the most able and warlike prince of Greece. Pyrrhus gained a great victory over the Romans near Heraclea, partly by the aid of their enemies the Lucanians and Samnites in the south; and

could he have allied himself with the Etruscans also he would infallibly have conquered Rome. He sent envoys to try and work upon the different states; but those who were already enjoying the peace hesitated to break it, and the sagacious Romans, aware of their danger, took timely measures to make it the interest of their allies that it should not be broken.* As a national prejudice the Etruscans hated the Greeks, and many of the States considered Rome a barrier and defence to them equally against the Gauls to the north, and the Greeks to the south.† Niebuhr asserts that it was peace with the Tuscan States, and the disappointment consequent upon it, that forced Pyrrhus to retreat. To secure this object, he says, it was well worth granting them the most favourable terms, and Etruria could scarcely ask more after recent events, than an honourable and free connexion with Rome. But whatever it was that Etruria demanded in the first instance, the Senate deemed it so unreasonable that they were resolved not to accede. Pyrrhus, through his ambassador Cineas, offered to restore the Roman

* A. R. 474.

† Note 743.

‡ "Here an obstinate resistance would delay Pyrrhus whilst he was hastening onwards in order to bring over the Etruscans." Again:—"Here his progress was stopped. Peace was concluded with the Etruscans, and the army of Coruncanus had re-entered Rome." . . . "The hopes that had been entertained of compelling Rome to accept the prescribed terms under her own walls had vanished with the peace of the Etruscans, who had probably even promised auxiliaries."—NIEBUHR, n. 862.

prisoners without ransom and to quit Italy, if they would make peace with Tarentum, and restore the property taken from the Samnites and the Lucanians, and if they would receive him into the city of Rome. The Senators were strongly disposed to accept these terms, when Appius Claudius, one of their most powerful aristocrats, and, as regards useful public works, one of their greatest benefactors, now old and blind, and long retired from political assemblies, caused himself, in a state of the greatest excitement, to be arrayed in his robes of ceremony, and to be carried in a litter to the steps of the Senate-house. Here his sons and sons-in-law came out to meet him, and bore him with the deepest filial veneration back to his long-vacated seat.

There he stood in the majesty of his age and dignity, with all the fires of his former eloquence he thundered reproofs upon those who hesitated as to the answer they should return to the Grecian prince. "Shall we see him," he said, "returning thanks for his victories in our temples, and offering us his protection against our enemies? No; far rather let us grant the terms demanded by the Etruscans, with whom we are connected by religion and ancient ties."* The Senators yielded, and the demands of

* Niebuhr, *circa* n. 859, thus paraphrases the speech:—
"To the Etruscans we ought indeed to grant voluntarily that which may give them the appearance of an equal alliance, and secure peace for ever between them and us. They are foreign to the Italians and hostile to the Greeks, but related to us by their religion and by ancient ties."

the States, whatever they might be, were entirely accepted and faithfully observed. Niebuhr suggests that Cortona and Saturnia were admitted to the Cærite franchise, and that in Volsinia even the Plebs were admitted to marriage and citizenship. Volsinia had certainly gained a great pre-eminence by her steady maintenance of the long war with Rome; at the same time it forced the cession of unusual privileges to her lower classes in order to tempt them to enlist and to adhere faithfully to their colours. "There is no doubt," says Niebuhr, "that a general contract was concluded with the whole nation, and upon the most favourable terms. How light the burdens were which they undertook as allies is clear from the voluntary contributions which they afterwards made to Scipio upon his expedition into Africa. These were so great that they only *could* be made by a people whose resources war had not exhausted. They were considered to be the repayment of an obligation contracted by an unfair concession of privileges on the other side, excusable only because they were inevitable to the general welfare. Their cities were *Civitates fœderatæ*, and the long tranquillity that followed demonstrates that their relation to Rome could neither have been oppressive nor humiliating. The Etruscan war, more or less, had been carried on to its thirtieth year, some towns showing but a faint resistance, and others a tenacious and obstinate one. In the early campaigns their infantry seems to have been anything but contemptible, yet nowhere is there a hero,

and nowhere a brilliant undertaking. Their Oligarchy did not allow anything great to be done;* their rich country was doubtless much reduced by hostilities so long protracted, but it quickly recovered, and the two centuries of almost uninterrupted peace, so far as the nation was concerned, fostered a period of great prosperity in arts and manufactures, which now attained their highest perfection."

Perugia† is mentioned as having furnished a cohort, who were perhaps volunteers, against Pyrrhus. Peace was at length concluded with that prince, and he was killed B.C. 273.

In the year B.C. 268‡ a civil war summoned the Romans as allies of the Patricians into Volsinia. The Plebs and Liberti had gradually usurped and absorbed the rights of the nobles to levy taxes, to make wills, to inherit property which conferred rank, and to occupy the great offices of state. They now presumed to claim the disposal of rich widows and the noble virgins in marriage without their consent, and usurped seats in the Senate from claims of equality, and began to assert those of supreme rule. Volsinia had once been pre-eminent amongst the States for the excellence of its laws and the superiority of its manners and customs, but now everything was in confusion, and the government was threatened with anarchy; some of the nobles

* No *national* war with Rome after this. Their war with Gaul in B.C. 257 was carried on in concert with the Romans, and would probably have failed without them.

† Niebuhr, n. 743.

‡ A. R. 485.

armed themselves, whilst others fled and invoked the assistance of their allies, assuredly first from the colony of Cosa and the prefecture of Saturnia, whilst others secretly proceeded to Rome. The required aid was gladly given, and the servile revolt was promptly quelled. But now a quarrel, of which we have no details, arose between the nobles and their defenders.* Resort was again had to arms. The Romans burnt the city, razed its walls, and carried off 2000 bronze statues, with which they adorned their own Forum. Volsinia was abandoned, it disappeared from the number of the Etruscan towns, and a new city was built called Bolsena, the remains of which may still be seen upon the lake of that name.

P. Decius was granted a triumph in Rome over the Volsinians. He is believed to have been Prætor when Q. Fabius Gurgès perished. The nobles first sought the aid of Rome secretly, and were betrayed. Then Q. Fabius Gurgès was sent with an army to their relief. Fabius was slain in an unsuccessful attempt to storm the city. Decius blockaded it, and after a while famine compelled the inhabitants to surrender. It was also assaulted by young Appius Claudius from the lake. The prisoners were executed or made slaves.† As no Etruscan State even claimed against this spoliation and destruction, we must conclude that the fault of the rupture lay wholly with the Volsinians. This is indeed further proved by

* Val. Max. ix.

† Niebuhr, n. 994.

their protection of the Roman commerce during the Punic wars, and in the ships they sent laden with provisions for the army, both to Carthage and into the Adriatic. Indeed for a long while these wars were chiefly carried on by the naval allies.

There is an assertion in the Roman annals that about B.C. 266 Fabius Pictor and Junius Pisa triumphed over the Sarsinati in Umbria, and reduced Sarsinatum to a *municipium*. It enjoyed the *Jus Italicum*, i.e. its lands were freed from taxes, and continued to be governed by its own people and its own laws; but it could not make war without the permission of Rome, and its citizens were not suffered to arm themselves.

Until this date Rome had established very few *municipia*, or colonies in Etruria, but between the years 486 and 512 A. R.* she founded those of Cosa, Alsium, Fregene, Castrum Novum, and Pyrgi, all on the sea.

Whether the destruction of Volsinia had roused the jealousy of the Faliscians, or they had been by any means mixed up in that quarrel, we are not informed, but it seems strange that they should immediately after have risen against the Romans and declared war. They appear to have been very ill prepared and totally unsupported, for the Consuls, A. Manlius Torquatus and Q. Lutatius, took the strong and beautiful city of Faleria on the hill (Citta Castellana), dismantled it, and forced its in-

* B. C. 273 and 240.

habitants to build a new city on the plain — Æquum Faliscum—now a poor village, entitled Sta. Maria dei Falleri. They seem to have imposed no new burdens on the inhabitants, and the prosperous and peaceful natives of the other Etruscan States took no umbrage at their fate.*

The Consuls, A. M. Torquatus and Q. Lutatius, triumphed for their successes in Faliscia. All the maritime States were indeed rejoicing over the conquest of Corsica and Sardinia by the Romans from the Carthaginians, whose conquests of those islands from themselves 150 years previously they had never forgiven, and the injury which had in consequence accrued to their commerce was one reason of the determined hostility of the Tuscans to Hannibal.

This conquest probably facilitated their erection of the city of Nicea, where they settled factories, and made the natives tributary in wax, honey, and *ragia*, or *résine*.

In the year B.C. 237 the Ligurian Gauls made war upon the Romans, and continued it for six years. The Gauls now could only become dangerous to Rome by conquering and wasting Etruria, and in consequence they invaded and ravaged the rich State of Lucca.† The Etruscans made a manful resistance, still at first so unsuccessfully that the Romans solemnly consulted the Sibylline Books.

* Livy, xix.

† See Livy, xli. 13. "De Ligure captus is ager erat; Etruscorum ante quam Ligurum fuerat."

These "Libri Fatales," as we have already said, were essentially Etruscan; and in them it was found written that in cases of national peril they should bury alive in the Forum two Gauls and two Greeks, one of each sex, which was accordingly done. The Gauls and the Greeks, north and south, were the standing enemies of Etruscan quiet and trade.

The Etruscans* and Umbrians were looked upon by the Latins as naturally foreign, and had different rights, so that it is only by an improper extension of the name that they are included amongst the *Socii*, or Italian allies. These allies, however, enjoyed very different rights and privileges. None of them paid land-tax, but most of them were bound to a small fixed tribute, and to send contingents in case of war. Those who were quite independent and in equal alliance had no right to share in the Roman domain lands, and probably that desolation in Etruria, which one hundred years later† struck Tiberius Gracchus so forcibly, arose from the Etruscans not possessing this right, because they stood upon the footing of independence and equal alliance.

The Prefects of the allied squadrons were chosen from amongst themselves. Each free Italian people, moreover, had a Patron in the Roman Senate, who watched over its interests as *Proxenus* and representative, and whose relation was sacred. He was bound to take the part of the oppressed, even against his own relatives; and that this was the case in

* Niebuhr.

† Note 954.

Umbria is proved by fifteen cities thanking their Patron, C. Miolucius, for upholding their rights in Rome. The decree was engraved upon a brass tablet lately dug up in the market-place of Foligno.*

The Senates of the towns were generally in the Roman interests, because the Roman Senate supported the aristocracy. The Latins and Etruscans in the Tribes, such as those of Veii and Falerii, might be made full citizens by the Censors. They then had a right to share the domain lands and to found colonies. This is just what the rest of Etruria claimed in the Social War.*

In the year 224, the Gauls from Venetia and Cenomania joined together to drive back the Ligurians, and having disposed of them proceeded to make conquests for themselves amongst the Etruscan States. They came in formidable numbers. Livy states them at 50,000 foot and 20,000 horse, with many chariots. The Etruscans called upon the Romans for help, and one Consul immediately came to their assistance with 20,000 men, and reinforced their army of 32,000 Tuscans and Sabines, besides 20,000 Umbri, and under a native Prætor, Sarsunati, fighting, as they believe, for their own freedom.

Polybius and Pliny give the united numbers from Fabius Pictor at 700,000 foot and 60,000 horse from Etruria, Rome, and Naples, with no common head but Rome. The more likely number is about 250,000.

° Micali, vi.

† Niebuhr.

The Gauls crossed the Apennines and marched by Lucca, Bologna (*i. e.* Felsina), and Chiusi, spoiling as they went, and bent upon a second time mastering the Eternal City. Finding that they were vigorously resisted, they pretended to retreat from Chiusi upon Fiesole, and laid in ambush for their opponents in the Val di Chiana. The Consul, in his impatience to follow, was drawn into it and shamefully defeated. Emilius came to the rescue, but too late to redeem the honour of his countrymen. The Gauls, laden with booty, resolved to place it in safety by returning home before they attempted more distant conquests, and they pursued their way following the course of the rivers. The Consul Attilius, who had been engaged in Sardinia, and knew nothing of what had happened in Italy, disembarked at this juncture at Pisa, and took the Via Aurelia on his peaceful march to Rome. He was amazed to encounter a large army of Gauls, all in battle array, at Telamon, whither they had been cautiously followed by Emilius. He unhesitatingly gave them battle, and they had the disadvantage of fighting between two armies, one in front and one in rear, yet such was their courage that it was only the superior discipline of the Romans which in the end enabled them to conquer. The Gauls fled. Attilius was killed in the fight, but Emilius kept his ground. The following year he completely subdued the Boii, and the spirit of the Gallic tribes seemed so humbled

* Niebuhr.

that the Romans anticipated their thorough subjugation. They met, however, with more difficulties than they had reckoned upon, and it was yet two years before they were able to cross the Po and attack Mediolanum of the Insubri (Milan). The fall of this important city broke the spirit of the Gauls, and they consented to a disadvantageous peace. Had the Etruscans entered into alliance with the Gauls, and turned against the Romans, the fate of Italy would certainly have been changed. Cremona and Piacenza were colonized by the Romans and their allies, and Venice voluntarily placed herself under Roman protection.

We have now arrived at the date of the Second Punic War,* and the successes of Hannibal in Spain. Suddenly he appeared upon the plains of Liguria, and invited the Gallic tribes† to join him, promising them freedom and spoil, victory and revenge. They all obeyed the summons and joined him, smarting from their recent reverses, excepting the Cenomani and the Veneti; and even these recovered their courage before the battle of Cannæ, and were found fighting for him there. The Liguri, who had suffered the most recently from Roman haughtiness and violence, insisted upon his marching through Tuscany. He offered the Tuscans their entire independence, and to restore their ancient polity; but they could not be induced to break their alliance,

* A. R. 536.

† Senones, Cenomani, Liguri, Boii, Insubri, and Ilvatici.

for they were more contented with their allies than with each other. They were busily engaged in an active and flourishing commerce, and there was much jealousy and envy between many of the cities: beside which, the Carthaginians had been for many ages their rivals and enemies in commerce and naval warfare.

The Etrurian contingents joined the Consul Flaminius at Arretium, and gave him all the help in their power, the Consul Servilius being quartered in their city of Rimini (Ariminum); so that Hannibal was very unwillingly obliged to treat them as enemies, and to ravage their lands from Arretium and Fiesole to Cortona and Thrasymene, in order to provoke Flaminius to fight before another consular army with the Latin allies could come to their assistance.* The result of this was the disastrous battle of Thrasymene (B. C. 217), which seemed for a time to place all Italy at Hannibal's mercy. Strange to say, however, he did not improve his victory by marching straight upon Rome. He had passed through the marshes of Cortona; he led his troops forwards through Umbria and Adriana into Lucania, and the greatest of captains visited Etruria no more.

In the thirteen years' war which followed the battle of Thrasymene the Etruscans are seldom distinguished from the other Italian allies. They were in one common cause, "*Socii and Fœderatæ*."

* P. Scipio marched from *Pisa*, and was defeated in the first encounter.

A.R. 538 (B.C. 215), "*Libri Fatales* consulted, and the nation observed a sacred spring. Hannibal at Capua releases the Etruscan prisoners without ransom, and says he will help them to recover ancient cities and lands. They remember Pyrrhus."*

In A.R. 540 (B.C. 213), Cn. Fulvius being defeated by Hannibal at Herdonia, exiled himself to Tarquinia. Two years later, A.R. 543, Livy tells us that the people of Casa and Pontia were thanked, along with those of Pæstum, for the active assistance their ships had rendered against Hannibal at Tarentum.

The same policy which was effectual to secure the adherence of the Tuscans had its influence in Capua: and the great Carthaginian had nearly been deprived of that city because its nobles enjoyed the Roman *Civitas*, though without suffrage, and intermarried with the Roman Patrician women.

A.R. 544, when Tarentum was betrayed to the Romans they were supported by twenty-four legions of allies, amongst whom the Tuscans, under their native Prætor, Marcus Acelus, furnished the guard of the Consul Marcellus. They were round him in the battle of Venusia, and were reproached with cowardice because he was slain and they fled; but they were surprised by an ambushed enemy in superior force, and their Prætor was killed by Marcellus's side.

The Etruscan nation in general was esteemed true to the very precarious Roman cause; but it is

* Niebuhr.

probable that the blame cast upon the troops on this occasion fanned into a flame a rising disaffection at Arretium. Hannibal's brother, Hasdrubal, had nearly accomplished that separation of interests which the great hero failed to effect. Marcellus before his last battle had been hurriedly summoned to Arretium to investigate the truth of a rumoured conspiracy; but, as his presence overawed all the discontented, and he was a humane and politic man, he returned into Apulia without showing any want of confidence. After his death, however, and when Hasdrubal had made good his entrance into Italy, several of the Tuscan leaders, and foremost amongst them the Arretians, showed a disposition to treat separately for themselves, and though they would not join his standard, they were willing to promise perfect neutrality, B.C. 207.* This was considered at Rome as an affair of such vital consequence, that the Senate voted it as tantamount to declared hostility, and required Arretium, the boldest of the offending States, to send immediate hostages for her fidelity.†

A large army was despatched to keep the country in check, and Caius Terentius, without further warning, marched into the city, demanded the hostages, threatening, if they were withheld, or even delayed, to carry off all the children of the Senators. This harsh and peremptory proceeding created so much alarm that many of the Senators took to flight with

* Livy, xxvii. 38.

† Ibid. xxvii. 21-24.

their families. The next day, when their names were called over in the Senate-house, these men were missing; upon which Terentius declared their guilt to be self-evident, and ordered their property to be sold. He forced the Senators to deliver up 120 hostages, whom he sent to Rome. He posted guards at all the gates and obliged them to admit a Roman garrison into the citadel. The Consul, Hostilius, then marched his troops through every town of the malcontent State. No wonder, when his measures were so irritating, that he should feel convinced of the ill-will of the people, and believe that their allegiance could only be secured by the impossibility of resistance.

Haruspices* were now sent for from Etruria, to explain divers portents in the Latin State, to which the native Augurs were unequal. They probably came from Cære; but as it was to consult upon the best spiritual arms against the Gauls in the north, and the Greeks, or Carthaginians, in the south, they were sure of a sympathetic response from every State of the Federation. The rites they ordered were scrupulously observed.

The Roman Senate was much alarmed by a letter from their Prætor in Gaul, informing them that the purpose of Hasdrubal was to pass into Liguria, where an army of 8000 Gauls were prepared to join him, unless they could instantly despatch an equal force into Liguria to attack and to prevent them. Caius

* Livy, xxvii. 37.

Terentius was immediately sent through Etruria to join a body of Spaniards and 8000 Gauls of a tribe hostile to the Ligurians, and allied with Publius Scipio. It was well for the peace of Italy, that the Gallic tribes were so generally at enmity amongst themselves. All fears from that nation in the present emergency were greatly dispelled by the victory of the two Consuls, Claudius Nero and M. Livius Salinator, over Hasdrubal, and the death of that great commander on the banks of the Metaurus.*

The following year the Consul, Livius Salinator, was specially appointed to guard Tuscany and Umbria; and this function of *guarding* them during the whole continuance of the Hannibalian and the Gallic war, was commonly expressed by one of the Consuls having Etruria assigned "*as his Province*."†

At length the great Carthaginian hero was recalled home by his own government, then under the sway of factious and short-sighted men, who hated him more than they loved their country. Then the gallant and successful Scipio, full of enthusiastic hopes, resolved to follow him across the sea, and called upon all the Allies, but chiefly upon the maritime states, to join him.‡ None responded to him with the promptness and liberality of the Etruscans, and none received from the Senate warmer expressions of cordiality and gratitude. Perugia, Clusium,

* Livy, xxvii. 48.

† A. R. 547.

‡ A. R. 547. Livy, xxviii. 45.

and Rusella, cut down and despatched a sufficient quantity of fir-trees to provide all the vessels with masts, besides an enormous supply of corn.

Cære victualled the fleet in all other provisions; Populonia contributed iron from her foundries; Volterra, tackling and corn; Tarquinia, sails from her manufactories; and the lately unquiet and suspected Arretium, though by no means the richest, seems to have given more than all the rest.* She contributed, besides grain, 30,000 helmets, 30,000 spears, axes, swords, javelins, pikes, and halberds, in proportion, along with water vessels and machines for forty ships of war. We must infer that upon this, if not done previously, as indeed seems most probable, her 120 hostages were returned. The free Republic of Camerte sent 600 armed men; and the rest of Umbria, which never was a commercial or wealthy country, furnished additional volunteers.

As a passing remark we may notice that this was the period at which Plautus, the celebrated Umbrian dramatist, flourished; and that he, though a Patrician or Lucumo, ruined himself by his commercial speculations. This was probably owing to his not having been brought up to commerce, and the occupation being offensive to his family.

The idea that it was beneath a Senator to be a merchant was daily gaining ground in Rome itself.†

After the battle of Zama, and the conclusion of

* A. R. 551.

† Livy, xxi. 63.

the Second Punic War, the Romans, in order to liquidate their vast expenses, ventured to tax the Allies, or at least to demand from them such pecuniary aids as were felt to be an encroachment and a burden. The States that murmured above measure, or that, maintaining their independent rights, refused altogether, were instantly deprived of the "Jus Italicum;" but it does not appear that any of the Etruscan Lucumonies were included; their recent generosity probably freeing them from any extra claims, or the amount solicited may have been left to their own discretion.

That territory round Capua, which had once been South Etruria, was divided between the victorious soldiers of Scipio. Such of the central Etruscans as were incorporated with the Plebeian tribes, doubtless, came in for their share. The incorporated districts, however, from this time forwards became gradually neglected, the land being exhausted and worked by slaves; so that when Tiberius Gracchus passed through it, he was shocked at its desolation, and when the geographer Strabo visited it in the days of Augustus, he could scarcely credit its former fertility.

We must now look back about five years to B.C. 266, in order to give a comprehensive and continuous account of the Gallic war, which during this period, and for long after,* was waged with persevering

* The Gallic war continued, with intervals of truce, until B. C. 177.

enmity by many powerful Gallic tribes or nations against the Etruscans and the Romans. It was entirely confined to that country which either was, or had been, Etruscan; and as the Romans owed their safety and their victories to the co-operation of the Tuscans, who probably looked upon themselves as the principals, and their Consular Allies merely as faithful and useful friends, we are justified in giving the Gallic war a prominent place in Etruscan history. Its theatre was Genoa, Luna, Pisa, Bononia, Comum, Placentia, Cremona, Arretium, and Felsina.

To commence with Genoa. In the year B.C. 206, Mago the Carthaginian sailed from the Balearic Isles, and arrived before this city with 12,000 foot and 2000 horse in thirty ships of war.*

He allied himself with a tribe of Ligurians, and soon forced the city to surrender. Eighty transports were despatched, laden with its spoils, to Carthage, the old enemy of Tuscans; but they were fortunately arrested on their voyage, and their booty was recaptured. 12,000 slaves had been liberated in order to swell the force which could be raised to oppose these Gauls (*i. e.* Liguri) and the Carthaginians.

Mago held a council of war, in which he announced to the whole Gallic nation that he was come to restore them to their former power and independence; but that he could do nothing unless they gave him vigorous aid.

The Gauls answered that they were all willing;

* Livy, xxviii. 46.

but that, owing to the might and proximity of their enemies, several of the tribes could only give aid secretly, and some of the Liguri demanded four months before they would render any help at all. Meanwhile, whilst Scipio, with his powerful Etruscan reinforcements, passed into Africa, Marcus Livius marched with the volunteer slaves into Gaul itself, and the Consul Cornelius overawed those parts of Etruria in which disaffection was apprehended.†

Several of the nobles had sent deputies to Mago, offering to join him if he would change the constitution of their states, or, in other words, raise them to the supremacy in their respective senates; but as there were two parties in these Northern States the rival Magnates wrangled to avail themselves of the Roman power against them. Some were tried and found guilty, and others went into voluntary exile.

News, however, soon reached Rome† that Cremona and Venetia were attacked and plundered by 40,000 Gauls under the command of Hamilcar, a lieutenant of Hasdrubal's. The Prætor, Lucius Furius, was powerless against them, as he had only 5000 troops. The Consul Aurelius summoned every disposable Roman to Ariminum, and wrote to the Carthaginian Senate, complaining that Hamilcar made war upon them while they were at peace with his government, and demanding that he should be

* Livy, xxix. 36.

† Ibid. xxxi. 10. A. R. 552, B. C. 201.

delivered up. They answered* that Hamilcar had completely withdrawn himself from their authority, and that all they could do was to confiscate his property and doom him to exile. Hamilcar accordingly continued at the head of the Gallic legions, and in B.C. 196 he fought a pitched battle with the Etruscans and Romans, in which he was totally defeated. The third part of the Ligurian lands was confiscated, and Bologna and Felsina were colonized by the victors. They thus, in part, returned under their ancient lords.

The legions under the Prætor, Lucius Furius, next relieved Cremona, and fought a battle more decisive than any of the preceding, which raised their leader to the pinnacle of military fame.† The cavalry of the allies defeated the left wing of the Gauls. Hamilcar was slain with 35,000 Insubri, and the loss of 130 standards. Insubria surrendered, and the power of that great nation was for a time completely broken. The Insubri had allied themselves with the Boii and the Cenomani, and this dreadful defeat was entirely owing to the treachery of the Cenomani, whose elders did not approve of the war.

The Roman Senate granted a well-merited triumph to their Prætor, and ordered a thanksgiving of three days. The war with the Boii, which had shaken‡ Rome and Etruria with fear, was terminated in one

* Livy, xxxi. 19.

† Ibid. xxxii. 30.

‡ Ibid. xxxi. 47-49.

battle; and the Consul Aurelius, who had delayed too long to be present, never forgave his successful subordinate.

Emulous of equal glory two years afterwards, another Prætor, Cn. Bœtius, entered Insubria, and attacked the Gauls in their own homes. He was soon made to repent of his temerity, for he was ignominiously defeated and driven back with the loss of 6600 men. He was recalled and superseded, but the cities of Cremona and Placentia were once more attacked, and the colonists in them were driven away. The unlucky Prætor, some few years afterwards, was overtaken and assaulted by the Liguri on his road to Spain. His retinue was slain, and he escaped much wounded to Marseilles, where he died. This was considered a sort of atonement for the death of Hamilcar.*

Livy records another great victory over the Insubri and Boii, which, though it is attributed to the year 556, seems to be merely another version of the one already mentioned; for there could scarcely be two great victories so close together, with triumphs and thanksgivings at Rome each time, because the Insubrian nation was destroyed, and by the same man.

Livy says† that the Consul Marcellus, having been defeated by the Boii under their chief Corolan, with the loss of 3000 men, first tired out their patience by his caution, and then, when they had dis-

* Livy, xxxvii. 57.

† Ibid. xxxiii. 36.

persed in disgust, suddenly crossed the Po and surprised their allies, the Insubri, near Comum. He defeated them, with the loss of 40,000 men and 507 standards, 432 chariots, and many bushels of heavy gold chains; one of which, of extraordinary massiveness, was deposited in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Comum and twenty-eight forts surrendered.

Lucius Furius now joined his colleague, and they devastated the country together and reduced Felsina. On their homeward march the legions were attacked by the careless, ill-disciplined, and light-hearted Boii. The battle was dreadful, but victory declared for Rome and her allies, and the Boian force was all but exterminated. Marcellus was granted a triumph over the Insubri and Cornii, and L. Furius over the Boii. Amongst other booty exhibited was much Gallic coin, both in bronze and silver. The former were asses, the latter denarii stamped with a chariot.

In the year 558 (B.C. 195),* the Proconsul Flaccus defeated the Boii near Mediolanum, and slew 10,000 of them, with their chief Dorulacus. The Consul Sempronius penetrated into their country, but was more stoutly opposed than he expected by their fierce and brave leader Boiorix. Finding aid needful, he summoned the other Consul to join him, and with their united forces he intended to attack the Boii; but Boiorix was beforehand with him, and

* Livy, xxxiv. 46.

attacked the Italians first. The stubborn contest ended in a drawn battle, neither side being able to boast of victory. Boiorix retreated into the heart of his own country, and the Consuls fell back upon Placentia. A lull followed, which was supposed to be the harbinger of peace, for neither party wished to be the first aggressor, when news was received by the Consul in Liguria* that he must instantly march into the Etruscan district of Pisa, for that 20,000 Liguri had landed at Luna and were devastating that country. The Consul ordered the rendezvous of his troops to be at Arretium, and demanded from the Allies the assistance of 15,000 foot and 500 horse.

These are the terms in which the Roman historians tell the story of the Etruscan and Gallic war. Had we the lost annals of Etruria, we should probably find the Tuscans narrating how *they* had succoured Cremona and Placentia; how *they* had conquered at Comum and Mediolanum; how perseveringly and skilfully *they* had pursued the Boii into their own country, and how *they* had flown to the assistance of their countrymen at Luna and Pisa; being in all these wars and expeditions loyally supported by their faithful *Roman Allies*.

Whilst reading the Roman histories, it is very difficult to remember that the Etruscans were at this date, and for more than a hundred years longer, a free and independent nation, and by no means a part of the Roman dominions.

* Livy.

Simultaneously with the landing of this host of Gauls at Luna, 15,000 Liguri once more attacked Placentia; and the Boii manifested signs of an intention to come to their assistance.

Altogether, the combination of the Gauls seemed so formidable,* that whilst Minucius was fighting them in the Pisan district, the famous Scipio Nascia, whose sarcophagus is to be seen in miniature in every part of Europe, was chosen to head the Legions against the indomitable Boii. He prevented their advance by a well-timed invasion of their country, and he brought them to an engagement, in which they lost 28,000 slain and 3400 prisoners. Their camp was taken, half their lands were forfeited to the conquerors, and hostages were given to Rome and her *Allies*. Scipio was decreed a glorious triumph, and 6000 families were sent to colonize the newly acquired territory. The old Etruscan city of Bononia was part of this conquest, and it was settled with 3000 families of military men; seventy *jugera* being allotted to each horseman, and fifty to each foot-soldier. This decisive victory was followed by a peace which lasted for four years.†

Simultaneously with the last-mentioned battles the Ligurians ravaged Pisa and Felsina.‡ They descended from their mountains divided into tribes of Finicians, Brinians, and Apuans, and they made such frequent raids into the exposed States that the

* Livy, xxxvi. 36-40.

† Ibid. xxxvii. 46, 47.

‡ Ibid. xxxix. 2.

inhabitants were prevented from cultivating their lands.

The two former tribes were defeated and disarmed by the help of the Legions, and the hardy mountaineers were hunted out of their fastnesses and forced to settle in the plains, where fewer troops were required to keep them in check, and where the Consuls wisely opened up the country by military roads from Placentia to Ariminum, and from Bononia to Arretium. It appears, indeed, as if the people of Arretium took the principal part in these transactions.

The Apuans,* more inaccessible in their position, were not so easily subdued or dislodged. Quintus Marcius, with two Legions and the usual complement of auxiliaries, was seduced by them into a defile, where he was surrounded, and whence he escaped with the utmost difficulty, leaving 4000 men, three Standards of the Second Legion, and eleven standards of the Allies, in the hands of the enemy. He never would give a true account of the affair, but his flight was disgraceful, and the defile was afterwards, in derision, called by his name—"the Marcian Pass."

To revenge this mischance Sempronius marched from Pisa through the Apuan country to Luna and the Rio Macra, a very small distance to be recorded as a very great feat; but the Ligurian Gauls of that age seem to have been to the Italians what the

* Livy, xxxix. 20.

Circassians were to the Russians of our own; that is, enemies so gallant, so determined, and so dangerous, that the smallest advantage over them was a matter of importance.

The next year brought peace for a time, or, as it was styled, "the submission of the Ligurians."

It is at this period that the Dionysian or Bacchanalian mysteries were introduced from Etruria into Rome,* where they occasioned such disorders as to be forbidden in the sovereign State and in all its colonies under pain of death. Up to this time women only of elevated rank, as priestesses, had been employed in similar avocations; the mysteries, which were intended to represent the Furies or evil Genii raging against their enemies, had only been celebrated by day, and the conduct of the celebrants had been irreproachably pure. But now their gloomy character was changed into feasting, the solemnities were held by night. Men joined in them, drinking large libations to their gods, singing licentious songs, and then rushing frantically from their assemblies with flaming torches held aloft, which they ran to extinguish in the river. The rites were originally Grecian, introduced from Capua into Etruria by Greeks of mean condition; but after they had obtained a firm footing and a most infectious influence in the Lucumonies, they were brought by persons of rank, apparently Opitumius, of Faliscia, and Paula Namea, a Capuan lady, into Rome.† Here

* Livy, xxxix. 8. Paus. vii. 10. † Livy, xxxix. 13.

a frantic infatuation seems to have seized upon the devotees, and at night, in the midst of wine and feasting, music and noise, murder and every species of violence and wickedness were committed. In the colonies many hundreds suffered death, unable apparently to control or resist the mad excitement. The painted vases from Campania chiefly represent bacchanalian scenes, and from this time forward they appear in the vases of Central Etruria united to legends and poetic traditions introduced by the captive Greeks, who after the war with Persius, B.C. 165, were dispersed in large numbers as hostages, artisans, or slaves, through every State of the Confederation. Greek influence may now be largely traced in all their arts; and they affected in their luxurious homes Grecian pomp and voluptuousness.*

After the Achæan War the markets were filled with Greek slaves, who were employed by the colonists instead of natives to cultivate the public lands. Ten thousand of them came from Delos, and were worked upon those wasted and abused lands, in the heart of Etruria, through which Tiberius Gracchus passed, B.C. 162, on his route from Rome to the coast to embark for Numantia.

In the year B.C. 184, a colony of Gauls, who had begun to build a city on the waste lands near Aquileia, were forced to abandon their designs and to recross the Alps. The Romans then settled a

* Polybius was a captive in Rome from A. R. 585 to A. R. 603.

Latin colony at Aquileia and Roman colonies at Mutina and Parma. These provinces, Livy observes, formerly belonged to the Tuscans, but they were taken from them by the Boii, and, as the Romans helped to drive away the Boii, they were entitled to settle colonists in their conquests.

It was about this time that they conferred a favour upon the whole Etruscan nation by sending troops under Manius Acilius into one of the Lucumonies to put down a rebellion of the slaves. His ostensible office was to judge as an umpire between natives and foreigners, but he took the part of the masters without inquiry, and indiscriminately forced all the insurgents to return to servitude. The refractory were made captives and scourged or slain. It would appear from this that the Etruscans now commonly referred to the Romans in their quarrels, instead of seeking aid or justice from each other.

The name of the appellant state is not given, but it seems from concomitant circumstances to have been Volsinia, for on no other supposition can we explain the settlement in this same year of two colonies in her lands, one at Saturnia and the other at Calettra. The colonists were conducted thither by Tib. Gracchus, who assigned to each man (in number 2000) a portion of ten acres. The assignment of 20,000 acres of Etruscan land to such near and very dangerous allies must surely have been the price or reward of assistance in some im-

* Livy, xxxiii. 34.

minent peril, for every one of these colonists was a Roman soldier, prepared to fight for the *supremacy* of Rome; whilst, at this juncture, the whole of Etruria only acknowledged a friendly equality. But Rome was becoming every day more united in one grand interest under one central head; whilst Etruria was becoming more and more divided under many heads and many petty commercial interests. The one was degenerating into Individualism, whilst the other was rising into Nationality.*

The Etruscans seem scarcely to have enjoyed two years of peace when they were again attacked by the Ligurians. The famous Emilius Paulus was forced to lead a large army against the Inguanians, a powerful tribe of that people, who first solicited from him a truce of ten days to settle all their differences, and then, when he was thrown off his guard, marched down upon him and besieged him in his camp. Paulus sent to Pisa for succour,† and described these audacious Ligurians as having achieved what neither the Spaniards, Gauls, Macedonians, nor Carthaginians, had ever as yet dared to attempt; namely, that they had had the temerity to march up to the trenches of a Roman camp, and assault it. The Senate sent him 15,000 foot and 800 horse of the Allies, besides an auxiliary force which was raised in Pisa, and a huge squadron of ships, which was ordered to co-operate off the Ligurian coast.

* B. C. 182. † Livy, xl. 25. ‡ Ibid. 27.

Emilius had six cohorts of auxiliaries in his camp under Valerius,* besides a wing of the *Allies* under Q. F. Flaccus, who did him good service, and are mentioned with honour. The first, by an appearance of timidity, threw the Inguanians off their guard,† and then fought a battle, in which above 15,000 were slain and 2500 were taken prisoners. This seems to have annihilated their military resources; for three days after the little state gave hostages and surrendered. Thirty-one Ligurian pirate vessels were also taken and destroyed. Emilius returned to Rome, where a three days' thanksgiving was decreed. The Allies were excused from further levies, and the temporary soldiers, who had been enlisted on account of the *sudden* alarm, were discharged. The result of these successes to Etruria seems to have been, that for the further protection of their country the colony of Gravisia was settled, and five acres were given to each man. It was, however, upon territory strictly Roman, for it had been conquered from the Tarquinians in their last war with Rome.

In the year 181 L. Porc. Cato dedicated a temple to Venus Erycina which he had vowed during the Ligurian war, and Emilius Paulus triumphed over the Inguanians, carrying in procession twenty-five golden crowns and many Ligurian chiefs. We are not told what the Inguanians did with *their* captives, but they seem to have treated them well, for ambassadors from the Liguri appeared, saying that they

* Livy, xl. 27. † Lib. ix.

never again intended to make war upon the Romans, and though not believed beyond the present exigency, they were civilly received, and a peace was concluded with them.

A.R. 573, Liguria still continued a Consular province,* as the Consuls, Publius Cornelius and Marc Bæbius, were ordered to prosecute the war with the Apuan Ligurians with the full complement of two Roman legions and 15,000 allies. They were to succeed veterans who had been encamped there during the last twelve months, and who were now withdrawn; so that the Apuans, dreading no evil, believed their country free from an enemy and took no precautions. Suddenly they were amazed by an irresistible Consular force entrenching itself in the place so recently vacated by the Roman veterans. Peremptory orders being conveyed to the Apuan mountaineers from the united Consuls (after their army of 12,000 men had been surprised and captured),† that they should descend from their mountains with women, children, and property, and settle in the plains upon new lands which the Romans would assign them.

They had no alternative; and, to the great joy of the Tuscans, this troublesome and warlike tribe of Highlanders was transplanted far away from them into the waste lands of the Taurasians amongst the Samnites. The Consuls triumphed over a foe with whom they had never fought, and against whom they seem to have employed most disgraceful treachery.‡ Livy says that hostages alone could be

* Livy, c. 35.

† c. 38.

‡ c. 41.

led in the procession, for there were no captives to show and no spoils to divide.*

The following year two more legionary armies were despatched against the Apuans—one from the eastern, and the other from the western side of Etruria. Their vineyards were burnt and their corn carried away to make them deliver up their arms, and a body of 7000 of them being dislodged from the Rio Macra were sent to join their comrade exiles in Samnium.

The Gauls had first appeared in Central Italy at Clusium just after the fall of Veii, A.R. 360, demanding a settlement amongst the Italians; but now when lands were granted them, even more in the heart of the country than Clusium or Rome, they do not seem much to have relished the gift.

Consequent upon this removal of a dangerous and incessant enemy appears to have been the gratitude of the Pisans towards the Senate, whose good service they acknowledged by a liberal offer of lands in their government for the establishment of a Latin colony. This offer was thankfully accepted by the wise and far-seeing Romans.

From this period and onwards the Latin language is frequently used for epitaphs in the Etruscan sepulchres. We find from a passage in Livy that the use of it in any public manner was a *privilege* conceded to favoured allies. Livy records that in A. R. 573 the Oscans asked and obtained permission to

* B. C. 180.

use the Latin language in their public deeds and muniments !*

Next year we again find both Consuls in Liguria, endeavouring to dislodge more mountain tribes and force them to settle in the plains.†

The Proconsul stationed at Pisa gave information to the Senate that several powerful Ligurian tribes were again preparing for war,‡ and that he had not troops enough to cope with them. He was authorized accordingly to summon to his aid his kinsman, the Consul Caius Claudius, who had just triumphantly concluded a campaign in Istria.

Caius surprised the Gauls encamped upon the Scultenna, and forced them to a pitched battle, and gained a glorious victory, slaying 15,000 men and taking fifty-one standards. The Ligurians left their camp in the hands of the enemy, abandoned their settlement in the rich plains, and escaped back to the mountains.

Luna was colonized by 2000 persons possessed of the Roman citizenship (they might be of any nation), and to each were assigned fifty-one acres of land. Livy§ says that this land formerly belonged to the Etruscans, but was conquered from them by the Ligurians, and as the Ligurians in turn succumbed to Roman power the Romans colonized their new acquisition.

* Livy, xl. 43.

† A. R. 574.

‡ Ibid. xl. 53 ; xli. 12.

§ See page 33.

At his triumph C. Cladius apportioned to the allied troops one-half less booty than to the Romans. A novel proceeding, and one which caused so much discontent, that they followed his chariot in solemn silence.

Strange to say, whilst the triumph for their subjugation was celebrating in Rome, the Ligurians, recovering heart, descended from their rocky fastnesses and captured the city of Mutina. C. Claudius was continued Consul to finish the war, and was ordered back into Etruria to recover the vanquished city, which he seems to have effected. But Pisa (or the Pisanese) and Liguria* were allotted to the Consuls separately, and two Legions were raised for each, to each of which the *Allies* were required to contribute 10,000 foot and 600 horse.

It was therefore no small affair which they had taken in hand, even after all the bloody victories which they boasted of having gained.

For the next twenty years Livy, in mentioning the stations of the different armies, constantly speaks of Pisa as if it were a portion of the Roman dominions, so that in A. R. 602, B. C. 151, we are astonished at its re-appearance as an allied and perfectly independent State. There was, as we have noted, a large colony all possessed of the Roman citizenship settled within its territory, which became the headquarters of the Roman Legions, and hence Livy terms

* Livy, xli. 14. "Pisas et Ligures provincias consulibus decrevit. Cui Pisae provincia obvenisset."

it "the Province of Pisa"—"*Pisas eamque Provincias*," and places it in the same category of fixed camps with the similar settlements of Aquileia and Ariminum.

In the year B.C. 176 all the country watered by the Serchio was delivered from the Gauls, and the grateful Roman Senate ceded to the Pisans the third part of the lands recently won from the Ligurians in recompense for the effective aid which they as allies had afforded them.*

It was at this period that the war of Italy with Persius, king of Macedon, being brought to a close, Etruria was inundated with Greeks, prisoners, slaves, and hostages, men of every degree, who were distributed amongst their cities or sold to work their lands. According to Polybius, the historian, who was a captive at Rome for fifteen years, 1000 of the noblest Greeks were sent into Etruria, and when after many years the survivors were permitted to return home at his solicitation, their number was reduced to 300. The influence of Grecian refinement was, however, dominant in Etruria from this time forward. Two of the Greek exiles, Actolaus and Dioeus, were afterwards Prætors in Achaia.†

Pausanias speaking of this time, 592, tells us that all *Greek artists*, as well as philosophers and historians, were ordered to quit Rome for other

* Livy, xli. 13.

† Polybius was preceptor to Scipio Emilianus, the youngest son of Emilius Paulus.

cities, but it appears that most of them joined their Achaian countrymen in Etruria.

Gætus, the last King of Illyria, with his queen, sons, and brother, were captives at Iguvium in Umbria, and ended their days there.

In the year B.C. 173, the Consul, Marcus Popilius, at the head of the Legions and the Allies, stimulated by a restless desire to distinguish himself, attacked the peaceful city of Carystas, in the district of Statiella, belonging to a tribe of the Liguri. This city was strongly garrisoned, and had never warred with Rome. Suddenly the Consul besieged it, and after a bloody battle, in which 10,000 of the Liguri were slain and eighty-one standards taken, forced it to surrender at discretion. As the citizens of Carystas had offered no resistance, they ought in any case to have been spared, but Popilius in blind fury rased the town, confiscated the lands, and sold 10,700 innocent men into slavery. He then wrote to the Senate boasting of his exploit and demanding a triumph. The Senators heard the news with consternation and dismay. They voted the attack upon Carystas to have been unprovoked and unjustifiable, and they ordered the aggressive Consul to redeem the prisoners and to restore their effects. Popilius refused obedience, sent his troops into winter quarters at Pisa, and proceeded to Rome to argue his own cause. There he rebuked the Conscrip Fathers in full Senate, and made strenuous efforts, though

* Livy, xlii. 7-9.

happily in vain, to obtain a reversal of their decree. This honourable conduct we cannot doubt would have its effect upon all the Etruscan States, and quiet any rising doubts as to the expediency of allowing them to establish so many colonies near their great towns.

The Liguri were now quiet for several years, or at least gave their neighbours no serious uneasiness. Risings of some of the tribes are recorded in 587 and 591; but no large force was needed to quiet them until A. R. 599, when a tribe of Liguri attacked two cities belonging to the Massilians, and they were defeated with great loss by the Consul Q. Opinius.*

In the year B.C. 151, Rome commenced her third and last war with Carthage, and the States of Etruria again came forward with their liberal and voluntary aid.† Amongst them Pisa was distinguished, and she was thanked, not as a dependent province, but as an independent and allied State. When Carthage fell all the Allies shared in the spoil.

The Gauls gradually abandoned a hopeless struggle. One Ligurian tribe tried its fortune against M. Fulvius Flaccus, and another (the Stonians) against Quintus Marcus; after which they seem to have sunk into quietude. Such insignificant actions are scarcely worth mention, only that the name "Flaccus," being Etruscan, it seems probable that this commander was of that nation and possessed of the Roman citizenship.

* Livy, xlvii.

† Ibid. xlix.

From A.R. 650 to 663 all the Gallic colonies were faithful to C. Marius, and received the Roman and Tuscans as friends and protectors against the Cimbri and the Teutones.

From the year B.C. 118 we count about sixteen years of perfect peace and commercial prosperity, until B.C. 92, when the Social War raged in Italy; and for a few months the Etruscans and Umbrians joined the Marsian League against the Romans. They had been friends and confederates, fighting together against the Greeks, the Carthaginians, and the Gauls, for upwards of two centuries, and the matter in dispute was settled by Rome with all her pride yielding to the claims of the Socii.

A short time previously Marius the Volscian, who had raised himself by his military successes to the Consulate, had conferred full Roman citizenship, with power to vote in all elections and to be eligible to all magistracies, upon 1000 of the inhabitants in Umbria as a reward to them for their gallantry under his command against the Cimbri.* The Conscript Fathers were outraged by such a usurpation of power upon his part without reference to their sanction; but it was promised to a regiment on the field of battle, and Marius maintained his point, merely alleging in his justification that "Law could not be heard amidst the din of arms." Marius in his heart entirely approved of the claims of the Socii, because he was a new man; whilst Sulla, of

* Roman History Univ. p. 116.

the Gens Cornelius, a stern, aristocratic patrician, persistently and implacably opposed them.*

"Where," he asked, "was the supremacy of Rome if all the Socii were to be admitted to full citizenship, and, above all, if they were to be dispersed through all the thirty-five voting tribes? They were more numerous than the Romans and would swamp them in their own elections, held in their own metropolis." Marius, on the other hand, anxious to deprive Sulla of power, required for that purpose to command the votes of the Plebs, and as he knew that all the new citizens would adhere to him he was resolved to disperse them through all the Tribes. The Etruscans and the Umbrians were the first to be conciliated, upon which they rejoined their ancient Allies, and helped them to recover Alba from the Italians. Marius desired to confer the full franchise upon three members of every colony in Gaul, but the Senate indignantly refused. So long as this contest lasted they admitted the Etruscans and Umbrians, the Latins and the Hernici, into all the Tribes; but afterwards eight new Tribes were created to include the whole body of the Socii, who were thus compelled to vote after the thirty-five; and when Sulla was established in despotic power, these eight were again reduced to two, thus completely annihilating every hope of influence. Sulla "kept the promise to the ear, but broke it to the

* Scipio Emilianus, Caius Gracchus, and Julius Cæsar, were all favourable to the Socii.

sense." In this war Otricoli and Fiesole suffered much, and the recusant freedmen were punished for their short hostility by being forced to serve in the army under Roman officers, and not under their own Prefect.

When the Social War was ended Sulla and Marius began to contend with each other, and for a short time carried on the most frightful civil war that ever desolated Rome. All Etruria took the part of Marius, and when he returned from Africa he landed at Telamon, where 5000 volunteers joined his standard and marched with him from Ostia to his last occupation of Rome. Upon his death they were still faithful to his cause, and joined Pap. Carbo his friend and young Marius his son. But both were routed and killed: Clusium, which was defended by the former, and Præneste, by the latter, were taken; and, one by one, all the strongly fortified and beautiful cities of the Etruscans fell into the terrible dictator's hands. His system was to dismantle them all—to destroy their public buildings, *burn their records*, throw down their monuments, and, where possible, raze their walls. Instead of the ruined Fiesole upon its towering height, he built Florentia in the plains, and settled it as a military colony. Arretium suffered least, because Cicero was its patron, and we may conclude also Metellus,* whose noble statue has been found there in bronze.

* Probably Metellus Pius, who was often in Liguria: he was Consul in B.C. 81.

Volterra resisted the Cornelian arms for two full years, and was not taken until B.C. 83.* After Sulla's death in that year its loyal daughter Populonia followed its fate, and, Strabo tells us, was besieged and destroyed, indeed all but razed. Sulla's system was to deprive every Italian municipium that took part with Marius of citizenship and of its right to share in the public lands. Volterra was never despoiled of its citizenship in consequence of its prolonged resistance, and of enjoying, in common with Arretium, the patronage of Cicero. Subsequently the Triumvirs established eighteen colonies in the land, and Augustus Cæsar, as Octavianus, twenty-eight more.

Sulla fined, taxed, and colonised, the whole of Tuscany, in which he had forty-seven Legions to reward. His booty, we are told, was immense in costly armour, embroidered carpets, richly-dressed slaves, and an abundance of vessels in gold and silver. The Etruscan sepulchres bear evidence to the vast wealth and refinement of the people, and Posidonius, Diodorus Siculus, and Athenæus, all testify to their Asiatic luxury.

Sulla's principle of government was to exterminate all his opponents, or else exact from them unconditional surrender. He left their religious privileges untouched, and the Etruscan rites and brotherhoods accordingly endured for some centuries after the Christian era; but he abolished at

* Livy, lxxxix.

one fell swoop all their civil rights. They were henceforward Romans, merged in the conquering people, and for many years cruelly oppressed by the Cornelian veterans, to whom their lands were confiscated. But when Sulla's cruel influence had passed away, when Cæsar and Pompey, Cicero, Mark Antony, and Augustus, came upon the scene, sharing none of his antipathies, and wishing rather to unite the land than to keep up his oppression, then, notwithstanding that the Triumvirs had settled eighteen colonies in the country, and Octavianus twenty-eight more, yet most of the former proprietors were able to buy back their ancient estates from the reckless and extravagant soldiery.

Amongst the most powerful friends of Augustus we find the wealthy Mæcenas of Arretium, glorying in his descent from the old kings of that state; Virgil of Mantua, the sweet singer of legendary Italian story; and Livy of Padua, who wrote a history in language scarcely less musical, and in its earlier portion scarcely less imaginary, than the *Æneid* of Virgil.

One act of Augustus, namely the burning of Perugia in his wars with Antony, though he considered it unavoidable, created a lasting indignation in the country; and Propertius was bold enough to accuse him "of wasting" the cradle of the race, "the hearthstone of the Etruscans." But when his power was established, and he divided the whole of Italy into eleven regions, he carefully consulted the feelings and respected the rights of every people,

and he placed the Etruscans under the rule of their own regal chief Mæcenas.

According to persistent Etruscan tradition the power of the nation was to continue for 1100 years beginning with the year 434 (B.C. 1187), before the foundation of Rome, and therefore ending about A.R. 665 (B.C. 87). There can be no doubt that the belief in this tradition discouraged the people in their opposition to Sulla, which they looked upon as fighting against inevitable fate; and after the reduction of several of their capitals, which were probably in no state of defence against so very unforeseen a foe, one of the Haruspices publicly counselled submission, declaring that he had heard the shrill blast of a trumpet in the air, mingled with a voice which proclaimed in tones of loudest brass that "the day of Etruscan dominion was at an end."

The people of Tarchon were henceforth united with the people of Romulus, and their civil history was closed.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS, RELIGION AND ARTS,

OF

THE ETRUSCANS.*

BOOK I.

ON THE AGRICULTURE, COMMERCE, AND INDUSTRY OF THE ETRUSCANS.

CHAPTER I.

AGRICULTURE.

IN the most fruitful lands it has pleased God to ordain that human industry should still be necessary to bring out all their riches. Campania alone of the Etruscan settlements yielded much food to little labour. Etruria proper was full of insalubrious salines, pestiferous swamps, and fever-breeding

* *Freely* translated from the German of Karl Otfried Müller.

marshes. This we know from the state of its western coasts at this moment, and the ill fame it has borne ever since the commencement of the Christian era, denounced alike by poet and historian as prejudicial to human life from its sulphurous exhalations and desolating malaria. Yet this thinly inhabited and often barren country was once the site of powerful and populous cities, so numerous as scarcely to be credible to modern travellers. In this region flourished Melpum and Vetulonia, Rusella and Saturnia, Gravisia and Cosa, Populonia and Tarquinia, where scarcely anything now remains of them excepting the site of their enormous walls, and the graves or tumuli of their dead. Human skill and industry once made this soil fruitful and wholesome.

The same may be said if we turn our attention to the rich Northern Lucumonies of Pisa, Fiesole, and Arretium. Pisa was constantly liable to be overflowed by the Arno and the Ausur, or Serchio, which, though now running in separate channels, were formerly united, and emptied themselves by the same mouth into the sea. Modern engineers affirm that but for the canals and colossal drains of its ancient people, Pisa, in Etruscan days, instead of being a mart of commerce, and the strongest barrier between fertile Italy and the intruding Gauls, would soon have become one vast shallow lake. The whole course of the Arno, from its rise in the mountains to its fall into the sea, bears traces of human interference; and both above and below Fiesole, the

direction of its waters seems to have been turned. This artificial channel is called by the Italians "*La Incisa*," or "The Cut." Who can measure the bold struggles which were required in the first ages of a primitive race, against an intractable country by any scale known to our later times of a comparatively high civilization?

Owing to the nature of the soil there are fewer settlements between Volterra and Volsinia than in any other part of the land; for Sienna (Sena Julia) is never mentioned as a place of importance earlier than the Social War, B.C. 90. The valleys of the Arno, rich in minerals, are destitute of ports. The country between Clusium and Saturnia as far as Rome, is all volcanic, and so it must once have been as far as Campania. Yet it was redeemed by an industrious and numerous people, who knew, when its fires had subsided, how to preserve it from destruction, by guarding against the overflow of its innumerable volcanic lakes. One of their educated professions was that of the "*Aquilex*," and such appears to have been also that of the "*Haruspex*," who suggested the *canal* which saved Alba during the siege of Veii, B.C. 403. The artificial outlets which the Etruscans made to these formidable lakes have not yet received the investigation they deserve.

Upper Etruria seems to contain the oldest cities (next to the coast); for here are Arretium, Cortona, Perusia, and Clusium, each the capital of a Lucumony, and scarcely sixty miles apart. The population must have required much food, and could nowhere

have found a more fertile land when turned to account by hard and persevering labour. Pliny's *Tuscan* villa boasted of a healthy site, mild air, cool and pure, even in summer; high woods in the vicinity; fruitful hills; broad, and fair, and well-watered plains, furrowed by deep ploughshares, or stocked by large oxen and other cattle. Such was the vale of Thrasymane, and such the whole course of the Clanis, otherwise and but for the marvellous net-work of canals by which it was controlled, the wildest and most unmanageable of rivers.

The cities were almost all built upon heights, dominating tracts of pasture and arable land, with a view to defence, to health, to security, and to long-continued rule. Such was Populonia with its harbours, Cosa, Rusella, Volaterra, the highest town in Italy, Perugia, Cortona, Tarquinia, Fiesole, Veii, Fidene, and Arretium. To these we may add Volsinia and Falerii before their conquest by the Romans, who forced their inhabitants to quit the heights and build new cities in the plains.

Throughout Etruria proper, the aspect of the country always points out where great cities have been, and where their ruins may still be found. From the labour and skill required in the construction of these cities, the regulation of the wild and rapid rivers, and the drainage of the marshes round them, we may form some estimation of what was required in the plains of the Po, or Padus, or Eridanus, which, in still more remote times, they inhabited and civilized. In those days the mouth of the river Po lay

considerably south of its present embouchure, and the rich city of Spina covered the site now occupied by Porto di Primaro.

In Strabo's time the alluvium had so increased that Spina lay ninety stadii inland, and had dwindled down into a village. Now its exact site is unknown; but it is certainly between three and four miles inland, for Ravenna, which was then like Venice built into the sea, is now a full mile from the shore. The river mouths at Spina and Caprasia were turned by the Tuscans into *the seven marshes* (a Delta), and all the waters of the Padus land were so deepened and channelled as to be compelled to fall into them. The Lagunes of Venice appear to have been reckoned as one of them. Polybius speaks of the *Sagis* and the Volana Tuscan outlets, and Pliny of the Carbonaria and the Fossa Philistina. This Philistinian canal united the Padus with the Atrianus or Tartarus, which was led into the harbour of Atria. In our days the Po runs south of this channel, having formed itself a new bed in A.D. 1150; and the coast, which once bounded Atria, is now at least 209 stadii distant, the vestiges of the ancient city lying above the plain, which has been formed by the river mud.

When the Etruscans first entered this prodigious plain of the Padus, the river probably was like an inland sea, or series of lagunes, and often affected by the ebb and flow. It was highly dangerous, continually increasing in width and diminishing in depth, so as to be pestilential and destructive. The

course of the real river was southward, through these lagunes. What the Tuscans required to do was, what the Venetians, with infinite pains, have failed to effect with their tiny stream of the Brenta, namely, to confine it to the course of the lagunes, and make it a drain to the neighbouring lands. For this purpose they dug channels of irrigation along the whole course. Probably they foresaw the raising of the land about Comantin, in consequence of draining its lagunes by these outlets. So long as Atria flourished these outlets and canals were cleansed and kept in order; and when this care ceased under the Gauls, the haven became blocked up, and what was not marsh was converted into sterile dry land. Greek fables tell of its former fruitfulness, and even Aristotle refers to what it *had been*.

It is most probable that the swamps between Placentia and Panna, which were redeemed by Emilius Scaurus after his conquest of the Gauls, by means of the Fossa Emilia, was only the restoration of a former work by the Tuscans, neglected and abandoned for so long a time as to have become forgotten.

CHAPTER II.

AGRICULTURE.

AGRICULTURE was honoured in Etruria, and when the various Lucumonies helped P. Cornelius Scipio to fit out his fleet for the invasion of Africa, B.C.

206, we find that wheat and other grain were contributed by many of them amongst the supplies. For example: Cære, Volterra, Arretium (which was then especially flourishing), Perugia, Clusium, and Rusella.

Livy's enumeration shows for what the different States were famous: the *spelt*, wheat and maize, of Clusium and Pisa, were the nourishment of Italy. The fable of Tages ploughed up by Tarchon shows how they honoured the plough; so also marking all their city boundaries by the plough, and having a store-granary for wheat, is the *mundus* of the central point.

In this respect they differed from the Greeks, and far excelled them. Their knowledge of the plough was older than their acquaintance with iron, for their sacred and state ploughs were of bronze, and of a more curved form than in later days.

Flax and hemp were grown in Tarquinia and Falerii; Tuscan wine took rank next to Albanian and Falernian, and their vines grew to such a size that in Populonia a statue was erected to Jupiter of this wood. Oil was the special commerce of Volturnia. Firs for house and ship-building, tar and other products, flourished most abundantly in Perugia, Clusium, and Rusella; and their long and broad stems were in great demand for building at Rome.

The forests were full of game. The Tuscan boar was preferred even to the Umbrian, and the coins of Clusium (Kamare) have for their type a boar.

The white oxen of Falerii were prized in Rome for sacrifice. The cheese of Luna was sought for in the Italian markets. Sheep's wool was spun by the women of all classes, and woven into the fine fabrics of their robes. The legend of Tarquin extols Tanaquil as the best spinner in Etruria, and her distaff was long preserved in the Temple of Sancus at Rome. Horses were bred, not only for burden and for battle, but for races, and the race formed one of their sacred games.

The swine were kept in large herds, and, Polybius tells us, were taught to follow the sound of the trumpet (*buccina*). Perhaps it is from them, through the Gauls and Tyroleans, that the present Germans lead out and collect their swine by a horn!

The fisheries of the Tuscans were numerous and profitable, and appear to have been largely carried on at Populonia, Cosa, and Pyrgi.

Etruria abounds in minerals, the oldest worked of which appears to be copper, and the most valuable iron. The best iron was found in masses in the island of Ilva, and smelted in Populonia: thence the Greeks and other nations purchased it. Traces of very ancient and early abandoned copper-mines may still be seen in Ilva. A mountain of iron rises up out of the granite in the centre of it, and suggested to the Greeks the name of *Æthalia*.

Volaterra abounds in the richest copper, which the Tuscans used plentifully for arms and armour, statues, ornaments, and coins. The same may be said of silver, of which there are mines at Montieri.

near Volaterra; and it is probable that in early times they had many mines rich in the precious metals, which after the conquest of Spain were thrown into oblivion by the more abounding and accessible mines of that rich mineral country.

The Tuscans made little use of marble, though they had the quarries of Luna (amongst the finest in the world), Massa, and Carrara. The walls of Luna were indeed built of it, but we do not know that it was used for statuary, though the Tuscans were so fond of images, before the days of Augustus. Some twenty years earlier it is recorded of Mamurra, that the pillars of his house were of this marble. Strabo speaks of it as used to make large tables and pillars, but it was never an article of commerce nor employed in works of art. Strabo, indeed, best knew the quarries of Pisa, which are very inferior to those of Carrara. The Tuscans chiefly employed in their statuary a dark-coloured volcanic stone, like peperino, found near Tarquinia and Volsinia. Vitruvius says, that it was impervious alike to weather and fire, and that he saw very ancient and very beautiful specimens of it in Tarentinum.

The images of the dead, the monumental effigies and funereal urns, are generally, if not always, of the stone or clay of the locality: hence, in Volaterra they are of alabaster; in Clusium and Perugia, of travertine; and in Toscanella, of brick. The best clay was found at Arretium, which seems to have been the emporium of the best Etruscan clay works. Hence their ordinary building material was brick.

CHAPTER III.

DOMESTIC LIFE OF THE ETRUSCANS.

A FEW words may be bestowed upon the dwellings, dress, and food of the Etruscans; because the manners of a nation, being the expression of its character, have always an *ethnical* importance.

Their cities were surrounded with high walls, built of enormous blocks of stone, which may very possibly have been extracted from the hill-tops on which these walls were erected, when they levelled the ground, and so in many instances may have saved them labour: but the uniformity of the style implies some principle of architecture. They were of giant proportions, and though built without mortar, have lasted until our day. Everywhere the stones were wrought by the hand of man. Nowhere were rude masses piled upon each other. The common form was a parallelopiped, as in Volaterra and Fiesole: but some of them were polygonal and irregular, as in Saturnia and Cosa. This style of building, peculiar, so far as we know, to the Greeks and the Italians, is one reason with many authors—Niebuhr, for example—for believing that the Etruscans were a tribe of the Pelasgi, and of the same original stock as the Hellenes.

The Tuscan walls bear no trace of towers, yet both Latin and Greek writers derive their name of Tyrseni, or Tyrrheni, from tower buildings, which

they are said to have first introduced into Italy. At all events, they are the earliest architects that we can trace, and the only ones before the Romans deserving of the name.

Most of the cities were small, only two or three miles in circumference; but a few of them, such as Volaterra, Veii, and probably Tarquinia, were large enough to contain 100,000 inhabitants, and had their Acropolis, like the Greeks.

All the walled cities were sacred. Besides the cities there were also *castella*, places of refuge and safety, in great numbers scattered through the land. Mantua was one of them; and Castellum Axia, near Viterbo, now Castel d'Asso, gives an excellent idea of the defensible ground upon which they were usually built. The architectural tombs and temples still remaining in those rocky ravines testify to the civilization and opulence of the nation.

In a private house the principal apartment was the *atrium*, or *cavædium*, or court, adopted in all its uses by the Romans. Here the father dined with his children, and here the mother span with her maids. Here stood the images of revered ancestors, by which their names, their virtues, and their examples, were kept in memory; and here were assembled the family clients: around there were sleeping apartments, store-closets, and needful offices.

The atrium was roofed over on all sides to a certain distance, beyond this it was open to the sky; and in the centre, towards which all the roofs in-

clined, there was a deep basin for water (*impluvium*). It is probably from this universal usage that the Tuscan city of Hatria or Atria, on the Hatriatic Sea, took its name, as it was built at the confluence of all the rivers of the Padus Valley, viz., the Padus or Po, the Athesis (Adige), and the Tartarus. The atrium had originally no pillars, and in very early times was called in Roman houses "Tuscanicum." In later ages, both in Etruria and in Rome, other Atria were added, pillared all round and without the impluvium, simply for the accommodation of guests and clients.

To the Tuscans we must also attribute the introduction of the arch into Italy; and though the Cloaca Maxima is the best known example which remains to our day, it is by no means the only one, as specimens may be seen at Vala Ceria, Clusium, and some other of their ruined cities. It is believed to have been used by the Etruscans at least B.C. 900, whilst it can hardly be traced in Greece before the time of Alexander the Great, B.C. 340. The most remarkable specimen of their skill in arch-building is the great gate of Volaterra, bearing the heads of the three superior gods. The bas-reliefs of the funeral urns seem to show that arched doors were common in their private dwellings.

The dress of the Etruscans we may partly deduce from the royal robes with their gold and purple borders, which passed from them to the Roman magistrates, and from the Romans to the kings of the Franks, the Teutons, and the Britons. The purple

dye for the borders was probably procured from the Phœnicians or Carthaginians.

Lucilius, in his scorn of Roman luxury, speaks of these robes as the work of the hated *Lydians*, meaning amongst the Lydians to class the Etruscans. Queen Tanaquil is said to have woven the toga with an undulating pattern for young Servius, which was afterwards hung up and exhibited for many centuries in the Temple of Fortune.

The *toga*, as worn by the Lydians and ancient Pelasgi (called also *tehenna* and *chlamys*) was the national garb of the Etruscans—so also was the close-fitting tunic worn under it. All these were home-spun. In the temple service the officiating priest wore his toga in such a form, that one end of it could be drawn over to cover his head. The toga in war and in certain religious ceremonies was fastened tightly round the body by a girdle.

The *shoe* seems to have been a characteristic part of the national dress, for some statues, otherwise quite unclothed, yet have shoes. The greater part of the vases, bronzes, pateræ, and urns, show the foot enveloped in a leather shoe, with a wooden sole, pointed at the end. The best known Roman example is the very ancient Lavinian Juno, and her shoe is said to have been derived from the *Tyrrhenians*. The most ornamented sandals, also some of them covering the heel and toes, were called "Tyrrhenian sandals." They were adopted by Phidias, for those sculptured upon his Minerva of the Parthenon were called by the same name.

Some of them were of crimson leather, and a kind worn by the old kings of Alba were studded with ornamental nails.

The head-dresses of the Tuscans were of different forms, and were called in Latin *Galerus*, *Apex*, and *Tutulus*.

The "*Galerus*" was a hat of fur, and was worn by the Lucumoes. The hat which the eagle bore off the head of Tarquin (if the legend be true) was probably of fur, which it mistook for a hare, as dogs often make the same mistake with a muff or a tippet. However, Cicero calls it an "*Apex*." It was high and pointed, of a conical form—probably like the hats of the Abruzzi peasants of the present day—and it was distinguished by a small rod or wand of authority being fixed in the centre. This wand was also borne by the Flamens in their hats.

The "*Tutulus*" was of wool in the form of a column, and was worn by priestesses and women of rank. They also wore the Greek *strophion*—corrupted into *strappus*. In Falerii one of the festive days was called "*Struppearia*."

The Tuscans adopted the Western usage of shaving their beards, and were careful to keep the body free from superfluous hairs.

The food of the nation was pulse, with such varieties of acorns, beech-masts, chestnuts, and preparation from the milk of sheep and goats as we at present find nourishing some of the finest men in the world, viz., Umbrians in their ancient sites. But they also consumed in large quantities poultry,

game, and fish, besides the flesh of oxen, sheep, and swine, as we learn from their incessant funeral feasts, and the sacrifices at their fairs, treaties, auguries, temple-worship, and all their solemn and state assemblies. The Etruscans were famed or notorious for their luxurious living, and were known by the epithets of "*Pinguis Tyrrhenus*" and "*Obe-sus Etruscus*," tantamount to "*Jolly Englishman*," "*Stout John Bull*," &c.

They made two meals a-day, contrary to the custom of the hardier Sabines, who made only one, and their women sat on the same couches, and mingled on equal terms in all their entertainments, to the scandal and disgust of the Greeks, amongst whom all the virtuous women ate by themselves. This mingling of the sexes was, however, the old Italian custom, and in the images of their gods (their highest ideal of holiness and purity), *Talna* (Juno) and *Minerva* are seated on the same form with *Tina* or *Jupiter*.

CHAPTER IV.

COMMERCE OF THE ETRUSCANS.

THE Tuscans in the days of their prosperity were the most important mercantile nation in the Mediterranean, next to the Phœnicians, the Greeks, and the Carthaginians, to whom they were vexatious rivals. Their tolerance of piracy, however, was an

evil to themselves as well as to their neighbours, and they were restricted in its exercise by the scarcity of good harbours along their seaboard.

But they carried on a much more important inland commerce, though veiled in poetry and mystery, by means of their possessions on the Padus, with Greece on the one hand and the Baltic Sea on the other. Connected with this is the Greek fable of Europa, and the hints at a sacred road across the Alps, protected by the barbarous nations along its whole route. Themistocles of Molossis met with Ligurian merchants in Epirus, who were travelling towards Macedonia, and, according to all probability, they came from Tuscan Hadria. Our strongest proofs of an extensive and continued commerce northwards lie, however, in the accounts the ancients give of the trade in amber or *elektron*. This substance in all times came to the southern nations from the Baltic, sometimes through Goths, at others through Esthonians. In Pliny's days the highway led through Pannonia, and such had been the abundance transported, that *then*, as *now*, the peasant women wore necklaces of this much-prized substance. This highway must have been the very same 600 years before Pliny's time, for the name of the river Eridanus (*alias* Padus or Po) is always connected with amber. Amber or *elektron* was held by the Greeks to be the congealed tears of the daughter of the Sun, the sister of Phaeton, who wandered under poplar-trees upon its banks, bewailing her lost brother. It was on these grounds that Pherekydes,

in the 75th Olympiad, pronounced the Padus to be the Eridanus, because *elektron* came to the Greeks from its banks.

The ports from which they obtained it were Hatria and Spina, and thence also it was procured at a still earlier period by the Phocians, and the Coreyrians. Occasionally, doubtless, the Etruscans themselves took it directly into Greece.

Most of the early geographers, and especially Scylax, call the Padus Eridanus in their works. Hence later geographers were amazed when they came to see the river not to find *elektron* poplars growing on its banks.

Æschylus calls the Rhone the Eridanus, partly from the similarity of sound "Rhodanus," and partly because the Greeks obtained amber from Marseilles, and therefore imagined the Rhone to be the amber-bearing river. But the Massilians procured their amber from Liguria, as Theophrastus has fully proved. There appears to have been a road leading to them from Upper Italy, and they exchanged for the precious gum, tin, which they obtained in large quantities from Britain (*Cassiterides*), through Gaul.

That the Kasiteros road was connected with Hatria we learn from the old tradition that, besides amber islands, the Padus flowed round another island bearing tin. Æschylus placed his Eridanus in Spain (Iberia), and yet he says it was the women of Hatria who mourned for Phaeton.

Euripides places the amber-weeping Heliades on

the banks of the Eridanus, and he means by that river the Rhone. Pliny also holds the Rhone to be an afflux of the Eridanus, and Apollonius boldly solves the mystery by informing us that the great river of the north, the Rhone, divided itself into three branches, falling into the ocean as the Rhanus, into the Sardinian Sea as the Rhodanus, and into the Ionian Sea as the Eridanus. To this latter, however, he assigned the Amber Island.

We have thus elicited from this description that in the third century of Rome there was a commercial traffic, which had been long established, leading from the Baltic provinces into the Padus lowlands of the Etruscans, which first reached a southern seaport at Hatria. Herodotus assures us that *elektron* did not reach the Greeks by sea, but came to them from the uttermost parts of Europe. He disbelieves altogether the existence of a northern sea, and doubts about the Eridanus. Homer speaks of amber as their own in Greece. Hesiod adopts the whole fable of its production on the banks of the Eridanus as the tears of the Heliades. Some authors have surmised that amber might be procured from the Phœnicians, but we have no trace of the existence of such a substance amongst them. It may be thought that a commercial highway through the wild nomadic tribes of Germany into Italy, before the time of Homer, was too dangerous to be traversed; but whence came the numerous caravan roads which we find from the earliest times in existence to allow passage to whole migratory popula-

tions, each following without impediment in the wake of the other, the moment that history pierces the veil, and shows us Gauls and Teutons, Cimbri and Longobardi, Goths and Vandals, full on the march to seek for themselves new and pleasanter habitations?

The sea trade of the Etruscans undoubtedly began, as with all the ancient nations, in piracy; and as Tyrrhenian or Pelasgian pirates they were known and feared by all the nations in the east and southern coasts of the Mediterranean, especially by the Greeks, but also by Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Phocians, Cretans, and Sicilians. This sea-marauding, which (though prisoners) settled many foreigners in the country, became ameliorated in time by effectual resistance and by treaties into a regular and profitable commerce, the one nation improving the other, and each admitting settlers from each.

It must, however, be confessed, that although the Greeks, the Phocians, and the Sicilians, were all at times pirates, the Etruscan piracy continued for many centuries. It is named by Homer and Hesiod in their days, and it is severely animadverted upon by Cicero in his day (see "*Hortensius*"). The Rhodians fought the Etruscan pirates after the time of Alexander. It is, however, more than probable that all pirates from the Italian Peninsula, including every one of the Magna Grecian cities themselves, would be reckoned by other vexed Greeks or Asiatics under the head of Etruscan pirates. One of the Tyrrhenian pirates captured by Timoleon was named

"Posthumius," and this is a Latin and not an Etruscan name. Antium, where a Latin colony was zealously engaged in piracy, sent private corsairs into Greece. In the early days of Rome we never hear of the Etruscans attacking her dominions from the sea.

As proofs of the peaceful and regular trade of the Tuscans, we may mention that their domestic luxury, continued through long centuries, could not have existed on piracy alone. This and the arts which have flourished amongst them required for their stability treaties between the various Tuscan States and their foreign allies. We know that such existed between them and the Carthaginians, in which there were express stipulations as to exports and imports and safe conducts. We can gather their substance from similar treaties between Carthage and Rome in A.R. 245 and A.R. 409. In these, commerce with Sardinia was prohibited, and probably also with the south-eastern coast of the Mediterranean and Libya. Doubtless, also, with Southern Spain about Carthagera and Gadir. This does not apply to Northern Spain, where Tarraco is regarded as a Tuscan settlement, and is believed to owe to the Tuscans its rocky walls.

In Magna Græcia we know of their active trade with Sybaris, which they supplied with many luxuries, and in which they enjoyed many privileges. Cære early separated herself from the pirates and was held in honour by all the Greek States for the justice and integrity of her dealings; yet, because of

her nationality, she afforded a pretext to Dionysius the Elder to plunder her as a nest of Tyrrhenian pirates; and the immense booty he took from her temple, viz. 1000 talents, shows us the greatness of her wealth. Spina, on the Adriatic, was equally honest in her dealings, and so favourable to the Greeks, that she came at last to be reckoned as a Greek city. Both Spina and Agylla (Cære) had treasures in the temple at Delphi.

In speaking of their harbours we must not omit Luna with its marble walls, which we infer from Ennius were built by the Tuscans before the place came into the possession of the Ligurians. Strabo tells us that the ports included several minor havens, and that it was well suited to shelter the fleets of a people who ruled the sea. There can be no doubt that he describes the bay of Spezia, called by the Greeks *Selene*, and by the Romans Luna, from its form—translating probably the old Tuscan name. The coasts of Italy have undergone changes on both sides since those days when the city of Luna stood on the other side of the Macra, at a little distance from its port.

Less favourably situated was the harbour of Pisa for the commerce of the Etruscans, but more important to them than Luna, as having remained longer in their hands.

This city stood upon a branch of the Arnus, and the finest fleets of Etruria issued from her haven on account of the incomparable timber which was grown in the vicinity. Partly for this reason, as

well as for its size and shelter, the harbour maintained its reputation through the centuries of antiquity down to the Middle Ages.

Volaterra had only an insignificant station for ships on account of the shallowness of its waters; but its great trade was entered in the spacious harbour of Populonia, which at Porto di Baratto continued to be frequented when the great city upon the height above was reduced to a mass of ruin. Ships of war could not lay here in any number, but it was crowded with vessels which carried iron to the other ports of Italy.

Argoös was the haven of Elba Ilva, and Diodorus reckons it as the finest on that coast. It is indebted for its name to the Greeks, as well as the island of Æthalia. They Hellenized the Etruscan names, and then commonly attached to them some Greek fable, ascribing, for instance Argoös to a connexion with the Argonauts; so also *Telamon*, which still preserves its name in Talamone, though we cannot decide whether it was the Port of Rusella, Saturnia, or Volci.

There were no other harbours upon the coast excepting the small Portus Lauretanus and the harbour of Cosa until we came to the Centum Cellæ (Civita Vecchia) of Trajan, and therefore it would seem as if Tarquinia never could have been a commercial city.

The celebrated harbour of Cære (Pyrgoi), esteemed alike by Greeks and Romans, can be no other than the now insignificant inlet of San Severo—such

have been the changes in the coast since ancient days.

The largest harbours of Western Etruria were Pisa, Populonia, and Cære, of Eastern Etruria, Spina and Hatria. Hatria was a large and flourishing city somewhat inland and Matrinum was the name of its port.

The twelve cities of Southern Etruria possessed the harbours of Capua and Marcina, and drove a thriving commerce with the Greeks from the fertile banks of the Volturnus, the Clanius, and the Sarnus.

The commerce of the Etruscans with foreigners was ruled by their desire for gain, and limited by their danger from powerful enemies. Their trade with Greece was seldom direct, but through the cities of Magna Græcia. Populonia, for instance, sent her iron to Dicæarchia in Campania. We never hear of Tyrrhenian vessels in the Piræus. The Phocians ventured up to Hadria in the Adriatic, and a successful voyage doubled their gains; but even in the time of Lysias it was reckoned a perilous adventure.

The Tuscans sent help to the Athenians against Syracuse. They fought with the Phocians and against Lipara, and the rostra of their vessels were exhibited as trophies in the harbours of Rhodes. The Greeks believed the Tuscans to be the inventors of shipbuilding in the Ionian Sea, and one old writer ascribes to them the invention of the guiding helm.

Tyrrhenian wine was sent from Etruria into Greece and its islands, which is the more remarkable as so little wine is now exported from Italy. Tyrrhenian shoes were celebrated in the year 300 of Rome. Fictile ware was very early distributed throughout Italy, and Etruscan works of art in iron and bronze were prized in Greece at the date of the Peloponnesian War. Amber was also sold by them, the source of which was kept a profound secret. The architecture of Italy, and the ornaments for the temples or basilicas, were exclusively either Tuscan or Greek. They seemed to have worked together and aided each other.

Besides amber we know that they imported incense for perfumes, and spices for worship, and ivory for thrones and sceptres, at least 600 years B.C., in the days of the elder Tarquin; and they used the precious metal in far greater quantities than their land produced, and manufactured with a delicacy, beauty, and skill only to be found in Egypt or India. The stone scarabæi used in the burial of the dead, the Egyptian symbols, the veiled head of Isis, the lion's claws, the sphynxes, the painted tombs, and the ostrich-eggs, all point in the same direction to commerce, either direct or through the medium of some common mart, with Egypt or Asia Minor and the countries adjacent.*

* Those who wish to assure themselves of the proficiency of the Orientals in very early times, probably 1700 years before Christ, in working the precious metals, have only to

It is evident that an active commerce was always carried on in Italy amongst the States themselves at their various annual fairs; and in this manner Etruscan pottery, glass, and bronzes, may be found all over the land.

The twelve States of Central Etruria held their annual meetings at the temple of Voltumna. The thirty Latin States and their allies met in the Grove of Feronia on Mount Soracte. Here, on the borders of the Latin, Sabine, and Etruscan States, the three nations used to hold their common fair, and worship one common divinity. From this mart the wares of Cære, Pisa, Spina, and Hatria, circulated throughout Italy; and there can be no doubt that the States east of the Apennines had a good road to communicate with their brethren west of those mountains. The *Periplus* of Scylax, undertaken before the Padus-land was wholly Gallic, describes Tyrrhenia as reaching from sea to sea, and gives us the distance from one city to another all the way from Pisa to Spina, three days' journey.

ON ETRUSCAN COINAGE.

But the most significant evidence that this commerce was really carried on by the Etruscans with the Italians, with the Sicilians, and with the Greeks, is to be found in the fact, that the coinage

recollect the ornaments of the Egyptian queen Aahotess, belonging to the Viceroy of Egypt, and shown in the International Exhibition in London of 1862.

of these nations was made to bear a proportionate value with that of Etruria.

We have no occasion to prove that we may with propriety include in this list the Latins, the Sabines, and the Umbrians, because they have placed it upon record themselves that they borrowed their monetary system from the Etruscans. The Etrurian coinage of cast copper or bronze appears to have been an entirely original system, in which the *as*, or the pound of twelve ounces, was the standard unit; and when the Greeks colonized Southern Italy, they constituted the Peloponnesian *obolus* of equal value with the *as*, and they placed peculiar marks upon their other coins, for the purpose of designating the minor divisions of that unit. This arrangement was disturbed and finally upset by the continually increasing value of copper, arising from the Roman wars, until at last a lump of copper of one ounce weight came to bear the same nominal value as the ancient *as* of twelve ounces.

After the Social War, B.C. 90, the *as*, in consequence of its depreciation, was replaced by a new coin, in imitation of the Greek drachma, called the silver *denarius*. This coin was known to the Romans almost as early as the time of Pyrrhus, but it did not become national until the period of the Social War.

Copper, and not silver, was the national coin of Italy, hence all the early tributes to Rome were reckoned in asses. Silver, and not copper, was the current coin of Greece. The Greek money was

round and stamped. The Etruscan and its derivatives were in the beginning square, or oblong and *cast*.

A long, narrow plate or ingot of copper was cut into the quantities required. This money is now only found in Central Italy, either in Etruria Proper or amongst the conterminous tribes. The copper itself all came from the Etruscan mines; and the mints, which are ascertained from inscriptions, are Volaterra or Feltri, Clusium or Kamers, Telamon, Rom, Tuder, Iguvium or Ikuvine, Pisaurum, and TAH, or HAT, or HATRI.

As the Greeks always spelt this last name ΑΔΡΙ, the coins marked HAT must have been struck whilst the Etruscan influence there was stronger than the Greek.

Doubtless many other flourishing cities had mints, such as Cære, Veii, Volsinia, Tarquinia, Arretium, and Cortona; but we do not with certainty recognise their name upon the coins. The tradition that Janus was the author of the first coinage doubtless arose from the double head being the recognised sign of the *Aes grave*.

The duodecimal system of the Etruscans agreed with their twelve states, their twelve great gods, and the general sacredness of their number twelve; and probably the very names of *as*, *libra*, or *lipra*, *uncia* and *unca*, came from them also, and were transferred from them to the Romans and the Greeks, being slightly latinized or hellenized, as suited the genius of their respective tongues.

Etruscan money was current in Sicily long before the Sicilians had any money of their own. Hence we find the Syracusan poets, Epicharmus and Sophronius (Olymp. 76 and 90) speaking of "*λίτρα* and *ὀβυλία*," to designate money. From Sicily the terms passed to Athens, Corinth, and other parts of Greece.

It is proper to notice that two or three of the Greek cities, such as Zanete and Himera, had an Æginetan coinage as early as B.C. 484 and 460, but this was not general.

In Rome, derived from Etruria, according to Livy, we find the as-semis, triens, quadrans, sextans, and uncia. In Sicily we have the corresponding litra, hemilitron, pentuncion, tetras, trias, hexas, and unkia.

It appears, therefore, that Etruscan commerce first introduced coin and its names of value into Sicily; and the Greek settlers, finding a monetary system already established there when they first arrived, adopted it, and adapted to its value the coinage of their mother country. Epicharmus speaks of gold and copper as current in Syracuse.

The asses of HATRIA are marked with an L, which means Libra or Lipra, and this word in Sicily expressed the *weight* as well as the coin, thus intimating that the Etruscans introduced the first system of weights and measures into Sicily as well as into Rome: The Greeks proper never adopted

* B. C. circa 550.

this coinage, but equalised their own with it. Aristotle tells us that the litra was equivalent to the Eginetan obolus; and this seems to refer to a time when both the as and the obolus retained their full weight. The Eginetan money was large, heavy silver, minted in Egina, and current through the greater part of Greece. The Dorian colonies brought it with them from their homes, where it bore a fixed proportion to the Athenian drachma. In Sicily and in Italy it became law that the as, litra, and obolus, should express equal values; so that, if they were of the standard weight, they became easily exchangeable in trade. Aristotle tells us further that the Corinthian stater was equal to the Syracusan decalitra, or piece of ten oboli. The stater was the current coin in cities, and was used in gold and silver for pieces of high value, and it was divided at Athens into drachmæ and minæ.

Now why was the Corinthian stater made to weigh $1\frac{2}{3}$ of a drachma instead of two or four drachmæ, like the Athenian? It was because throughout Italy, from the sacred twelve-ounce as *upwards*, values were calculated in tenths, *decusses*, *centusses*, &c.; and in Etruria, such decusses (ten-as pieces) were cast in one piece, which originally, and before reduction, must have been very large. These decusses were the equivalents not of the Attic, but of the Corinthian stater, and by them the Etruscans were accustomed to reckon their foreign trade.

In this manner are explained a number of co-

incidences between the early Italian and the Greek coins.

First, it appears that the signs of value between the as and the uncia were derived from the Italians to the Greeks. This change was very gradual, because in the beginning the Greeks did not impress their coins with any marks of value. In Etruria the mark of the as was I, of the semis II, of the tressis III, of the quinquessis or fifth multiple V, and of the decussis or tenth multiple X. These signs are all found upon the copper money of Magna Græcia. The ounces were expressed by little round dots (oooo); and these are found, not only through all the Greek cities of Italy, but through those of Sicily, as Syracuse, Himera, Agrigentum, Kentoripa, &c., and also in Velia and Pæstum, at a time when the native influence was strong enough to change these names into *Ve* and *Pais*.

It is worthy of note that the same marks are found upon some small and very ancient silver coins of Syracuse and Tarentum, evidencing how firmly the Etruscan monetary system had there rooted itself before Rome had any influence.

On the other hand, the mark C, which is found upon the Tuscan semis, is borrowed from the Greeks, who were accustomed to mark their half obolus, dividing the O thus, C or Ɔ. An obolus was equivalent to an as, and a half obolus to a half-as or semis.

The name *numus* for money was also derived from the Greeks. It was the term for small silver coins amongst the Sicilians and the Tarentines; and

when the Tuscans began to coin silver, they seemed to have expressed the article by the word *nume*, and either from them or from the Greeks the Romans borrowed their word *nummus*.

It is probable that in Greece the numus expressed a proportion of the decalitron, from which the Roman denarius was imitated, either a sestertius (an ἡμισιπεντάλιτρον) or a quinar (a πεντάλιτρον), which latter is the more probable, because in Syracuse 120 litras composed a talent, and this, in still remoter times, was expressed by 120 nomen.

It is only by considering all these circumstances that we can explain the reduction of the as, the original standard of Italy, to a smallness exceeding all common sense.

There was a time when the as was literally the *as librale* (poundweight), and when in lower Italy and Sicily the obolus of Egina had an equal weight, and was exchangeable with it.

Etruria had then no silver money, but received large quantities of silver from foreign sources, which was consumed upon articles of luxury. The cradle of the precious metals lay in the East, and they first came into Europe through the Greeks by means of their commerce with the Levant and Phœnicia.

Afterwards this supply was increased by tributes and the spoils of war. We must not, however, omit altogether from our calculation the gold obtained from the rivers of Liguria, and the silver from the mines in Spain, though the Carthaginians guarded these latter with jealous care. We must observe

that silver was the only money which formed a common standard to the Italians, Greeks, Etruscans, Carthaginians, and Milesians. The gold of Asia and the copper of Italy were as articles of commerce or barter, whose price was determined by the silver standard. For this reason Rome always demanded her tributes from conquered nations in silver, and never in gold; and therefore gold, even so late as the time of the Punic wars, could command a price in Italy from which it had long sunk in Greece.

The Tuscan copper, owing to its great cheapness, was certainly in early days coined in immense quantities and transported to Greece, there to be melted down into vessels for domestic use. Now as a natural consequence of the abstraction of copper its price in Italy rose, and in proof of this we have certain fixed data.

During the period of Tuscan domination asses were coined marked with a single initial signifying a pound. At the date of the first Punic war, about A.R. 487, asses were coined which weighed only the sixth of a pound, and sixteen of which were reckoned to the denarius. It did not fall suddenly, as Pliny states, for otherwise we should have no intermediate weight; whilst, on the contrary, Roman asses in considerable quantity have been found weighing eleven, ten, and eight ounces, showing that the decrease was gradual. This took place between the A.R. 200 and 500, and it would seem to follow of necessity that the same fall in value was synchronous in Etruria. According to Passeri the as of Volaterra fell from

12 oz. to $3\frac{1}{2}$, and this was probably about A.R. 470, from twenty to thirty years before the Roman as fell to two ounces. Tudor fell from thirteen to one ounce, and this must have occurred after A.R. 486, when Umbria became *Federate* to Rome. Hatria appears always to have maintained an extra weight, for rude and heavy pieces marked *HA*T and *TA*H begin long before the Greeks settled in Picenum, and are carried on to a time when the stamp was so admirably executed as to be almost a work of art.

We see that under these circumstances it was necessary to have constant recourse to the scales in order to obtain the existing weight of the as, and the date of its most recent symbol. Asses of full weight cannot have existed beyond the third century of Rome, and none such have ever been found. Probably they were all melted down. Asses of from ten to six ounces we may assign to the fourth century. Those of four ounces belong to the fifth century.

It follows from these premises that the reduction of the as was another name for the rise in the value of copper, and this is also proved by other considerations.

The modius of wheat, for example, in A.R. 500 was sold for precisely the same number of light asses that it had cost in A.R. 300 of heavy ones. Its usual price was from two to three asses, whilst the equivalent measure in Athens—the *hectar*—varied from three to five oboli.

A still stronger proof is the pay of the soldiers, which in A.R. 700 was 350 light asses, exactly the

same sum as formerly paid in "Aes grave," as measured by the decalitron or the denarius.*

During the Peloponnesian war the Greeks paid their cavalry three Eginetan oboli a-day, and in Sicily the pay seems to have been the same.

Now the Etruscans must have given a sum of equal value, for they maintained large bodies of foreign troops, and they sent auxiliaries to the Greek cities. If the pay of these men had been lessened, they would have deserted and gone over for a higher salary to the better paymaster.

I am persuaded that the tressis of Etruria was of the same value as the triobolus of Egina, and that it was the pay of the troops in Camillus's days, and perhaps much earlier. In the time of Polybius and Plautus the foot-soldier's pay continued to be only three asses a-day, though all the necessities of life had risen in price; and such a result can only take place when a very ancient usage continues to be submitted to. Julius Cæsar was the first commander who altered and doubled the pay. The diminution of weight in the as had not been previously considered, because three asses, whether light or heavy, were always reckoned as three-tenths of the decalitron or denarius; and even in the second Punic war, when the as was reduced to one ounce, and reckoned as the sixteenth only of a denarius, the as of the soldier's pay was still esteemed the tenth.

* Niebuhr opines that the aes grave of eight ounces was marked with an ox, in consequence of the Lex Papiria. 1 S. 475.

His pay for ten days was exactly three denarii. We see from this that the pay was three-tenths of a decalitron per man, exactly as it had been in Peloponnesus 200 years earlier, although the soldier was thereby defrauded of his just reward, for the denarius of that date was worth in silver little more than one-third of the old Syracusan decalitron.

Whilst the Tuscans enhanced the value of their copper by reducing the as in weight, and still reckoning an as at the worth of a Sicilian obolus, the Greeks reduced their silver, as may be seen in any numismatic collection. This, of course, altered the standard, and drove the heavy Eginetan litras out of Greece. We know that the old decalitron of Syracuse weighed 228 or 229 Paris grammes,* or 10 Eginetan oboli; and the denarius of the later Roman republic weighed 73½. But at this time there must have existed a silver coin to express the decussis, and this would first be minted in imitation of the Greeks. This coin is actually found at Populonia, though usually without inscription. Gold coins have also been found there and at Volsinia. Silver was coined in Luna, and probably in Tuder.

The marks upon the coins of Populonia are X and XX, that is, they are single and double denarii; and they are heavier, and therefore in date earlier, than the heaviest Roman coins with which we are acquainted.

The void between these coins of Populonia, which weigh from 150 to 160 grans, and the old decalitron,

* 187 English.

must be filled up by the Magna Grecian and Sicilian coins in our museums; and it were to be wished that numismatists would study them in a much more historical point of view than they have hitherto done. The original decalitron weighed 228 Paris grammes, the pentalitron 114, the sestertius 57. Now in Sicily we find coins that weigh 328, 164, 82, and 41, aliquot parts of each other, and exactly agreeing with the Attic tetradrachm, didrachm, drachma, and triobolus. Where these have been long current they have become somewhat reduced in weight, but not much. Now how came an Attic-drachma currency to obtain in Syracuse, where we know that the money was reckoned in *litra*, *nomen*, and decalitron? We must hold these coins as equivalent to the double decalitron, single pentalitron, and sestertius; whence it follows that the *litra*, anciently weighing twenty-three grammes, had sunk down to sixteen, and had come near to the Attic obolus of $13\frac{1}{2}$. The Eginetan obolus, in the time of the Peloponnesian war, had sunk from twenty-three to twenty grammes. The Sicilians, therefore, appear to have altered their standard for the sake of their increased trade with the Athenians, who paid in coin with their oboli of the finest silver, which now began to be prized by all the nations bordering on the Mediterranean. The Sicilian decalitron was made to suit the didrachm; and the proportion between the *litra* and the obolus, instead of as six to ten, became as six to seven. Aristotle's account of the equality between the Italian *litra* and the Eginetan

obolus must necessarily refer to times very anterior to his day.

We must also remember that Dionysius, the Syracusan, coined a small piece of money worth only one Attic drachm, which he forced his subjects to take for four drachmæ, and so he made the pentalitron for a time worth double the decalitron! This false standard spread from Sicily into Italy, and maintained itself there for a long while.

These coins of 328 and 164 grammes are found in quantities at Geta, Agrigentum, Catarra, Selinus, and elsewhere; also in Rhegium (RECINON), in which Aristotle tells us they were coined by Anaxilas.

But, most remarkable of all, as mediums of exchange, expressly adjusted to the Italian weights, are the coins of Corinth, as seen in the Hunterian Museum at Glasgow. They are forty-three in number, and all weigh between 135 and 164 Parisian grammes. The other coins are under fifty-four grammes, and represent the Corinthian stater; but these forty-three are decalitrons, thence proving that the *litra* in Corinth weighed sixteen grammes.

From these premises I think it certain that the magnificent silver medals of Syracuse are pentecotalitrons: different specimens weigh from 807 to 818 Paris grammes; and if to this latter number we add 2 grammes, we have the exact weight of 50 *litra*, weighing $16\frac{1}{4}$ each. This brings out the medals as belonging to the widely celebrated class of the "numismata Demareteion," first minted by Gelon

in honour of his wife Demareta. We are told that the demaretecia weighed 50 litra, and were worth ten Attic drachmæ. I believe, with Payne Knight, that these medals belong to the date B.C. 380 to 330,* and therefore I should assign that date to the debasement of the litra from 23 grammes to 16½.

This litra was considered as equal to many of the staters of Corinth and Sicily, which, to judge from their dies, are of a much higher antiquity. They are equal also to the later and finer coins of Agathocles, and to some Panormitan coins with Punic inscriptions. Our inference is, that the Corinthian and Syracusan decalitrons underwent no change in 150 years. Copper, in the meanwhile, had so changed its value that it was necessary to express the decussis by silver, and the substituted coin was called a denarius.

In A.R. 400 the proportion of copper to silver was 1 to 187; at the date of the Punic war it had risen as 1 to 140.

The subject of Coins can only be studied successfully in a museum, and by experienced eyes. The following are the Etruscan cities, or their allies, the coins of which have been ascertained and arranged:

1. **POPULONIA**.—The coins of this city are marked PUPLUNA, PUPLANA, and PUP. The bronze money is abundant. The silver is sometimes marked X or XX, and sometimes is without mark. The gold

* A. R. 373 to B. C. 423.

coins are without inscription, but with proper emblems: viz. Vulcan's head, with a hammer. The head of Hermes, with a herald's staff and a trident: emblems of navigation and commerce. Head of Minerva, with the owl; with the half-moon and the Gorgon's head. A female head, with the lion's skin: on the reverse a club. Sextans, with a youthful Hercules' head on one side and the club on the other.

2. **VOLATERRA**.—All heavy copper. Inscription, FELATHRI or FELATRI. The type, a double head with pointed hat.

3. **CLUSIUM**.—Marked KAM or KA, for Kamass, the Etruscan name. Distinctive type, a boar.

4. Some coins, marked KAS- and KA- RAIT, are referred to Cære: but though Cære must have possessed a mint amongst the earliest, her coins are not ascertained.

5. **TELAMON**.—Inscription, TLA or AIT, or TI, or T, or TEL. Types, the same as the Roman: a Jupiter's or Janus' head for the as, and a ship's prow for the semis. The sextans bears the head of a youthful Hercules with a trident, between dolphins. Telamon belonged to the Volsci.

6. **VOLSINIA**, or Felsune. Inscription on a gold coin, FELSU, with a female head and a lion. Many bronze coins with an F probably belong to this city which are ascribed to Volterra or Viterbo. One, however, marked FE, with a Vulcan's head, and on the reverse a hammer and tongs, appears certainly to have been minted in Volsinia.

STATES ALLIED WITH THE ETRUSCAN, AND ADOPTING
THEIR MANNER OF WRITING.

1. TUDER.—Heavy copper: the silver coins seem doubtful. Inscription, TUTERE or TU. Peculiar emblems, a male head on one side, a cross and hook or crook on the other; or a frog; or an anchor marked by the letters TU. There are many other emblems, such as a satyr's head, an eagle, a cornucopia, a lyre, a wolf and two cubs, a sow with a litter, and many others.

2. IGUVIUM (Ikuvine), IKUFINI.—Heavy copper. IK or IKVIN. Types, the crescent moon with stars, or a cornucopia, or tongs, or a palm-branch.

3. VETTUNA.—It is now ascertained that the as and its series, with wheel and anchor on the reverse, and the inscription FETL . . A, which was read Fetlana or Fetluna, or Vettuna or Vettona, designated a small town in Umbria, near Perugia, and is the same with Feltuna.* Abundance of copper coins is found on the site of this place, and its coinage was probably consequent on its federation with Rome.

4. PISAURUM.—Heavy copper, from the as to the quadrans, with the letters Pis. Types: Cerberus, Hercules with Cerberus, and bearded head with an ivy wreath. This city is not Pisa.

5. HATRIA.—Heavy copper. The inscription is

* And not Vetulonia?

written in old Greek or Latin letters, and the money is abundant. Types: Silenus' head, wolf, fish, cock, and Pegasus' sandals. The later coinage of this city is unusually fine, and is probably Greek.

In the neighbourhood of Hatria some coins of heavy weight, such as a sextans of nine ounces, and some silver coins, are found, marked VES. Their meaning is uncertain: perhaps *Vescia*, united by commerce.

COINS WHOSE MINT IS UNCERTAIN.

1. LUNA.—The Guarnacci Museum, in Italy, possesses a series marked LUNA; but it is much corroded, and may possibly stand for Pupluna.

2. PEITHESA, or PETHESA, or PIETHESA.—Some small copper coins have been found with this inscription, and are attributed by numismatists to Perugia, or to Veii. But Italy had no such small coins until after the destruction of Veii, and it more probably designates Pisa (Peisæ).

3. PERUGIA.—A quadrans in the Museum of Perugia, with the inscription FIR., is supposed to indicate this city. The type is a youthful hand and three balls; an ox's head on the obverse.

It belongs to an eight-ounce coinage.

COINS ERRONEOUSLY ATTRIBUTED TO ETRUSCAN
CITIES.

1. Silver coins, with the legend $\Phi\Lambda\Lambda\epsilon\iota\omicron\omicron\omicron$ and

FA, were supposed to denote Falerii. They belong to the Greek city of Elis.

2. Coins marked ΓΡΑ, and the sign of a sextans, assigned to Gravisia, belong to some Sicilian or Magna Grecian city—perhaps Agrigentum.

3. Coins marked COZA and ΚΟΣΩΝ were certainly struck in Thrace.

BOOK II.

DOMESTIC LIFE OF THE ETRUSCANS.

CHAPTER I.

UPON the domestic life of the Etruscans our information is very scanty, and we must lament the loss of all those records which touched upon the subject, especially of those Rituals in which, according to Festus, their rules were written for founding cities, consecrating altars and temples, blessing the walls and the gates, dividing into tribes, curiæ, and centuries, raising armies, and whatever other ceremonies pertain to peace or war. These books, which were of authority till the third century of our era, were to the Etruscans what Leviticus was to the Jews, or the Laws of Menu to the Hindoos.

In Roman history we find the Twelve States of the Etruscans proper constantly mentioned, and we also learn that this people had a similar federation of Twelve States in the Padus Valley, and Twelve

States in Campania; but both these latter were soon broken up, and we only know the separate names of the Twelve States in Central Italy. Even these were occasionally changed, but the conventional number was always reckoned as twelve. Livy tells us that at one time Cortona, Perugia, and Arretium, were the leading cities; at another time, Arretium, Perugia, and Volsinia. To these we must add Tarquinia, the city of Tarchon; Clusium, the mighty State under Porsenna; and Volaterra, probably the strongest and largest of them all. Rusella comes forward as allied with the Latins in the days of Tarquin the Elder; and Vetulonia, a luxurious capital destroyed by the Gauls, gave the pompous insignia of the throne and the magistracy to the Romans. Populonia, important for its wealth, industry, and commerce, was never one of the twelve ruling cities, excepting as an appendage to, or a colony of, Volaterra. Cosa, though strongly walled and fortified, was not amongst the rulers. Pisa appears to have been reckoned one of the number and to have maintained its importance down to the latest times; it was said to have been founded by Tarchon. Fiesole asserts its claim through walls which even now awe the beholders of the mighty works of old. Luna is doubtful, and was more probably included in the government of Pisa. Veii was one of the most prominent amongst the twelve, though its kings were disliked by the other States; and with it were usually allied Falerii and Cære. Capena and Fidene were probably colonies of Veii. Saturnia is reck-

oned by Dionysius as amongst the oldest cities in the land; but its name is later than that of *Aurinia*, and it was probably the Latin name given to a Roman colony on the site of the ancient and ruined Aurinia. Statonia appears to have been a city of the Vulci, to whom all Vulci (famous for its beautiful vases) and Cosa belonged. They bravely resisted the Romans until A.R. 472. Salpina is also a city of state, named in the wars with Rome.

In this manner we extract from the Greek or Roman historians the names not of twelve only, but of seventeen independent and powerful Etruscan States, viz. Cortona, Perugia, Arretium, Volsinia, Tarquinia, Clusium, Volaterra, Rusella, Vetulonia, Pisa, Fiesole, Veii, Cære, Falerii, Aurinia (or Celetra or Saturnia), Vulci, and Salpina. Some authors have imagined, that at one time one metropolis was acknowledged, and at another time upon its destruction or decay another; but it seems more probable that at the assembly of the States for national purposes, such as to elect a leader in war, or to promulgate new laws for the benefit of all, twelve votes only were allowed, and that certain cities always voted together, such as Pisa and Fiesole, Vetulonia and Rusella, Vulci and Cosa, &c. &c. In this manner we can easily account for the number of the States being always reckoned as twelve, the sacred number at the shrine of Voltumna.

It appears from history that all claimed equality, and that no one city was ever acknowledged as the permanent head and leader of the others. If such a

claim was ever advanced it was immediately resisted. Tarquinia, which was really raised to a superiority for a time, was upset by an internal revolution brought about by Volsinia and Clusium.

The political tie between them was kept loose by republican jealousy, the religious bond was what bound them together. Every year the Twelve States met at the fane of Voltumna near Viterbo to elect a high-priest who officiated for the nation, and who offered up the sacrifices accompanied by music and games. United with the religious solemnities was a fair for all sorts of merchandise, to which the allies, the neighbouring tribes, and sometimes even foreign nations, were invited.

When pressing necessity for national union was required, this council might be summoned by the high-priest to meet at any time, or any number of times, as we see in the case of Veii, when her proud and unpopular king sought aid against the Romans.

When an "Embratur" was chosen at these meetings to command the whole League in any national war, we are informed by Dionysius that each State furnished him with a lictor. In the greater number of their wars only a few of the States were engaged at the same time, and the council decided which were to be selected. Had any such refused they would have been expelled the League. There was much similarity between this council of the Etruscans and the councils of the Greeks in Lesser Asia.

Amongst the ancient nations the destruction

of a political union did not necessarily draw with it the disruption of religious ties, and it appears from inscriptions late in Imperial times that this was the case in Etruria. At Arretium and other places inscriptions are found speaking of oaths taken by or administered by the Pontifex, "ad sacra Etruriæ," or "Etrusca."

We find also in Perugia and elsewhere mention frequently made of the "Prætores Hetruriæ XV Populorum." The XV are supposed to include three tribes of Umbri united to the original sacred twelve.

CHAPTER II.

CONSTITUTION OF THE DIFFERENT STATES.

ALTHOUGH we have shown in the last chapter that in many cases several large and powerful cities were probably united together and shared one vote between them in the Diet, originally having been colonies from a common centre, yet, following the universal rule in Greece and Italy, every State must have had one city which was its capital and the seat of its government. To this city the others were subordinate, although they might independently appoint their own magistrates and levy their own troops. In the case of Veii we find that her dependants, as well as the Capenites and Faliscians who went over to Rome, were as a reward formed

into new tribes and incorporated as free Plebeians. The Stellatina was assigned to the Capenites, and the Sabatina to the Faliscians; and these latter must have been native Veientines, for the lake and territory of Sabatina lay close into Veii, and was included in the Ager Veientanus. In the same relation Gravisia lay to Tarquinia, and Aurinia to Calettra. On the other hand, Nepete and Sutrium, strongly fortified and important places, never belonged to Veii, though by custom allied with it, and therefore, after the fall of Veii, we find them transferring their alliance to Rome, as perfectly free to choose for themselves. They were ruled by their own chiefs, and, though in some sense bound to Veii, were not in the League of the Twelve. Fidene appears to have been in the same circumstances.

Every Etruscan State ruled itself and had an aristocracy, named by the Romans "Principes." These, according to Livy, were the same as the Samnite magistrates. They alone consulted and decided in the Diet, and they alone formed the Senate in each State. They commanded the assemblies of the people, and they appear to have been, not an elective but an hereditary caste. Their native name was *Lauchme*, or *Lucumo*, which means ruler, president, or chief; and in an assembly of *Lucumoes* one was chosen as chief over the others.

They were all priests and keepers of the sacred books and discipline of *Tages*. The eldest son, the heir of his father's honours, seems also to have borne the title, and from the *Lucumo* junior of Clusium,

against whom the Gauls were invoked, appears to have been derived the Roman proper name of *Lucius*. *Aruns* as a proper name often appears in Etruscan inscriptions, but "*Lauchme* or *Lucumo*" never.

The nobles alone could aspire to the highest rank in the state, namely, that of king; and this seldom or never seems to have been hereditary, but was equally open to every member of the aristocracy. It is very possible that an attempt to make the power hereditary gave rise to an oppression of the aristocratic order by strong-willed and arbitrary kings, and that this, as in the well-known instance of the Romans, originated that hatred of kings which distinguished the Etruscans as well as other Italian races. All the Latin authors who have come down to us speak of kings as the first rulers of the Etruscan States, and it was because the Veientines had returned to this hated rule of kings, that the League refused them assistance in their last wars. The ensigns of Roman magistracy were derived from the *kings* of Etruria.

Varro tells us that at their marriages the *kings* and chiefs of Etruria used to sacrifice a swine. Festus derives the *Toga Prætexta* and the golden bulla from the Etruscan *kings*. Macrobius tells us that the Tuscans greeted their kings and inquired after their welfare every eighth day. Propertius and Horace derive *Mæcenæ* from the ancient *kings* and commanders of many Legions; and with him we must join the *Cilnii* of Arretium, who appear to

have exercised sovereign power during the whole of their lives in that city, and were probably at times the elected leaders of all the forces of the League.

The names of a few of these kings (or *lurs*) have been preserved to us. Pausanias mentions a throne in the sanctuary at Olympus as the gift of Arimnos, a Tuscan king, who was the first of the barbarians who sent gifts to Jove.

Cato speaks of Propertius, a king of Veii; and again of Morrius, another king of that State. Virgil records the Legends of Mezentius, the tyrant of Cære, out of whose sacrilegious hands Jupiter is said to have delivered the Latins; and Livy gives us a charming picture of Lars Porsenna, the powerful king of Clusium and the conqueror of Rome.

But not only was the pomp of kings in Rome ascribed to Etruria and the twelve lictors, the apparitors and the ivory throne, but also all the circumstances of the military triumph. The broad, golden diadem, wreathed with golden oak-leaves, and glittering with acorns in gems, which was held by slaves over the head of the triumpher, was called the "Corona Etrusca." To these we may add the embroidered tunics, the *palmata* and the *pieta*, and the sceptre of ivory, surmounted by an eagle, which was used by Etruscan Lucumoes before it descended to the Roman emperors.

These costly robes and ornaments are not without their historical importance. In the first place, they testify to the high civilization and progress in art and refinement of the people who used them. Next,

they demonstrated their intercourse with other nations, and especially the Greeks, whose ideas greatly influenced their religious customs, as we may trace in the palmated tunic and ivory sceptre.

Entirely national, however, was their idea to liken a conqueror, or victorious imperator, to Jupiter, and to clothe him in the same costume. The triumphal robe, the sceptre, and the diadem of oak-leaves, belonged to Jupiter Optimus Maximus in the Capitol, and, therefore, were they of such wide dimensions, and were kept in the temple, and brought out of it solely to be worn by the illustrious object of the triumph. Following the same idea, which we find to have been Egyptian and Assyrian also, the triumpher stained his face with vermilion—the same colour as that with which the image of Jupiter was stained on the days of public festivity.*

For the same purpose of deification we frequently find the images of the deceased stained with red upon the sarcophagi. From this we may infer that noble birth in Etruria was supposed to connect a man much more nearly with the gods than was the belief in Greece.

The golden bulla, which Juvenal styles "*Etruscum aurum*," was a charm against fascination, and also was worn by Etruscan kings and Lucumoes, and by Roman triumphers. Latterly it was worn by every Latin child of the wealthy classes. All these ornaments and personal distinctions, as adopted

* Pliny, Nat. Hist. xxxiii. 36.

by the Romans, we find referred back to Tarquinius Priscus, and the Etruscan rule.

No doubt they involved both a political and a religious idea, namely, that the young *Lucumo* was separated by his birth to serve the gods and rule over men, and that the young and innocent boys amongst the nobles were as acceptable to the Supreme Being as the grown men.

We know little of the domestic and civil life of this people. Many cities had an elective senate, but it could only consist of *Lucumoes*. When Arretium, during the second Punic War, wished to separate itself from Rome, its fidelity was secured by the punishment of the children of the Senators. That there was also a free *people*, not subject to the nobles, seems certain, but what were their rights we know not. In Faleria assemblies of the people were chosen at the same time with the Senate. In A.R., 451, the *Cilnii* of Arretium were at feud with the citizens, and the Romans had to mediate a peace. Of a similar nature were the disturbances in Veii, A.R. 451, indicating probably *clan* dissensions.

One large class of inhabitants appears to have stood to the others as the aborigines of Sicily stood to the first colonists, *i.e.*, as the conquered to the conquerors, they were *serfs* upon the estates of the nobles, and were not free. Others were clansmen, between whom and their chiefs mutual duties were acknowledged, and could not be refused on either side. Others were naturalized foreigners, as in the case of the Tarquins, or they were the free members

of guilds and professions, bearing a certain weight in the state, but not admissible to offices of magistracy. In short, the three orders which we find in Rome, under the names of Patrician, Client, and Plebs, we also find in every state of Etruria. Without the other two classes the aristocracy could not have maintained themselves so long, and it seems probable that the Umbrians formed the standing Plebs.

The Roman law, that a false client, or a false patron, should be sacrificed to the infernal gods, appears to be quite an Etruscan idea. Dionysius (ii. 10) tells us that, in the year A.R. 274, the princes of Etruria brought a large army to the help of Veii composed of their *serfs*. These princes were large territorial lords, who for the occasion armed their peasants. There was a marked difference between the inhabitants of the cities and the land, both in speech and in manners. The numerous dancers, flute-players, wrestlers, and others of that class, who are represented as slaves to the last kings of Veii, probably in general belonged to the clients of the great houses; but the Etruscans also furnished themselves abundantly with domestic slaves and artists, by war, by piracy, and by trade. They prided themselves upon beautiful slaves, who waited upon them at their feasts clothed in rich attire.

When the government of Volsinia fell into the hands of the "*lower class*," this is interpreted of the clients, a similar catastrophe having once happened at Argos,* and also at Capua. We may infer it be-

* Herodotus, vi. 83.

sides from the fact that the former lords of the State themselves, instead of attempting to raise their clans, called in the Romans to rectify disorders which were beyond their power; and these foreign allies, in A.R. 487, took the opportunity of making an end at once of Volsinia, her rebels, and her freedom.

A priestly and hereditary aristocracy, built upon the subjection of a lower class, and the inferior rights of less distinguished freemen, was the Etruscan institution, upon which the unity of the Twelve States was founded.

That, however, during the centuries in which Etruria flourished, no disturbances should have arisen against the domination of the Lucumoes is not to be believed, and is not asserted in history. We hear of some civil dissensions and of many violent party strifes, during which the inferior classes always contrived to raise themselves, to extort concessions, or to obtain privileges which made them of more importance. When they became absolutely necessary, as defenders of the hearth and home, then their day of slavery and of insignificance was over.

When Capua (or Voltumna) became an asylum for the Greek refugees, how could it escape the influence of Greek ideas? How could it escape from the silent working of a *census*, which raised the wealthy burgess, and those naturalized amongst them, to power, expressly as a counterpoise to the nobles? This is the political progress of men in every country; and we have unmistakable traces of it in the history of the Tuscan Mastarna, who

fought for the Plebs, whether he were the same with Servius Tullius, or only a hero of the same spirit ("King of the Commons, good King James.")

This leads us to endeavour to extract some light on the constitution of Etruria from what is recorded of the first institutions in Rome. According to Volnius all the early principles of Roman government and organization were Etruscan; and the names of the three tribes, the Ramnes, the Tities, and the Luceres, were all Etruscan, having at first a sacred meaning, and corresponding with the three great gods and the three holy gates.

It probably implied the division of the nation into knightly houses, consisting not only of priests and warriors, but also of a free commonalty, though not eligible to any offices of rule.

It is certain that in the beginning these three tribes included the whole population of ancient Rome, whatever it may consist of, and that in every curia there were to be found men of different ranks, though from the knights and nobles alone could the chief of each curia be chosen, he being also the priest and magistrate in peace and the leader in war. The nobles alone had a public life as legislators and leaders. The very name of the knights "Celeres" was an Etruscan appellation, perhaps denoting that the highest in birth were also expected to be the most prompt in action. Livy derives "Celeres" from Celes the Tuscan, the "Tribunus Celerum" of the Ramnes. Some German critics believe "Celsus Ramnes" to be altogether an Etruscan form, imply-

ing illustrious descent, and think that Romanus comes from Ramnes.

The city of Mantua, which was Etruscan for many centuries, had, according to Servius,* its three tribes and twelve curiæ, each of which was headed by a Lucumo; and there can be no doubt that in early Rome each curia was under its patrician, who was also its priest, its lawgiver, and its captain. As the number of the Celeres was regulated by the tribes, so the number of the centuries (infantry) was regulated by the curiæ. A curia was a group of 100 houses, who worshipped at one common shrine, and acknowledged one common *lar*, or patron divinity. A tribe consisted of a certain number of curiæ—in Rome ten, in Mantua twelve, possessing one district of land and worshipping one patron god.

Now if we are thus led to conclude that the division of the earliest Romans into tribes, curiæ, and centuries, was grounded upon the principles of an Etruscan aristocracy, we may reasonably doubt if this organization can be ascribed to an originally Latin or Sabine city. It cannot be denied that Rome proper was founded on the Palatine hill with Etruscan rites, and that it was surrounded by an Etruscan Pomærium; also that it was, for a time, wholly under the influence of Etruscan rites and customs. Hence it appears that the Roman story, as to the names of the two first tribes having been

* In *Æneid*. x. 202.

given by Romulus, a Latin, and Tatius, a Sabine, to which the third was afterwards added by a Lucumo, is false, for all the internal evidence as to the organization of Rome shows it to have been under Etruscan influence in the beginning. It is least probable that the name "Romulus" was derived from the Etruscan "Ramnes," and that of his associate Tatius from the Etruscan Tities. The legend that Tarquin, the Lucumo from Tarquinia, wished to create new centuries of his own friends with appropriate names, and was prevented by Altus Nævius, so that he could only double the existing centuries under the old names, is to be understood of an endeavour to alter or modify an original Etruscan principle, and not of an endeavour to introduce for the first time an Etruscan principle upon some other Latin or Sabine custom which had preceded it. Thus we find that the new houses introduced by Tarquin still ranged themselves under the three ancient tribes and the thirty centuries *as sacred*, unchangeable institutions, however much their numbers might be increased.

The constitution of Servius was quite foreign and contrary to that of Tarquin, and was by no means an extension of it. Whilst under Tarquin, that part of the nation only bore any rule which was comprised under the name of knights or patricians, they alone having any place in the Senate, or being acknowledged in the curia as magistrates, priests, and patrons. Here was introduced the whole assembled commonalty, reckoned as an integral part of the

legislation. Every man who could arm himself against the foe, and in exact proportion to his power of defending the State by means of his wealth, was not only accounted a citizen, but was called upon to take part in its government.

This changed at once the whole ancient system of administration in which men had taken rank hereditarily, "by birth and right divine," every man's station having been assumed as irrevocably fixed by heaven. Now, not by birth alone, but by wealth also, were men to be estimated and classed, it being supposed that according to a man's possessions would be his interest in the state and his power of defending it, and hence probably the cause why the military element continued to maintain its strong pre-eminence with the Romans, even in the affairs of civil life.

The centuries were always assembled in the Campus Martius, without the limits of the peaceful Pomærium. It is not to be supposed that Servius was the originator of the "Exercitus Urbanus," and that he also endowed it with its civil privileges. That both these great innovations should spring up together as the work of one man is contrary to all our experience of the progress of mankind. Historical fragments let us into the secret that Servius found a Plebeian army already existing, as the work of Celes Vibenna, who to his own victorious followers had joined the Latins and Sabines already existing and settled in Rome. We must recollect that, according to the story, Tullus Hostilius had

previously increased the Senate and doubled his army (*i.e.* the number of men in his centuries) by the conquered Latins from Alba; but he neither increased the three tribes nor their thirty divisions. Ancus Martius was the first who innovated so materially upon the constitution of the nation as to consecrate *land* (the Aventine) to the Latins, and therefore he is justly styled the Father of the Plebs. He first acknowledged them as a national element, apart from the three sacred tribes. It was subsequent to this that Tarquinius Priscus was forced to yield more land, even the Cœlian, to the democratic chieftain Celes, from Volsinia; and this latter appears to have been the author of the Plebeian centuries, as, ranged under their respective tribunes and standards, they were summoned by military forms to meet in the Campus Martius.

At first the thirty Plebeian tribes, answering to the thirty aristocratic curiæ, were taxed and entitled to vote in the Comitia Tributa. Servius found them discontented with the subordinate share this gave them in the government of a State of which they had grown to form the major part, and he allowed their claims to more importance by bringing in a standard of value and an element of power which was entirely new. He tried to weld together Patricians and Plebeians by throwing the whole Roman nation, consisting of the three tribes and the Plebs, which Livy calls a "fourth tribe," into six classes, to be estimated according to their wealth, and to be investigated and re-distributed every lustrum, with

the exception of the Patricians and the Knights, who, though nominally reckoned as merely first in the first class, always maintained their dignity, whether rich or poor, and were never subject to the census.

The first movement must be ascribed to Celes Vibenna, in whose days the internal dissensions in Etruria seem first to have brought into view the transcendent worth of strong military genius in a commander, whether he could take auspices or not. The strict separation which before him had existed between the priestly caste and all other ranks of the people, could only have maintained itself through quiet times, and a settled order of long standing. A greater equality had become a necessity even in Etruria, and Mastarna Servius was the representative of this phase of political progress, and this development of the new order of things.

But Servius laboured only to improve and not to destroy the system which he found, and this he effected by vesting the whole power of the century in its first man, he alone delivering the opinions and giving in his one vote the votes of all; so that the domination of the Lucumo appeared to be transferred to him, and the exaltation of the Burgher class still assimilated to itself something of the old Patrician rule.

Before this the Celeres had wielded the power of the State, simultaneously with the kings, and in close connexion with them; for, next to the king,

the Tribunus Celerum was the first and highest of the magistrates.

Now whatever may have caused the fall of the Tarquins, whether it proceeded from without or from within, so much is certain that it was no attempt to restore the constitutions of Servius. It is a point upon which Roman history throws no light, for it relates upon the subject nothing but fables.

The mainspring of Servius's reform was to replace a religious or *caste* division of the nation which could never change, by a property qualification which was always changing; and this reform, various glimpses of Etruscan history show us to have spread very widely in Etruria.

The Patrician principle, whereby the Gentes and the Curiae alone had the privilege of voting, was restored by the Consuls, and adhered strictly to the maxims of the overthrown Tarquins. The Dictator received his supremacy not from the centuries, but from the curiae only; and it required long years, and many severe struggles, for the Roman Plebs to regain that footing which Servius had once won for them, and which they would have continued to exercise but for the counter-revolution of the Patricians. Indeed, Roman history tells us plainly enough, that the fall of Tarquinius Superbus was owing to his arrogance towards the *Patricians*, and chief amongst them towards the Tribunus Celerum (Brutus), and not to any novel oppression of the Plebs.

Had the Comitia of the centuries under the

Consuls been what Servius tried to make it, there would have been no need of tribunes of the people to win back for them their just rights; and instead of being assemblies, chiefly, if not exclusively, to rectify the boundaries and settle the concerns of their land and districts, they would from the first have had an administrative influence upon the government and legislature of the nation.*

Let us briefly review the traces of Etruscan influence which are preserved to us in the Latin legends of Rome. First, the names of the three tribes were Etruscan, and they for upwards of a century constituted the whole nation. Next, Rome proper was founded on the Palatine by an Augur, with Etruscan rites and ceremonies. Celer, the Tribune of the Celeres, was an Etruscan. Janus, God of the Double Gate, was Etruscan. Censur, God of the Circensian games, attended by the Sabine Virgins, was Etruscan.

* To this chapter of profound research and accurate reasoning, on the part of Otfried Müller, I shall merely add what was told me by Frederick Schlegel when I saw him at Bonn, about the year 1842.

He said that when Niebuhr, with whom he was very intimate, first began his criticisms upon the pristine Roman annals, he deduced from them that Rome in its origin was an Etruscan colony from Cære; but that, subsequently, his quarrel with Schlegel had influenced him to change his opinions, for he scorned to own anything to Schlegel's hints and investigations. — *Translator.*

The Lictors, which were prior to Numa, for they guarded the Interrex, were Etruscan.

Terminus, the God of Boundaries, was Etruscan, so were the Lares of the Guilds and the Patrician houses.

The three Flamens, and the three Vestal Virgins, one for each tribe, were Etruscan; so were the ancilia and the artists who made them.

January was dedicated to Janus, and February to the Etruscan genius, Typhon.

The nine great thunder-gods, worshipped by Tullus Hostilius, were Etruscan. He was the first who incorporated the Latins amongst the Patricians. Ancus Martius first gave lands and sacred rights to the Plebeians, chiefly Latins, forming them into a fourth tribe of the Roman people.

CHAPTER III.

MILITARY ORGANIZATION OF THE ETRUSCANS.

WHEN Mastarna had come to Rome with the remainder of the army of Celes Vibenna, and had been acknowledged king, as we learn from the Etruscan annals, he founded a new constitution of the army according to the census. It is impossible not to recognise in this organization of the host, which lasted until the time of Camillus, an imitation of the Greek Phalanx, in which the wealthy and

fully armed where placed in the first row to charge the enemy, whilst the lighter armed were ranged behind in order to strengthen the shock of the whole and be helpful in time of need. The Tuscan general would not have accomplished this had it been quite new to his people, and it is not to be doubted that in the days of Servius and in the succeeding century the Roman and Tuscan armies resembled each other. Indeed one Greek author* asserts that the Romans *learnt* fighting and to thrust with the lance from the Tuscans. The armour of Greeks, Tuscans, and Romans of Servius's day, appears to have been the same.

Diodorus describes the first Roman shield as *square*, but when they saw the Tuscans armed with "aspides" they adopted the same. Now the "Aspis" is the same as the Clypeus, which belonged to the harness of the first Servian class, called by Dionysius the "Argolian aspis." These Argolian shields were in use amongst the Faliscii, and were, amongst other things, considered to prove that there had been a settlement of Argives or Pelasgi amongst the Etruscans. In the time of Camillus, the "Scutum" was introduced, which formed a half cylinder about the soldier, a necessary change to meet the wider arrangement of the maniples. The aspis, on the contrary, had formed an iron wall against the closed ranks of the Phalanx. The scutum was probably derived from the Samnites.

* Athenæus, vi. 273.

Along with the aspis the Etruscans used metal helmets, with high plumes or crests, and deep side-pieces, such as are constantly represented in their works of art, and which are called "Cassides," apparently an Etruscan word. Also the panzer and greaves, long lances or spears, which in Falerii were exactly of the same pattern as the old Athenian, and a short sword which bore the Tuscan name of "Balteus." With all these arms Servius equipped his first class.

The regiments of these fully armed warriors constituted the strength and kernel of the Etruscan army, and appear to prove the existence of a free class of burghers, as it is not to be supposed that the nobles only formed these bands, for which their number was far too small, neither was it likely that their serfs would be so expensively and formidably equipped. In any case the raising of such a host, which no cavalry, composed of nobles only, could withstand, was the symptom of an elevation in the social standing of those who served. It seems to answer to the "Hoplites" of the Greeks composed of free citizens.

On the other hand, from the legend of Porsenna paying his troops, we may deduce that in time hired freemen replaced the burghers, and that the rich aristocracy found it more for their interest to pay regiments, composed partly of their clients and partly of poorer citizens, rather than to require the burghers to arm themselves. It is with such a host

that Celes Vibenna appears to have ravaged Etruria,* and such an arrangement appears in every Etruscan State to have been possible in combination with the supremacy of the Lucumoes. The example of Servius in Rome is a demonstration that such a proceeding must lead to a free, and finally a domineering middle class.

Lighter arms were also in use amongst the Etruscans. The light spear, called "*hasta velitaris*," was regarded by the Greeks as a Tuscan invention, and the name "*Velites*" is Tuscan. The lance, the short spear, the arrow, and the sling, are also found amongst the Etruscans. The "*Pilum*," probably Samnite, seems never to have been adopted by them; and in consequence of adhering always to their old forms in the order of battle, they had no efficient weapons wherewith to meet the shocks of the second and third attacks of the Romans. Their light troops were only serviceable on the flanks or in the rear of the phalanx, and could only be massed in small numbers. In such bodies the country people could fight when the Romans crossed through the forest of Mount Ciminus with sickles, and the light spear called "*gæsa*," which was manufactured in Arretium, besides shields, helmets, and other heavier armour.

The *Tuba* (trumpet) must be noticed, because it was strictly an instrument for war, and because its invention and use were attributed by all antiquity

* Niebuhr, ii. 531.

to the Etruscans. Little is known of the cavalry of the Tuscans, excepting that the decorative harness of their horses (designated by the Greek word "*Phaleræ*") was transmitted to the Romans. It was probably the favourite service of the nobility, from their passion for chariot-races. And yet the highest ranks appear rather to have withdrawn from war, excepting in the earliest times, before luxury had weakened the energies of the nation. The soldiers themselves, even in the last century of their freedom, fought at Sutrium as if they sought for death; and the Sacred Legion, which after the Italian custom consisted of pledged and chosen warriors, contended at the Vadimonian Lake with such Samnite perseverance and ferocity, that the Romans scarcely hoped to maintain their ground against their often-conquered and humiliated enemy.

Finally, we must trace the boasted Roman institution of the "*Feciales*" from the Etruscan Falerii. We find them established amongst the Samnites, and Roman tradition ascribed them to the "*Æqui*." Now the Faliscans were called "*Æqui Falisci*," either because they were descended from a colony named "*Æqui*," or simply because their new city was built on the *equal* ground or plain. It appears that the derivation of the Feciales from Falerii, rests entirely upon a false etymology, and it is probably the same in the case of deriving the Faliscii from the *Æqui*.

This is suggested to us by a passage in Dionysius, whose false and superficial criticisms would identify

the Feciales with the Greek Spondophori, whom he imagines to have belonged to the Argive Pelasgic colony at Faleria. In truth, however, the Spondophori and the Feciales were so diverse in many essential particulars that they cannot have had a common origin.

CHAPTER IV.

DOMESTIC LIFE OF THE ETRUSCANS.

OUR information respecting the domestic and inner life of the Etruscans is so scanty that it still remains doubtful whether their family divisions into races and clans represented the state ideal or not as with the Romans. One thing, however, is certain, that they never bore the three names which distinguished the Latin *Gentes*, for amongst all who come forward in Roman history and amongst the hundreds engraved upon the funeral urns we never find more than two, a pre- and a sir- name. They appear to be the distinctive name borne by the individual with that of either his father or his mother. There is no name of a Gens of which his family formed part, though this omission cannot prove that no such Gens existed. When a noble Etruscan enrolled himself as a Roman citizen we always find him with two names, one of which was very probably a Gentile name, such as Celes Vibenna, Vestricius Spurinna,

Cilnius Mæcenas, and he soon adopted the three names, as we find with the Cæcinas and the Salvii. But in Etruria itself a Cilnius was simply "Larth Cfelne," and any addition is like the primitive of all nations—Owen the son of Meredith, David the son of Saul. In Etruria, however, the same family always bore the same name, and the prænomen of the individual alone differs.

With the constitution of the Etruscan States, which were all under the dominion of a few ruling families, came a careful remembrance of their extraction and great pride of birth. Indeed, this pride was so ingrained that it outlasted their freedom and continued after they were incorporated with Rome. Horace assures us that Mæcenas was not proud, yet he glorified himself exceedingly for being descended from a long line of the ancient Etruscan kings. Aulus Cæcina is commemorated by Cicero, as amongst the noblest born in Etruria. Persius of Volaterra exhorts a young student not to plume himself upon being the thousandth in descent from an ancient Tuscan house. Persius is not speaking to a patrician of his descent from some illustrious magnate of the olden time; his whole satire is addressed to youths of the middle class, and his warning to them relates to the silly pride of being descended from a very old family. Etruria was the fatherland of old families, and her youth were as proud of being able to count back their unknown and unsung forefathers, as any Roman of his descent from an equally long stream of councillors and dictators.

"Larthal" on an urn is supposed to mean the son of a Larth.

It is remarkable that on the funeral chests the mother's name is quite as often given as the father's, and it is expressed by the termination *al*. The distinction lies in the prænomen not being given, but only the family name with *al* annexed. In the same family sepulchre we find "Larthia Fuisinei Lecnesa;" *i.e.* a born Fuisine who was married to a Lecne or Licinius; an "Arnth Lecne Fuisinal," *i.e.* a Lecne whose mother was a Fuisine. The ancient historians adduce it as a proof of the importance of women in Lydia, that the children bore the names of their mothers as well as their fathers; and we may be sure that both in Lydia and in Etruria it was the influential families only that were thus distinguished. Tanaquil was celebrated along with Tarquin in Rome. The paternal name of Mæcenas was probably Cilnius, and in his person the two ruling families of the Cilnii and the Mecenati were joined. It seems most natural that "Cfelne Mæcnatial" should in Rome become Cilnius Mæcenas. Even so "Cale Fipinal" would become Celes Vibenna. "Festrice Spurinal," Vestricius Spurinna. All these four names, Cale, Fipi, Festrice, and Spurinna, belong to distinguished families on the burial urns.

A Latin inscription upon an Etruscan urn at Volsinia, "Festus Musoni, suboles prolesque Avieni," clearly expresses the father and mother of the man.

The right of primogeniture seems to have been strictly upheld in Etruria, and in ruling families

was expressed by the title of Lucumo or Lars. The first-born, who was the prince of the house and its representative in the council, was dignified by the title of Lar, or lord, or chief. Aruns appears to have belonged to the younger son, and always designates a person in an inferior or oppressed condition.

Still less do we know of any other arrangements in an Etruscan noble house beyond the circumstance that their estates were very large and that they could not be divided and sold. Like the Highland clanships they seem to have belonged to the house and to have remained in it through the lapse of ages. The lands were cultivated by serfs or clansmen. The Cæcinas of Volaterra either took their name from the river Cæcina, or gave their name to the stream which watered their domains. The Perugian "Tins" took their name from the river Tinia, or *vice versâ*, as their possessions lay all along its banks.

The Cæcina Decius Albinus,* who was the friend of Symmachus and visited by Rutilius, as Præfectus Urbi in the reign of Honorius, lived in a villa of Volaterra, close to the river Cæcina. He was Consul A.D. 444.

SELECTION OF ABBREVIATED NAMES IN ETRUSCAN INSCRIPTIONS.

The Sepulchral inscriptions usually commence with a prænomen, or title: such as —

* Note in Appendix, No. 77: Cæcina Albinus, who lived in A.D. 380, is the father of this Decius.

Larth, Lart, Lth,
 Laris, Ls, Lar, La, L;
 adopted by the Romans as a Gentile name—*Lartius*.
 Arnth, Arnt, Ar, Ath, A.
 Aule, A, Au, Af.
 Fel (Velius), Fl, Fe, F.
 Cuinte (Quintius).
 Sethre (Sextus), Se.
 Láchne (Lch), Lucumo.
 Thana (fem.), Thasna, Thna, Tha, Thn.
 Thanchuil, or Tanaquil.
 Titia, Ti.
 Phastia, Pha.
 Ane and Ramta are doubtful.

FAMILY NAMES.

Cilnium of Arezzo. In one vault twenty-nine
 urns, or other objects, were found, inscribed Cfenle
 or Cfelne.

Mæcenus of Volaterra or Arezzo.
 Cæcina of Volaterra, or Ceiena.
 Caspu or Culpe of Volaterra.
 Tlapuni (Tlabonius) of Volaterra.
 Selcia do.
 Musu (Musonius) of Volsinia.
 Sejanti (Sejanus) do.
 Salfi (Salvius) from Ferentinum. The Emperor
 Otho was of this princely family.
 Phlase (Flavius) from Ferentinum, and in many
 other cities.

Propertius, king of Veii. Also a ruling house
 in Umbria.

Tins of Perugia.

Anaine.

Ancari.

Aphsi.

Aphune.

Atusnei.

Aulni (Aulinna, Olenus).

Cestna of Volaterra.

Farna do.

Felani do.

Feltsna do.

Pherini Clusium.

Cuinte or Quintius.

Felehe Veleia.

Uthtafe Octavius.

Feli Velissa.

Herna Herennius.

Tite Fesi Titus Vesius.

Fipi Vibennius.

Meteli Metellius.

Petru Petronius.

Plaute Plautius.

Pumpu Pomponius.

Pursne Porsenna.

Surte Sutrina.

Thurmna Thormena.

Velimnia Volumnus.

Carna Carinius.

Phulne Felnii.

Reicna	or Ricius.
Trepu	Trebonius.
Puste	Postinius.
Pepne	Perpenna.
Marce	Martius.
Festreni	Vestricius.

These may serve as a specimen. Particular names in general belong, like the coins, to particular states, but a few are found throughout the Confederation.

There were no clan names with nomen and cognomen.

SEPULCHRAL NAMES.

Tite Feli (Titus Velius), Perusia.
 Fete, Clusium.
 Fipe (Vibius, Vibenna).
 Lautni, Clusium.
 Lecne (Licinius).
 Metele (Metellius), Arretium.
 Petru (Petronius), or Plancure, Clusium.
 Pumpu (Pomponius), Perusia, Umbria.
 Plaute (Plautius).
 Pume, or Pursne (Porsenna), Clusium, Sutrina.
 Thurmna (Thormena).
 Velimnia (Volumnus), Perusia.
 Ani (Annius), Clusium.
 Carna (Carinnius), Clusium.
 Fusine (Volsienus).
 Reicna (Ricius).
 Trepu (Trebonius), Clusium.

Puste (Postinius), Arretium.
 Pepne (Perpenna), Volsinii.

The termination *al* is feminine, and denotes the mother's family; and sometimes in a sepulchral inscription it is given alone, the father's name being supposed as possessor of the family vault.

Arnth*al*, Larth*al*, is the son of an Arnth and Larth.

Before names ending with *al* we seldom find patronymics, unless in an abbreviated form.

Ls Tetina, Ls Spurinal,

Lth Causl. Lth Fipinal: that is,

Laris Tetina, son of Laris (the father) and a Spurinna.

Larth Causlim, son of Larth (father) and a Fipi.

There are two other forms, *sa* and *ei*, which require explanation. The first four of the following inscriptions are of men, the last four of women.

Lecne is Licinius.

1. Fel Lecne Fisce Larc*nal*.
2. A. Lecne A. Alth*ni**al*.
3. A. Lecne Fuis*inal*.
4. A. Lecne Fus*inal* Arth*al*.
5. Thanchufil Sesct*nei* Lecnes*a*.
6. Thanchfil Phrel*nei* Tebat*nal* Lecnes*a*.
7. Lth. Titei Lecnes*a* Cain*al*.
8. Larthia Fuisine*nei* Lecnes*a*.

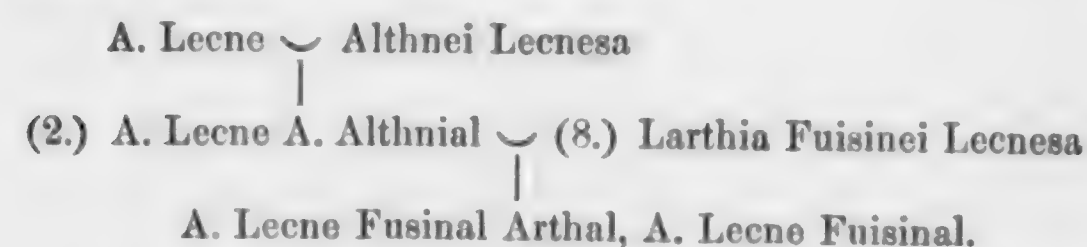
From these we learn that the male name Lecne, &c., is never put with the woman, but second with the addition of *sa*.

From these examples it appears that females of the name of Lecne were buried in this vault whether married or unmarried; only if they became Lecne by marriage, this was signified by the addition of *sa*.

Lecnesa means the wife of a Lecne; the other names Sescetnei, Phrelnei, Titei, Fuisinei, are the family names of these ladies before their marriage.

Hence, also, it appears that two brothers amongst the male names, A. Lecne Fuisinal, were the sons of No. 8, Larthia Fuisinei Lecnesa. The one designated Arthal was the son of No. 2, A. Lecne A. Althnial.

In this way we may construct a very intelligible genealogical table.



The ladies Tebatnei and Cainei, of course, added their own names.

In the vault of the Cfelne family we find "Thana Methlne (nei) Cfenlesa;" i.e. a Methlne married to a Cilnius, and their son Au. Cfenle Methlnal.

Many other examples might be given, and are to be found in Muller's German Edition, but these will probably be sufficient for an English reader.

A single *s* is often made to stand for *sa*.

In one Etruscan sepulchre of the Fete we find

the names "Arnt Fete Arnthalisa Caias," "Larth Fete Larthalsa Caialitha;" here *th* seems to stand for *s*, and Lartha Cai, Arntha Cai, may perhaps signify elder and younger daughter.

From these examples it seems proved that *al* is a patronymic as well as a matronymic; that *sa*, or *s*, or *th*, means taken into the family by marriage, and that

Ei, or *i*, or *cia*, or *io*, means the family in which a woman was born.

All Etruscan names are declined, and we find names in the genitive and dative as well as nominative, on the funeral urns.

Some of these families had branches in several of the states, and a great many of them are named by Latin authors, giving their names in the Latin form.

There are no clan names, only the name of the individual and his title.

Meaning of the annexed syllables, al, sa, ei.

Al is a patronymic, or matronymic, signifying "son of," &c.

Ex. "Ls Tetina, Ls Spurinal;" i.e., Laris Tetina Larisal Spurinal Laris Tetina, son of the Laris and a Spurinna.

Sa, or *s*, is believed to indicate "wife of." Lechnesa, married to a Lecne.

1. A. Lecne — Althnei Lecnesa.
2. A. Lecne A. Althnial — Larthia Fuisinei Lecnesa.
3. A. Lecne Fusinal Arthal.

4. A. Lecne Fuisinal.

1. *i.e.*, a Lecne married to an Althnei.

2. A Lecne, son of Lecne, and Althnei and his wife, the Larthia Fuisinei.

3. A Lecne, son of Fuisinei, son of Arth.

4. A Lecne, son of Fuisinei.

Ei, eia, ia, appear to be feminine terminations.*Musonius.*

1. Larthi Titnei Mus usa.

2. Ath. Musu An ainal.

3. Fel Musu Titial.

This shows that Arnth Musu, whose mother was an Anaine, married a Larthia of the family of Titne, called from him Mususa; and their son Fel Musu was, after his mother, called Titial or Titnal.

Mi. Afiles Apianus.

Mi is supposed to mean "I am."

The derivation of the family names is sometimes from the gods, as Tiris, Ancare, &c.

Many from their lands or original birthplace.

Caspere from Casperia in Sabina.

Suthrina Sutrium.

Phrentinate Ferentinum.

Sentinate Sentinum in Umbria.

Urinat Urinum.

Capenate Capena.

Sarsinas Sarsinum.

Tifernas Tifernum.

Urbinas Urbinum.

Interamnas Interamnium.

BOOK III.

ON THE RELIGION AND DIVINATION OF THE ETRUSCANS.

CHAPTER I.

ON THE PERSONS WHO PERFORMED DIVINE WORSHIP AND EXERCISED DIVINATION.

THE Etruscans were regarded by all antiquity as a nation who peculiarly honoured the gods and who had reduced their worship to a science. In this the interpretation of the supreme will by *divination* accepted a larger part than with any other known people. They intermingled their worship with every civil and practical interest. Hence the arts of divinity was one of their strongest characteristics and a principal point in their education. For our knowledge of this we have chiefly to thank the Romans who made use of the augurs for the welfare of their own state, although they never entirely or exclusively adopted their religion, we do not find in

Rome temples to Nortia or Voltumna; and when divines were wanted we read of their being constantly sent for into Etruria and never of their being educated in the Latin schools.

This leads us to inquire what sort of persons were the early Augurs and Haruspices of Etruria, who visited the Latin States on special occasions, and then returned to their own homes. It is certain that the grandees of Etruria united to worldly pomp also priestly and prophetic dignity. When the Twelve States met for their annual festival, they chose one of their noblest princes to be high-priest for the occasion. The high-priesthood of each deity was within the Tribe hereditary, as we learn from Juno of Veii, whose image could only be touched by one priest out of one particular family.

The Lucumoes, according to Censorinus, were all taught the maxims of the demi-god Tages, and were the constituted guardians of the Etruscan discipline.

Virgil, in the 10th *Æneid*, presents us with an Etruscan chief as a seer and an interpreter between gods and men. The Lucumo's wife and daughter, Tanaquil, lives in Roman story as the interpreter of signs to Tarquin and to Servius, for the noblest women were also priestesses. The instruction of the father was taught to the children even down to Cicero's time, but after the conquest and desolation of the nation by Sulla, many of the nobles became wretchedly poor, many were exiled, much of their discipline became corrupted, and many foreign customs were introduced. Even before this, unqualified and ignorant men had

become diviners for money, for we find the Roman Senate, about the A.R. 600, decreeing that out of each of the twelve States ten sons of the nobles should be strictly educated according to the old system, that the long-venerated discipline might not be lost, nor sink into contempt by reason of the meanness of those who exercised it.

Cicero records the law that the *chiefs* of Etruria should *teach* the discipline, and that prodigies and protests should be referred to the Etruscan Haruspices.

This law shows us that though the princes were obliged to learn how to exercise and to teach the principles of their religion, other men of every grade, if marked by peculiar fitness, were not excluded from it; and there was an old saying current in Rome, that Attius Nævius was a man of low birth who showed in his childhood a talent for divination, and whom his father therefore placed for instruction in an Etruscan religious school.

The Lucumoes appear to have had seminaries something like the schools of the Druids or the Jewish prophets.

For all the ordinary purposes of civil life the Romans thought themselves sufficiently provided with the auguries of their own priests, the auspices of their own magistrates, and the Sibylline Books, but for all portents and prodigies they continued to the very last to call in Etruscan diviners. It appears that the Etruscan discipline was not taught out of their own country, though Romulus is said (Diony-

sus) to have appointed a Haruspex to each of the three Tribes; but we always find that in cases of difficulty the Romans called in aid from Etruria. A notable instance is seen at the siege of Veii. The consequence, however, of having at times to seek information from an enemy was, that the diviners occasionally gave counsel exactly the reverse of what their science taught; and when this was discovered, and they were found to have misled their inquirers, they were put to death. The Romans could scarcely see even a swarm of bees unexpectedly without sending for a Haruspex to explain the reason.

We generally find the Haruspices named in the plural, as if several usually went together, perhaps a master and his pupils from the college, or a grandee and his followers. In both cases the bond of union between the disciples and their chief was as children to a father.

Some diviners stood in higher esteem than others and enjoyed a personal reputation, such as Olenus Calenus, who was summoned to explain the prodigy of the bleeding head upon the Capitol, and such persons were always richly rewarded.

If we now inquire what was the peculiar office of the Haruspex we shall find that he was expected to explain what evils the prodigy portended, and what ceremonies or sacrifices were required, and especially what duties were to be fulfilled in order to avert its evil influence. The sacrifice itself was left to the native priest. Cicero records a very interesting example of a dreadful noise being heard, accompanied

by a gushing forth of water, which the Haruspices explained as a sign of wrath, or rather as a warning from Jupiter, Saturn, Neptune, and the Earth, that the games had not been celebrated with their appropriate ceremonies, that they had been desecrated by the murder of ambassadors contrary to the laws of gods and men, and that if sufficient propitiation were not made, there would be a strife between the fathers and the nobles, which would throw the State into danger, and perhaps lead it to destruction.

Here naturally arises the question, how rules given for Etruscan deities could be applicable to Roman ones? But it is not to be doubted that cases prescribed for Nortia, Voltumna, Ancharia, the veiled Gods, and the Genii of the Gods, were passed over to the Roman deities, Jupiter, Saturn, Neptune, and others. No Tuscan Haruspex ever prescribed a sacrifice to his own peculiar gods in a foreign territory.

Doubtless it was *Talna* of Veii which consented to become Juno of the Avertine, and we know that a State or city was never considered to be hopelessly doomed until its gods had moved away from it.

It was a maxim of the Haruspices, that the sacrifices which they prescribed should be offered in every State according to the customs of that State. This rule seems to have perplexed and fettered them as to the answers they should give.

When they reproached Tiberius Gracchus with not having conducted the choice of the new Consul according to law, he answered them that they were Tuscans and foreigners, and as such not competent

judges; but he found that they were right and that the rules for election were derived from their books of discipline.

In the story of the banishment of the Bacchanals, Livy tells us that the Consul Posthumius quoted innumerable warnings respecting them from the Pontifices, the Senators, and the Haruspices.

Vitruvius mentions that, according to the rules of the Etruscans, Haruspices, the temples of Venus, Vulcan, and Mars, must be placed outside the walls, as also that of *Ceres*, meaning thereby the Greek ideal of that goddess as *Demeter*, the spirit of fire and warfare.

It seems that in later days the Haruspices lost much of their ancient adherence to their peculiar faith, and became more and more modified by the spirit of Rome.

But besides explaining the meaning of portents, the Haruspices were the chief inspectors of the sacrifices when offered. In the second century of the Republic it was a Tuscan Haruspex, who during the Latin War proclaimed to Decius his fate in the presence of the two armies. It indeed appears that the science of interpreting the sacrifices rose in estimation in proportion as the predictions of the Augurs and the Auspices of the magistrates declined in favour. As Sulla attended to the Haruspex Postumius, and Julius Cæsar to the Haruspex Spurinna, so most of the Emperors had a Haruspex attached to them. Even private persons consulted them for their own affairs, and Tiberius passed a law forbidding

them to be employed secretly. According to Juvenal women at length would call in the seers to explain the meaning of lightning or other signs, and then consulted them about the sacrifices. Persius names Ergenna. Ennius tells us that in his time this craft was often exercised by needy people of low estate who made their calling ridiculous: but in the time of Augustus it is certain that the Etruscan Haruspices were scattered over the Roman world, and were in special request as the explainers of all portents by lightning.

The great rivals to the Haruspices were the Chaldæan astronomers, whom we find to have fascinated the later Romans, and though often banished by law, were continually returning under new names. Divination by the stars or by casting nativities seems to have been quite foreign to the Etruscan discipline.

The Emperor Claudius laid a proposition before the Senate, respecting the College of the Haruspices (*super collegio haruspicum*), that the old and venerable discipline of the State should not be overthrown by foreign superstitions. Whereupon he obtained a *Senatus Consultus* to the Pontifices to examine the doctrines of the Haruspices, and give sentence what it was of importance to retain—an evidence that much corrupt matter had been introduced. This College of Haruspices was not then first originated, but is spoken of as a settled establishment in Rome. Alexander Severus* authorized

* Lamprid. Alex. 27.

the open teaching of *genii* as theology, therefore in his day the *Haruspices* must have been publicly acknowledged officials, and indeed we find inscriptions speaking of "*Haruspices publicos*," "*Magister publicus Haruspicum*," "*Ordo LX. Haruspicum*," and a "*Haruspex primus*" of the LX.

The *Haruspices*, therefore, appear to have preserved their dignity and influence, supported by the State, until the extinction of the old religion. Under Maximinus we find the *Aquileians* following the counsels of the inspector of the sacrificers; and the people of Italy generally appear to have had full faith in his predictions. Julian consulted the *Haruspices* about a falling star, and was accompanied by these sages in his campaign. The fate of this Caesar strengthened their authority for a brief space; but all the Christian emperors, both before and after, forbade under the severest penalties any one to consult the *Haruspices*, the *Chaldæans*, or the *Magi*.

That the *Haruspices* to the very last were *Tuscans*, though no others were absolutely excluded from their profession, is evidenced by the example, in A.D. 408, of the *Tuscan Fulgatores* in *Narnia*, who offered, by drawing lightning from heaven, to protect that city from the *Goths*, and were ready to do the same for Rome if the Bp. *Innocentius* would have sanctioned it.

On the birth of *Honorius*, A.D. 385, according to *Claudian*, the *Tuscan seers*, whom he calls "*Augures*," predicted the future greatness of the child, along with the oracles of *Ammon* and *Delphi*.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE WRITINGS OF ANTIQUITY CONCERNING THE
ETRUSCAN RELIGION AND DIVINATION.

THE foregoing remarks upon the persons who guarded the religious rites and the divination of the *Etruscans* suggest a slight criticism upon the sources whence our information is derived. No one in these days will believe in any account of the *Etruscan discipline* in pre-historic times, and had there at any time existed a sacred written code, the *Roman Senate* and the *Emperor Claudius* need not have feared its extinction. Indeed the innumerable incomplete inscriptions which still exist upon monuments or urns evidence that in *Etruria* not even writing was common.

What was at first written down was certainly not universal rules and principles—not a theory of knowledge, but rather a memory of rare things which were likely to be forgotten, such as extraordinary signs, omens, and portents, and what were their consequences. These prodigies were described in the "*Libri Fatales*," of which *Livy* makes mention in the A.R. 357, B.C. 396, during the siege of *Veii*. Copies of them, or copious extracts from them, existed very early in Rome, and were committed to the same College of *Priests* who had charge of the *Sibylline books*. In A.R. 356 we find the *Patricians*

consulting them and learning from them that the gods must be propitiated to deliver them from a desolating pestilence, and subsequent to this date we find many signs procured through their instructions. That these "Libri Fatales" should, in the A.R. 524 and 536, have prescribed that a Gallic man and woman and a Greek man and woman should be buried alive in Roman soil to fulfil the prediction that they should one day inhabit the land, is always ascribed to the Etruscans, because the Gauls and Greeks were their enemies with whom they were always at war; also the furious adjuration with which the chief of the Quindecimviri commanded the sacrifice; and the strange gods whose wrath was to be turned away were Tuscan Infernals.

But so much must be conceded, that a peculiar fitness for the religious discipline in the early Lucumoes who were devoted to it seems to have inspired them to embody their feelings, their convictions, and their experiences, in lofty and noble songs and verses, which made a strong impression upon the people. But an authoritative scheme of the whole discipline in detail, and in its practical application to every-day life, is not credible before experience and necessity called it forth, that is, until family traditions became extinct, and until many pretended to the craft for the sake of gain. Then a written code would give greater confidence and importance to a verbal interpretation. In Cicero's time there were a great many books in the hands of the Tuscan Haruspices, all of which contained the same dis-

cipline. Out of these they sought counsel when prodigies occurred, and the extraordinary and peculiar precepts they sometimes enforce show us that these books were written in the Etruscan tongue, and that the Haruspices were employed to translate them, otherwise indeed they would not have been called "Libri Etrusci, Chartæ Etruscæ."

From these premises we may safely conclude that an accommodation to Roman manners would prevent the old traditions from being transmitted to foreigners quite pure and genuine, and that very soon a system of explanation and accommodation would come into play corrupting whilst it modified the old Tuscan rules. In later days still greater changes must have arisen from mixture with other superstitions.

These later corruptions I mean to treat briefly of, and from the greater number of them I hold the genuine Etruscan books down to Cicero's time, and indeed from his time to Pliny's, to have been free. They were classed under the names of "Etrusci Libri," "Etruscorum Libri," and "Etruscæ disciplinæ Libri." Very often we find quotations from the books of Tages, of which the following is the legend: "A ploughman in the fields of Tarquinia having struck his plough deeper into the earth than usual, Tages sprang forth. He was the son of a Genius, the grandson of Jupiter, a child in form, but an old man in wisdom. The ploughman shouted loud from fear, upon which the neighbours flocked to his assistance, together with the Lucumoes of the

Twelve States. Tages sang to them his precepts upon sacrifices, divination by lightning, and other sacred themes, which having finished he sank into the earth, and immediately expired."

The ploughman, whose name is never given in Etruscan annals, could be no other than Tarchon of Tarquinia, and is so called by John of Lydia, and indicated by Strabo. This chief hero of the nation is the man whom Tages instructed, and the precepts which he and the other Lucumoes wrote down formed the substance of the "*Libri Tagetici*," or "*Disciplina Tagetis*," or "*Sacra Tagetica*." Their contents were very comprehensive and varied. Here were rules about lightning, the foundation of cities, and even instructions, as we learn from Virgil, about many of the common events of life. These were doubtless mixed up with the original verses of Tages, and tended not only to corrupt, but sometimes to falsify them.

Added to the books of Tages were those of Acheron, in which were rules for the propitiation of the gods, the averting of fate, and the elevation or glorification of disembodied spirits. In these it was taught that even fixed destinies might be delayed for ten years by a certain course of conduct, a maxim that was inculcated in other books also. In these books we find the extraordinary assertion, that when certain animals were offered to their allotted gods the souls of the offerers became divine and exempt from the laws of mortality. These books were translated by Labeo along with those of Tages, and were

entitled by him, "*De Diis quibus origo animalis est*." The name of Acheron is doubtless taken from the Greek, and was transplanted by the Greeks into Bruttium and Apulia. There was also a Lake of Acheron close to Cumæ—the very ancient ally of the Etruscans and the Latins. The Etruscan synonym seems to have been Avernus, which Sophocles places in the land of the Tyrrhenians.

The Greek maxims were, very probably, mingled with the Tagetan during the existence of the twelve southern States of Etruria, when they were lords of Campania and before the foundation of Rome.

That, however, the Acherontic Discipline was not purely Greek is proved by the very un-Grecian doctrine about the "*Dii Animales*."

We may believe that Tages was to the Etruscans what Vannes was to the Babylonians, Thoth to the Egyptians, and Menu to the Indians; therefore, that under the name of the Tagetan Books all the first principles of their faith were laid down.

In very early ages the word "Discipline" had a very circumscribed signification, and indicated by no means all that was to be found in the Rituals and Fulgural Books, but rather maxims and precepts of a greater sanctity and a higher antiquity than the others, transmitted also in a more poetical form.

Cicero describes what pertained to Tages as merely the groundwork upon which successive haruspices and sages built their own experiences and

deductions. The Verses of Tages, called the "Sacra Tagetica," were doubtless sung with a pompous solemnity, and were treated with a higher reverence. Hence, we must trace their origin to an earlier time than any of the written signs, and to any comprehensive or extended theories. Therefore, we must separate the Songs of Tages from the voluminous works upon Discipline which were current in Cicero's days, and known as "Etrusca Disciplina," and which, according to Pliny, were full of corruptions. To these continual additions were made down to a very late period, for amongst them was found the description of an earthquake at Mutina, A.R. 663, B.C. 90. Cicero divides these books into the Haruspici, the Fulgurales, and the Rituales; and says of them all, that they gave distinct rules for the interpretation of omens. I have already given the substance of the Ritual books according to Festus. He says that when the Haruspices were consulted upon the religious aspect of current events or omens, they determined according to those books whether their requirements were properly fulfilled. In these also the sacred chronology of the Etruscans, *i.e.*, the doctrine of the Secula, was recorded, as also the interpretation of omens in their bearing upon public life, civil or military. There were besides rules for the occurrences of private life—births, marriages, deaths, and the attainment of maturity.

The Ritual books conducted each man as each State, through every period of his life, until the time when prodigies for him should cease, and the

will of the gods to him below be exchanged for intercourse with them above.

The Fulgural books contained instructions about the lightning-hurling gods, and about the places which were struck by the electric fluid, and about the signification of the flashes to the right or the left, from the earth or from the clouds. These were probably the books translated by Cecina.

There was also a book called "Ars Fulguritorum," the precepts of which were attributed to the Nymph Bygoë, and which was laid up in the Temple of "Apollo Palitanus," along with the Sibylline Books and the Marcian Oracles. They were much in the tone and character of the Tagetan Verses, and were translated along with them by Labeo, and quoted by Lucretius.

There remain to be considered the books of the Haruspices, distinguished by themselves by Cicero. These contained the doctrines of sacrifices, also rules for the flight of birds, distinct from the Roman rules. However, though the Romans were satisfied with their own interpretation of the birds, they yet applied to the Etruscans for guidance in these three particulars—the proper sacrifices for propitiation or expiation, the meaning of prodigies, and the doctrines of lightning; and these three were contained in the books of the Haruspices, the Ritual and the Fulgural.

But, besides these, explanations of particular signs are sometimes recorded as "Ostentalia;" such

as that of Tarquitiuſ, inſpired at the moment, and for which there was no rule.

Juvenal mentions alſo "*Tuſci libelli*," in which monſtrous births, ſhowers of ſtone, &c., are regiſtered. From this enumeration it appears that we may claſs the religious writings of the Etruscans under the following heads:—

Libri Fatales. Ancient prodigies and oracles.

Books of Tages, of Bygoë, and of Acheron.

Songs or precepts, in verſe upon ſacred diſcipline.

A complete ſystem of religious inſtruction in the books of the Haruſpices—the Ritual and the Fulgural, combining altogether the "*Volamina Etruſcæ Diſciplinæ*."

The Roman antiquarians in the days of Cicero and Auguſtus found in this primeval, comprehensive, and national literature, an ample field for learned reſearch; and their comments upon it have handed down to us all its moſt important fundamentals.

By far the moſt diligent author, and the beſt qualified by ſtudy and education to command our reſpect, is Aulus Cæcina (Aule Ceicene), the Volaterranean, to whom we have frequently referred, and out of whoſe work on Etruscan Diſcipline Seneca has preſerved to us a precious fragment upon the interpretation by lightning. Contemporary with him was Nigidius Figulus, a learned and acute man, but, in the higheſt degree, ſuperſtitious. At

once a Pythagorean, a diſciple of the Chaldees and of the Tuſcans, he gave himſelf up to thoſe investigations which ſurpaſs human powers. Yet his earneſtneſs of purpoſe and his purity of life won for him the eſteem of his age. Amongſt his works are ſeveral chapters upon Etruscan Diſcipline.

This Figulus has often been confounded with Vicellius, quoted by John of Lydia, as a translator of the verſes of Tages; but that they were not the ſame is proved by another paſſage, in which Figulus and Vicellius are both cited.

Umbriciuſ, the ſoothſayer of Galba, and the moſt learned Haruſpex of his time, was an Etruscan author. Along with him Pliny mentions Julius Aquila, apparently a Tuſcan, and Tarquitiuſ of the ſame nation, who translated an "*Oſtentarium Tuſcum*," of which the "*Oſtentarium Arboreum*" was a part. Even under Julian the Etruscan Haruſpices were ſummoned to explain a meteor in the heavens by the Tarquitian books, "*De rebus divinis*."

When Cornelius Labeo lived is uncertain, probably not ſo early as the firſt century; but his writings upon the Roman religion were as highly eſteemed amongſt the prieſts as thoſe of Antistiſ Labeo amongſt the jurists.

His work would be invaluable to us if it ſtill exiſted, for it was a compilation and explanation of the whole of the precepts of Tages, and the Nymph Bygoë in fifteen books.

From theſe authors, and from the ſcholiſts that have been made upon them, we may gather much

genuine and trustworthy information upon the national discipline of the people, and about the gods in whom they believed, for the Etruscans had their peculiar gods who cannot be identified with those of the Greeks and Romans. It is different with the writers of a later age with whom other superstitions were so mingled, and especially the Chaldæan, that it is almost impossible to separate them. John of Lydia, for example, cites as a commentator upon Tages, the great Appuleius, and quotes from him reflections upon some wonderful phenomena—meaning by him the Platonist of Madaura, who was initiated in all the mysteries of Greece, and who naturally saw the Discipline of Etruria in an Oriental and Platonic point of view. It was at this epoch that comets were introduced into the Discipline as having a special meaning, they not having been distinguished in earlier times from other celestial portents; and with these a certain Campester, or Campestris, occupied himself, and is quoted by Servius and John of Lydia. In the same age I place the work of the Tuscan Claudius, which John of Lydia literally translated, and which professes to be wholly grounded upon the sacred books of the Tuscans; but it proves merely to be a calendar with the rising and setting of the stars, and similar occurrences, such as the meaning of storms and other meteorological phenomena, the interpretation of which coincided with that of the Greek astronomers. We may judge from this what interpolations had crept into the Etruscan Discipline, and need no longer wonder to read in

Suidas such monstrous statements, as that "The Demiurge has appointed to this world 12,000 years, and has placed each thousand under the rule of one sign of the zodiac: 6000 years were given to creation, 6000 more should be given to duration." He then gives almost the description of the first of Genesis, and calls it the system of the Tuscans! Of their traditions about creation and the first ages of the world we know next to nothing. If they were a tribe from Lydia, it is very possible that many of their ideas may have been Chaldæan, but after their settlement in Europe they were wholly isolated from all the nations of Asia excepting the Phœnicians, through their early and widely extended commerce.

Thus drifted away from the ancient Etruscan faith, overlaid by foreign superstitions, and dressed out in modern ideas, the primitive beliefs were dwindling away, whilst Christianity was pursuing its triumphant march, and so probably they became gradually absorbed and extinguished in a better creed as we may gather from various passages in the works of John of Lydia.

John explains that he, as a Roman, prefers the teaching of Tages, the author of Italian divination, as it is found in the writings of the old Haruspex Tarchon; and he sets this forth in dialogues between Tarchon, in the Latin of his own day, and Tages, in a language and a character perfectly unintelligible. These mystical answers, out of which it is scarcely possible to make sense, have been elucidated by Capito, Fontejus, Appuleius, Vicellius, Labeo, Ni-

gidius Figulus, and Pliny the naturalist, who have endeavoured to make their explanations agree with the signs which are described in the Discipline. But what follows in various portions of the work, and professes to be drawn from old Etruscan sources, is full of Chaldaean and Egyptian superstitions, Greek meteorologies, the teaching of the later Haruspices, and precepts and allusions to the manners and customs prevalent rather in the sixth century than at an earlier period. The daily rules for thunder, which Figulus pretends to be extracts from Tages, give the days of the month according to the moon's age, and describes the weather, or the political events likely to occur, and then record something out of the Christian Fasti, or allude to some arrangements of the empire.

A work which was literally translated by Labeo begins, "If the earth be in the 11th degree of the Crab and the moon in the Ram we shall have fog, thunder, and hail," and uses terms which would certainly not have been used in any antique document upon Tuscan discipline.

Every here and there, however, we find a trace of something drawn from genuinely ancient sources, of which I shall make use presently; but upon the whole it appears that the later writings became more and more corrupt and deformed until they were wholly untrustworthy. Happily antecedent to these accommodators of ancient usages to modern notions, we have through Pliny, Seneca, Festus, and the Scholiast upon Virgil, much true and reliable in-

formation respecting the discipline and religion of the ancient Etruscans, upon which we may confidently rely.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE GODS PECULIAR TO THE ETRUSCANS.

WE shall here give an account of those divinities who were worshipped in particular cities, as well as those which were common to the whole nation.

The Tuscan Jupiter was named Tina or Tinia (is this Odin, or is it Diances, the oldest Roman god?), he was the highest of their gods, honoured in every State, and, during the Tarquinian dominion in Rome, enshrined in the chief temple along with Juno and Minerva. The lightning was always in his hand, he spoke and he descended in the flash. He was the ruler of the gods, and on high festivals the Lucumoes bore his garland, his tunic, and his toga. He had great influence upon the destinies of men's souls, and the days of the full moon, called *Ides*, were sacred to him.

Another chief divinity was the goddess Talna, or Kupra, called by the Romans Juno. We know of her worship in Perusia, Veii, and Falerii. In Veii she was called "the Queen," and her temple was in the citadel, doubtless with attached shrines to Tina and Minerva, but she was the patron divinity, and was translated thence with great pomp to Rome. In

Falerii, where she was zealously adored, she bore the name of "Curetis," or "Quirites," that is, "of the spear," the word being Sabine, and thus showing that some Sabine rites had been accepted in the Tuscan worship. The spear is a well-known ancient Roman symbol of *imperium*, *mancipium*, and emancipation, betokening in Talna's hands that she was sovereign. But tradition also says that Juno of Falerii was introduced by a colony of Argives, and it must be confessed that there were many points in her worship coinciding with the worship of Hera at Argos.

The temple was of the Greek form, and there was a grove attached to it as in Argos. White heifers were the principal offering, after which calves, rams, and swine, but no goats, as in Argos.

With the annual sacrifices a peculiar ceremony was united; the streets were laid down with carpets, young virgins clad in white and veiled in the Greek manner carried offerings upon their heads like Canephora. The whole marshalling of the pomp was according to Ovid Argive; but as it is certain that with this exception all the other details of Juno Curetis were genuinely and from all known time Tuscan, we must remain in doubt whether these ceremonies were introduced by the Tyrrhene Pelasgi, or whether they were the result of communication and mixture with the later Greeks. Under the name of Kupra she had a sanctuary in the Tuscan colony of Picenum. She was one of the lightning-hurling gods, placed in the kalendar along with

Jupiter, and having the new moon dedicated to her.

Minerva was really an Etruscan name, "Menerfa, *Menrfa*." We find it so written upon many Etruscan pateræ and mirrors; and though their fabricators were doubtless well versed in Grecian myths, they never would have attached to them the name of a foreign Roman god. We have no example of such a thing. Hence it follows, that the third divinity of the Roman Capitol was originally Tuscan, and continued to retain her name and attributes without being, like Tina and Kupra, made over to any Latin deity. It is true that Varro calls the name Sabine, but it is more likely the Sabines adopted it from their neighbours.

In what was formerly Tuscan Campania, near Sorrento, a shrine of Minerva continued to be honoured. In Falerii she was also worshipped, and thence transplanted to Rome. The feast of the Faliscan goddess in March, called "Quinquatrus," was hence Tuscan. The later Romans understand by the foreign word "Quinquatrus," which indicated the fifth day after the Ides, a feast five days long, and Ovid knows no other explanation of the term. It was a high festival of the Tuscans, because, according to them, Minerva presided over spring lightning, and threw her brightest bolts at that season of the vernal equinox, which was the time of the Quinquatrus celebration. Immediately after the great Quinquatrus came in Rome the blessing of the trumpets, and in June there was a smaller

Quinquatrus, at which Minerva's flute-players were blessed. Now Rome borrowed both trumpets and flutes from the Tuscans, and it proves that Minerva presided in Etruria over music, as Athena did in Greece, and not over vocal or stringed music, but only over wind instruments. Here we must admit that there appears to be a direct connexion between the two. The fable of Athena's invention or discovery of the flute comes from Lesser Asia, and Lesser Asia is the source of wind instruments for Greece, even as Etruria is for Italy.

A Pelasgian Tyrrhener is said to have founded in Argos a sanctuary to Minerva Salpynx. We must connect all this with the tradition that the Pelasgian Tyrrheners came from the coast of Lydia and Karia to South Etruria, the sites of Cære, Tarquinia, and Faleria, and that they united themselves to the ancient Rasena. Had these Pelasgi already attributed the use of the flute and the invention of the trumpet to a peculiar goddess in Asia Minor, it was natural that they should transfer her worship and attributes to the similar native Etruscan goddess, called Menrfa, and Etruscan artists then represented their Minerva under the same forms as the Hellenic Pallas, from their intimate connexion with the Greeks.

Vertumnus was a much-venerated and important Etruscan divinity (*Deus Etruriæ Princeps* according to Varro), enshrined as their chief god by the old Volsinian settlement upon the Cælian, and afterwards by the dwellers in the Tuscan Vicus.

The meaning of the word was lost by the time that Roman literature came into being, and antiquarians give different versions, all from Latin derivations, therefore probably all wrong. One explanation is *verto*, betokening either the returning of the waters into the Tiber (*verso ab amne*), or the turning of the sun in the heavens, or the exchange in merchandise (*a vertendis mercibus*), the shrine being established (though probably by chance) close to the Roman market-place—or perhaps because the god could consistently assume many characters, as he was represented as something between a girl and a young man.

We must remember that “*verto*” was itself a Tuscan word.

The many legends about the wanderings of Vertumnus were undoubtedly traditional, and the poets invariably represent this propensity as one of his characteristics. As, however, the forms which he assumed all relate to country life, and the fruits of the year, so must we suppose that the plenty and variety of nature's gifts are expressed thereby, and that Vertumnus shows forth the ever new and ever changing blessings of the spring, summer, and autumn. The summer harvest was under his protection in grass and corn; the wine and fruits of autumn were his peculiar property. The feast of Vertumnus was in October, Ceres and Pomona were united with him, and the last was considered in Rome as his wife. It is undoubted that with the Tuscans he was a mighty year-god. With the

Romans, after they fell so completely under Greek influence, he sank to be a demi-god.

In Volsinia, the home of Vertumnus, there was another divinity adored above the rest, called "Nortia." This is a genuine Etruscan name, and synonymous with the Fortuna of Antium and Præneste. Her temple was remarkable for having the nails of the Kalendar driven into it, and she seems to have been regarded as presiding over Time.

The goddess of the Municipium of Ferentinum, who by some is called Fortuna, by others Salus; also the Fortuna of the little town of Arna, near Perugia, and the Fortuna of the Tuscan Penates—all these are the same as Nortia.

Neptune appears in one of the Etruscan prophecies as the father of the kings and heroes of Veii. He also is named in the "Discipline," and in a response of the Haruspices. The name is not Tuscan; but in the mythology of this people there must always have been an analogous sea-and-water god.*

In the port of Cære, called Pyrgoi, a large and rich temple was dedicated to a goddess known to the Greeks as Leucothea. Strabo calls her "Eileithyia," and says that her temple was founded by the Pelasgi. She was, undoubtedly, the same as the Mater Matula, revered alike in Rome and Etruria, and considered by Greek and Roman antiquarians

* Neptune appears upon the Speechj, under the name of Consus.

to be the same as Leucothea: a translation which rested upon the common propensity of the heathen to find their native gods with some variation, also worshipped in the land of strangers.

In Rome Mater Matuta was considered as the goddess of the Morning, and her name implies "the Mother of Day;" so also Leucothea—"the White goddess," or the Dawn—rather than of the white foam or the sea. Strabo's name of Eileithyia has the same signification, alluding to light and day. The peculiar attributes of Leucothea are obscure; but she had an oracle in Cære, and was, perhaps, the same with the Tuscan oracle sea-goddess Tethys in the fable of Prometheus.

Vulcan was an Etruscan god honoured in Perugia; but whether under that name or not is very doubtful. He appears as "Sethlans," in an Etruscan patera, opening the head of Tina on the birth of Minrfa; and again, in another vessel, forming the horse of Troy. He was one of the lightning-hurling gods.

So also was Saturnus, an earth-god worshipped in Aurinia. This city, when colonized by Romans, was called Saturnia; and the colony established in Faleria was, from its patron divinity, called Junonia.

Mars had a month dedicated to him in Faleria, and was reckoned amongst the lightning-gods.

Janus must certainly be included in the Tuscan mythology. An image, with four faces of that god, was brought from Faleria to Rome.

The name Janus, however, in so far as it designates a God of Ways and Gates, is purely Latin, and must have been differently expressed in Etruscan, as that language has no hard or consonant J.

According to Varro and John of Lydia, the Tuscan Janus is the firmament, and overlooks all our doings. Hence, the four faces turn to the four points of the compass, and Janus is the God of the Cards and the Decumanus. In this character he may have been assimilated to the god of Gates, and have been given his name.

This explains to us how the Roman god is so often invested with a double character. It also throws light upon the four-headed Tuscan Janus, being represented with only a double head upon the coins of Volaterra and some other cities.

Vigovis or Vedius, a Latin name, is applied to a Tuscan god of very evil omen. His lightnings affect those towards whom they are directed, with deafness. He is an evil Jupiter, and had a temple in Rome, between the Tarpeian rock and the Capitol. He was represented as a young man armed with arrows, a sort of avenging Apollo. His festival was held in March, when a goat was sacrificed to him instead of a man. He was reckoned amongst the infernal deities.

Summanus was one of the mightiest gods in the early doctrine of lightning-hurlers, and was received in the Primitive Roman Pantheon as almost equal to Jupiter.

In later times he was completely ignored. His

ancient shrine in the Circus Maximus was restored to him to propitiate him against Pyrrhus, and a clay image of him stood near the temple on the Capitol.

The Romans preserved no genuine tradition as to his power and attributes; but the Arvales used to offer him black sheep, as an atonement for trees struck by his thunder-bolts. He seems to have been supreme by night, as Jupiter was by day, and as Janus was by both.

The God of the Shades, peculiar to the Tuscans, was Mantus, the same as the Latin Dispater. Mantua was named from him, and a goddess called Mania was usually united with him.

Ceres finds place amongst the Tuscan Penates, and with her is joined the demigod Pales. The worship of Ancharia flourished in Fiesole. Both her name and that of Voltumna, the divinity who was honoured in the temple common to the Twelve States, had nearly passed into oblivion, not being Latin; and we may say the same of several others, but for the funeral inscriptions. The goddess *Horta* had a temple in Rome, apparently also in Sutrium, and gave her name to the town Hortanum at the conflux of the Tiber and Nar.

On the coast of South Etruria, not far from Cære, there was a place called "Castrum Inui," a Latin cattle-god, who is identified with Pan of the Arcadians.

The shrine was probably founded by the abori-

ginal Siculi or Pelasgi before the Tuscans, and was united by them to their god Sylvanus, who had a grove consecrated to him in a dark valley percolated by the water of Cære, and mentioned as a sacred spot by Virgil. Also, in the wood of Arsia, near the Janiculum, dedicated to Sylvanus, his voice was supposed to be heard during the old battle between the Romans and the Etruscans. The obscure rule of the Agrimensores, that every estate should contain at least three Sylvani, appears to be derived from the Etruscan religion.

I shall now mention some gods who, though worshipped in Etruria, were beyond all doubt of Sabine origin; and I would observe that both these nations were renowned for their piety, and that there is no marked distinction between them.

In very early times the Tuscans and the Sabines must have worshipped each other's gods, and they possibly derived them from a common source. Varro tells us that the Romans adopted Feronia, Minerva, and the Novensiles, from the Sabines; and with a slight modification they also took from them the names of Hercules, Vesta, Salus, Fortuna, Fors, and Fides. Even the names of their altars bore a Sabine stamp, which were consecrated in Rome after the oaths of King Tatius. According to Roman annals he built altars to Ops, Flora, Vedio, Jupiter and Saturn, Sol and Luna, Vulcan and Summanus, Larunda and Terminus, Quirinus and Vortumnus, the Lares, Diana, and Lucina. It appears that there were twelve altars, of which some were sacred

to one god, some to two, and one to three separate divinities.

Amongst them were some peculiarly Tuscan, as Vortumnus, and to these we must add the gods of the Capitol, which were all Tuscan, though it was originally a Sabine fortress. On the other hand, some cities of Etruria had adopted gods originally Sabine, especially the Faliscans, amongst whom we find Feronia and Soranus.

Feronia is best known by her annual fair; but we cannot be sure that her sanctuary at it was really and originally Etruscan. It is, however, beyond dispute that she had a considerable temple in the district of Capena, on Mount Soracte, by the brook Capena, and near the confines of Sabina and Latium. This place increased in size and grew to some importance, owing to the renown of the temple.

There was also a grove of Feronia at the other extremity of Etruria, near Luna. She was an earth-goddess, akin to Tellus and Mania, to whom the worshippers brought flowers and fruits; but besides these the temple at Capena was in Hannibal's time rich in offerings of gold and silver.

On the top of the hill on which this sanctuary was situated, and within the territory of the Falisci, there stood another shrine of no mean reputation. Servius relates that the mountain was sacred to the infernal gods, especially to Dispat and the "Diis Manibus." Whilst a sacrifice was making, the altar was attacked by wolves, which carried off the entrails out of the fire. The offering shepherds

being persecuted by these wolves were driven for shelter into caves, and there were stifled by the bad air, which brought on a plague. Upon the Oracle being consulted, it replied that the people, like the wolves, should live on plunder, and therefore they were named by their neighbours "Hirpini," from the Sabine "Irpus," a wolf, and their god took his name from the Sabine god of the shades *Soranus*. It was these "Hirpini" or "Hirpi," a few families only, and probably of Sabine origin, who twice at the festivals on Mount Soracte (which takes its name from Soranus), snatched the entrails off the altar, to which they walked barefooted over the glowing embers of the fig-tree. Strabo reckons this custom as belonging to the feasts of Feronia; and this tradition, as well as the proximity of the shrines, induces us to believe that the worship of Soranus and Feronia was originally one, and that it coincided with the purely Etruscan worship of Mantus and Mania.

The story of the wolves is possibly a confusion with the Samnite tribe of the "Hirpiner," who deduced their name and settlement from the guidance of a wolf to the mephitic lake of Ampsanctus.

We have already seen how much the Faliscans were influenced by the Sabines in their ready acceptance of Juno Quiritis in the place of or as identical with their own Kupra.

It is very remarkable that the god of Soracte, whom we call Dispater, was generally known to the

Romans as Apollo, and that the fire-walking of the Hirpiner was also regarded as belonging to his rites.

Now Apollo is a purely Greek god, whose very name was unknown to the early Romans, and whom we find inscribed upon Etruscan pateræ as "Aplu" and "Apulu," and upon bronzes as "Epul" or "Epure." Hence we infer that partly the influence of the renowned sanctuary of that god at Cumæ, and partly their intercourse with the Oracle of Delphi, had introduced his worship into Etruria. Thus we see how national gods were interchanged. Roman philosophers reckoned the avenging Apollo as a sort of Vejovis, and Vejovis was a form of Soranus. The wolf was specially sacred to Apollo, and it was from the wolf that the priests of Soranus derived their name, and this casual coincidence was sufficient in the minds of the multitude to identify the two gods. The fusion of Greek divinities with the Italian increased more and more as the people became acquainted with Grecian legends and poetry.

It has been disputed whether the Cabiri of Samothrace, and of the Pelasgians and Tyrrhenians, were not worshipped in Etruria with their secret mysteries. Nothing is more common amongst the bronzes than small highly ornamented caskets called "Cista Mistica;" but we cannot find a single instance in any State of the Confederation, of a single temple, shrine, fane, priest, or even grove, dedicated to these demi-gods.

Mercury and Venus were scarcely natural divi-

nities, and indeed bear unmistakable marks of being Greek transmutations in very early times, perhaps coeval with Juno Quiritis in Faleria. We find Mercury upon the patera called Turms (Hermes), and Venus "Phrut" (Aphrodite); and where the name "Mercury" is found and spelt "Merkur," it is written in old Latin, and not in Etruscan characters. A bronze statue of this "Merkur," an adopted Roman god, was found in Arretium in the A.R. 659. Venus, as "Phrut," was probably the original of the Roman goddess "Frutis." "Hercules" had a holy well in Cære and a statue named after him near the Portus Labronis, which is mentioned in the Itinerary of Antoninus.

There can be no doubt that Etruria adopted Greek gods long before Rome, and that their transmutations and adaptations caused in time the whole of the earliest Italian worship to pass into oblivion. Tina became Zeus, and Zeus Jupiter; Hera became Kupra, and Kupra Juno; Athena was fused into Minerva, and Soranus into Apollo, and this probably before the days of Tarquin.

Unmixed with their own Pantheon, and as a completely foreign faith, stands the worship of Bacchus. The native festal meetings of Etruria contain not a trace of orgies or rioting; but that such a worship should be eagerly adopted and zealously cultivated when once introduced amongst a people of the passionate and excitable nature of the Etruscans we can well understand, and it is evidenced in many of their works of art. It assumed with them

the form of night meetings, confined at first to women only, but gradually admitting men also (in Rome about B.C. 200); and feasts and couches in the Etruscan manner were added to them, until presided over by Campanian and Etruscan priests those dreadful scenes of lust and avarice, drunkenness and gluttony, were enacted, which threatened to dissolve society, and which were forbidden by the Roman Senate in A.R. 566, together with the decree that all Bacchanalian mysteries should be banished from Italy, with the exception of a very few, which were of long standing, hereditary, and innocent. It was at this time that a grove was consecrated to "Stimula," at the mouth of the Tiber, meaning by "Stimula" Semele, the mother of Bacchus, and to her those shameless rites were continued which had been forbidden to her son. The strict and severe ordinances of the Senate were thus evaded, and the worship of Bacchus continued to exist until much later in Etruria, and in many other parts of Italy, where it had certainly never been hereditary, but the Bacchanalian societies for the celebration of the offensive orgies were annihilated. The Tuscans from the first adopted the worship superficially, and never received it in its deeper meanings. To them Bacchus was a god of mere pleasure and sinful indulgence. He was never the conductor of the soul through the Shades, the Dionysos of Hades, the intellectual Orpheus of the spirit-world, otherwise we should have found his emblems upon the funeral urns, which is never the case. They appear only

upon the *Cista Mistica*, the bronze mirrors, and other works of luxury and fashion.

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE DIFFERENT ORDERS OF GODS, AND OF THE ETRUSCAN DOCTRINE OF THE GENII AND MANES.

THE foregoing appears to be all that we can ascertain of the individual gods of the Etruscans, and little and unsatisfactory as it is, we know still less of the purely national worship of the great inland cities, such as Volaterra, Arretium, and Clusium, than we do of those nearer the borders who were so powerfully influenced by the Sabines, the Latins, and the Greeks. These were, indeed, some gods common to all the four nations and sacrificed to by all four at the great annual fairs. Falerii and Capena took from the Sabines Juno Quiritis, Feronia and Soranus, from the Greeks many rites both from Juno and Apollo. In the interior of the country, however, the purely Tuscan faith must have been dominant and deeply seated, or it could not have continued to maintain itself for ages. Thus we find that through centuries they adhered to their doctrine of the *Templum* and other written points of discipline.

The doctrine of the Tuscan *Fulgatores* teaches us that there are two orders of gods who are included in the term "*Æsur*," viz. the upper superior, or veiled divinities, whom Jupiter consults when he

wishes to cause devastation or change by lightning, working by secret power; and secondly, the twelve gods who are his standing counsellors, and who in Latin are called "*Consentes*," or "*Complices*," so named, according to Arnobius, because they rise and fall together. To these also is attached an inferior order nearer to nature and to human kind, with a limited, although very extended existence; whilst the others, as the remote source of being, come less into prominence and are only supposed to exert themselves on very important occasions. These were believed to dwell in the inner sanctuary of heaven, their number and their names were unknown, and they were seldom addressed in worship. Of the *Consentes* it was known that they were twelve, six male and six female, and their gilded statues were shown in the Roman Forum.

From their number and a fancied similarity of attributes, they gradually came to be confounded with the Greek twelve gods, as we find in the verses of Ennius. Whether Jupiter himself is reckoned as one of the twelve gods is hard to determine; but it seems more likely that he belongs to both orders of the gods standing between them as a connecting link, shadowed forth in Seneca as the all-present spirit of the world; but again we know not whether this idea is drawn from the Tuscan writings or is simply a doctrine from the Discipline of Lightning. Perhaps the Tuscan proverb, that a nymph (probably *Bygoë*) slew an ox by simply whispering into its ear the fearful name of the Highest, may imply that

amongst the veiled ones there sat a supreme Jupiter. If, however, we strive to decipher the names of the Consentes we must turn to the lightning lore, where we find not only those whom Jupiter consults when he designs to hurl the thunderbolt, but also those who hurl the bolts themselves, and of these the Tuscan acknowledge nine, of whom we know the names of eight, Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Vejovis, Summanus, Vulcan, Saturn, and Mars. Six names are wanting in the number of the Consentes if we exclude Jupiter, and his full reverse Vejovis, whom no one could reckon as one of his counsellors, and these we may perhaps fill with Vertumnus and Janus, or with Neptune (Consus), but we cannot attain to certainty. It is also doubtful in what rank the Etruscans placed their Goddess of Destiny, such as Nortia; we should imagine amongst the veiled divinities, did not our knowledge of the name imply the contrary.

The idea of the Consentes appears to arise from their intimate connexion with the present order of nature which they dominate, and therefore the year was divided amongst them. We know that Minerva threw the lightning in March, and Saturn in December, Vertumnus guided it in Autumn, and each god had his appointed time.

What Pliny writes about these deities being connected with the planets I do not believe to be old Etruscan lore, but rather a mixture of Chaldæan and Tuscan of later date.

The Orient was acquainted with the movement of

the planets in very remote times, and placed them amongst the gods as *El* (Kronos, Saturnus), *Baal* (Zeus, Jupiter), *Astarte* (Aphrodite, Venus), &c.; but it was long before such knowledge penetrated into Greece, where Parmenides, or some Pythagorean, first discovered the identity of the morning and evening stars, and consequently it was long before these names were translated into Greek, and later still into Latin. In fact, the very translation was variable, as we see in *Astarte*, the chief goddess of the Aramæans and the Phœnicians, who was sometimes called Juno, and sometimes Venus Celestis; so was it also with the names of the planets. Epigines, a disciple of the Chaldæans, taught that the lightning governed by the planets chiefly came from Saturn. He was followed by others who combined his doctrine with the discipline of the Tuscans; and whereas in their system Jupiter alone held three thunderbolts they explained this to show that he was placed in the midst of the planets, and combined the powers of the three beside him.

The division into veiled gods and Consentes referred to the nature and existence of the gods themselves as two different classes. The gods, "Penates," were not so divided.

Penas is a Latin adjective like *cujas* and *nostras*. "Dii Penates" are gods in *penus*, that is, gods honoured in the store-chamber of the house in the innermost part (*vorrahs*). Hence it follows that they were the peculiar gods from whom the family expected blessing, nourishment, and protection, and

they may have been of many classes and orders, and even have had demi-gods and slaves associated with them. Hence arises our uncertainty in many cases of who they were, and the uselessness of searching out any, excepting perhaps those of great cities such as Rome, and the several Etruscan capitals. Nigidius teaches us from the Etruscan discipline that there were four classes of Penates; those of Jupiter, those of Neptune, those of the infernal deities, and those of deceased men. From this I infer that the Genii, who were believed to increase the substance of the house, were partly the spirits of ancestors, partly sprites of the earth or the shades, the water or the skies. Cassius and Servius give us the names of Fortuna, Ceres, Capella, Genius, Pales, and Jovialis, by which last we are to reckon some of the household of Jupiter. Pales is a hermaphrodite, both male and female.

The ancient Roman feasts of the Palilia were doubtless in honour of this deity as one of the female patrons of the State; like many other portions of Roman worship they had become obsolete before the history of Rome was written.

The worship of the Genius Jovialis gives us another light upon the old Etruscan faith. We do not know the native word which the Latins have translated by "genius." The word "genius" means a generator, "Lutus Genialis." Varro explains it as a god, who has the power of bringing forth. "Anfustius," according to Festus, teaches that the Genii are the sons of the gods and the parents of men

("Deorum filius et parens hominum.") This seems to be genuine Etruscan doctrine; for Tages, the son of a Genius, the grandson of Jupiter, is also called the son of a Genius Jovialis; and what he was pre-eminently, the whole nation also assumed itself to be, *i.e.*, the sons of the Genii. Their teaching apparently inculcated that Jupiter, the father of souls, wrought, through his Genii, to introduce a soul into a human body; therefore, whilst Ceres and Pales presided over the increase of corn and cattle, the Genius Jovialis undertook, for the continuance and prosperity of the family itself. Through him Jupiter remains the everlasting, inexhaustible giver of life to all the successive generations of men. There were, however, other Genii besides the Jovialis—the inscriptions mention Genii of the Shades (Manto, Typhon, &c.); and a passage upon the Genii of Neptune, names also those of Hades and of mortal men. A *Genia* is not pure Etruscan doctrine, though mentioned by late writers. Women seem to have been presided over by Juno. At least she can be traced as their patroness to very remote times.

The word *Lar* (*Lares*) is Etruscan, and seems to have denoted a title of honour rather than a class of persons, and to intimate the protector and president over a certain district. Hence, there were Lares of the skies (*cælopotentes*), of the sea, of the roads, of villages, of cities, of the country, and of the ground on which the houses stood. There were Lares domestic and familiar. The Lares of the land are those who were sung by the Frati Arvales, "Enos Lases

juvate." Mars appears to belong to them, whilst Neptune and his Genii to be reckoned amongst the Lares of the sea.

At first sight it is very startling that, amongst those divinities who are called "Lares and Penates," we should find the souls of men. In the Acherontischen Books of Tages, translated by Labeo, there were certain rites, through which the souls of men could become gods, entitled "Dii Animales," because they had been human souls, and these were the Penates and the gods of the highways. These rites were the "Acherontische," consecrated to the gods of the lower world; and, in their origin, they were Tuscan, although, in the course of time, they borrowed from the Greeks both their name and many modifications of their rites. Through these, other souls were believed to be ransomed and exorcised out of the Shades, and elevated into demigods. This is a natural consequence from the doctrine of the Genii. A genius is sent into the body of some mortal favoured by the gods; he works there with power, and, on the death of the body, becomes a genius again.

But these elevated and deified souls could not become superior divinities; they were first, as Labeo and Nigidius tells us, "Penates and Lares," especially *Lares familiares*, who, as a rule, may be regarded as the spirits of ancestors; and hence, many of the ancients hold Genius and Lar to express precisely the same thing. According to Appulejus, who in this appears to follow good authorities, the ancient

Latins called the spirit of man so soon as it had left the body "Lemur." A friendly Lemur, which watched over the posterity and prosperity of a house, was called "Lar familiaris." A Lemur, which haunted it only to judge, and punish, and terrify, was called "Larva."

When the fate of the departed was uncertain they used the term "Manes Dii."

The Lar was believed to possess the same generative power as the Genius. We read that, in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, a spirit in the palace raised itself from the ashes of the hearth to a maid of Queen Tanaquil, who was sitting there, and that in consequence she produced a son. This child was named Servius, and was called the son of the Lar familiaris; and to the Lares he dedicated Games and the Competilia. This is apparently a legend about some old Etruscan hero, whom the Romans have confounded with their Servius and Mastarna. Promathion locates a similar fable in Alba, where he ascribes the birth of Romulus to a Lar, and brings in for confirmation an Etruscan oracle.

Whether Manes, the universal epithet for departed souls, is an Etruscan word or not is not easy to determine.

In old Latin *manus*, *manuus*, *manis*, means good. The Dii Manes are the good gods—the celestial, who are to be venerated, and the infernal, who are to be propitiated; but its chief meaning was the souls of the departed, "the blessed ones." The Tuscan word Mantus, for the god of the Shades,

appears to stand in direct relation to it, and the form of the word seems to be Tuscan.

These Manes had a particular locality for their residence, symbolized by the Mundus, which was strictly enforced by the ritual for the founding of cities, and was certainly Etruscan. Cato tells us that the "Mundus" took its name from its form, which was that of an inverted cone, closed at the top by the Lapis Manalis, and only uncovered three days in the year, once in September, one in October, and once in November,—days consecrated to Pluto and Proserpine, on which departed souls were believed to come into the world again, through the Mundus. Varro says, that whilst the Mundus is open, no bargains should be made, no troops should be drawn out, no anchor should be lifted. They are unlucky, and days of mourning.

In connexion with this belief we may observe the care with which all the first-fruits of the earth were thrown into the Mundus, and the wide-spread custom in the ancient world of keeping corn in vaults of a similar form. It would seem as if the Tuscans united the ideas of corn-preservers and the blessing of the earth with the gods of the lower world, and so inclined towards the Greek mythology in the Eleusinian mysteries. This also throws a light upon the Penates from the lower world. On the other hand, this extreme anxiety to close the Mundus and other circumstances leaves no doubt that the lower world of the Tuscans was one of terror, and that the infernal gods were regarded as inimical and

gloomy. Hostile divinities play a principal part in Etruscan mythology, as we may see from their numerous piacular rites and their fear of fascination, against which the *bullā* was provided. The Etruscan books treated of infernal and averting gods (*Dii inferi et avertentes*), and placed certain trees under their influence, which were therefore considered unlucky, such as the black fig and the thorn. Doubtless the angry demons, to whom the "Libri Fatales" decreed human sacrifices, were of the same class. Thus Lucan makes Aruns cry out when he is terrified by evil omens that "the infernal gods have come into the entrails of the slaughtered bullock."

To this class belong *Mantus* and *Mania*. Mantus is often represented on the Tuscan funeral urns in the act of leading away the deceased, who is generally on horseback and veiled. He has the appearance of a four-hoofed man, with wild features and satyr's ears, often winged, and in a high and tight tunic, sometimes armed with a sword, and very often with a hammer. In the same way in Rome, Dispatēr was represented when carrying off the corpses of those slain in the gladiators' games, namely, armed with a hammer; and though this idea was comparatively modern, in the games they borrowed for it the old Etruscan costume.

On a funeral urn of Volaterra, the subject of which represents the murder of Clytemnestra, there is a crouching figure by the altar exactly like Mantus, and over it is written the name "Charon;" and we must hence infer that the same divinity whom the

Etruscans regarded as ruler of the shades and conductor of the souls of the dead, was identical with the Dispatēr of Hades and the Charon of the Greeks; should it, however, be thought that Charon, as leader of the dead, was too subordinate a character to be identified with Mantus, we must at least accept him as a minister and servant of that god, and derive light from him as to the fearful nature of the gods of the lower world. It appears to me most probable that the god Manducus, with his vengeful mien and grinding teeth, who was always represented in the ceremonies of the circus with the exaggerated features of a god, was in the original not a devourer of mankind, but simply a "Mani-ducus," a leader of the dead, the same as Charon.

Mania was a most fearful spirit to the old Italians, and the name was often joined with Mantus and with the Manes, and is inseparable from the Tuscan doctrine about departed souls. Mania was held to be an awful goddess, to whom children were sacrificed even so late as the Etruscan king Tarquinius Superbus. Her frightful image used to be hung over the doors, like a scarecrow to frighten away evil. She was called the mother or the grandmother of the Manes, and in older times the mother of the Lares, and she shared with them the grand atoning festival of the Compitalia. They assigned one mother as one fate to all departed souls, either to remain closed down by the Mundus, or to wander aloft as beneficent Lares, bringing blessings to the sons of men.

The Greeks held similar ideas about Orpheus, according to Pindar. For his sake Persephone permitted those horses, kings, warriors, and philosophers, for whom he had made atonement, to return to earth after eight years' penitence.

From Mania, as mother of the Lares, it is hard to distinguish the Acca Larentia of the Romans, who is probably the same person divested of the attributes of divinity.

Larentia is commonly described as a courtesan who lived in the time of Ancus or Romulus. She is called the nurse of Romulus, and the mother of twelve sons, on the death of one of whom she took Romulus in his place, and formed out of them the college of the twelve Arval brothers. Hercules married Larentia to a rich Tuscan, named Tarrutius, and she inherited all his wealth upon his death. This wealth she left to Romulus or to his people, and by her bequest they held the Ager Turax, Semurinus, Lutirus, and Solinius. In gratitude she was assigned a grave in the Velabrum, near the old Porta Romanula, and *parentalia* were offered to her by the Flamen Quirinalis. The story seems to have arisen from Acca Larentia being also called "Lupa," a word which has ambiguous meanings, and which has been confused with the Lupa (she-wolf) of Dispatēr, and the Lupa equally sacred to Mars.

The Tuscan Ager Turax was on the opposite side of the Tiber, and contained a shrine to Acca. Her twelve sons are the Arvalian brothers, sacred to Mamere. That Acca Larentia belongs to the

Tuscan mythology is proved from this, that the Roman feast of the Lares was held on the 11th day before the kalends of January, and on the 10th the Larentinalia were celebrated, in which sacrifices were offered to Jupiter as the father of souls, and to Acca Larentia as their mother.

Finally, we must add a third name of the same divinity—Lara, or Larunda. Ovid, who describes her superstitious rites, calls her the mother of the Lares Compitales, and says that she dwells with the Manes. Her symbolical name was the "Mute Goddess."

This aspect of religious belief seems to have been worked into a perfect system by the Etruscans, and we miss exceedingly any historical account of it, which we could supplement by the sculptures and paintings remaining in the sepulchres. These latter are fast perishing from the walls, but at Tarquinia there were representations of men hung up by their arms and burnt with torches, or otherwise tormented. These represented Purgatory to the later Italians. It is certain that Furies and vengeful Demons held a prominent place in Etruscan mythology; and it is highly probable that the human sacrifices amongst the Romans were derived from them. It is true that the Greeks admitted such even in their days of highest culture; but substitutes were usually found for them, and the men or women were withdrawn. But with the Etruscans (reminding us of the Phœnicians or Assyrians) we find, in A.R. 399, their priests rushing into battle

armed with torches and snakes, as Furies, and advancing like madmen to the fray; and another time we find the Tarquinians sacrificing three hundred captive Romans to their angry gods.

The Etruscan belief seems to have been this:—They regarded the gods as the great living forces and principles of the universe. A certain number of them, amongst whom were the Fates, dwelt in mystery and darkness, and only came forward upon great occasions. Jupiter and his *consentes* were the rulers, protectors, and benefactors of mankind; who, indeed, were connected with him as the father of their spirits. But there was an under-world opposed to him, hostile to man, and always working against him and them. It was the policy of man, therefore, as much to guard against the vengeance of these lower beings, who showed themselves in signs and portents, as to serve and honour those who dwelt in heaven. The mediators, through whom life and strength were communicated, were the Genii. Through these men were purified and united to the gods after their appointed course was run; but if they failed of procuring such protection through their impiety, then they remained without ransom under the powers of darkness for ever.

CHAPTER V.

ON THE RELATION BETWEEN THE ETRUSCAN DISCIPLINE
AND THE AUGURAL DOCTRINES OF THE ROMANS.

WE must exceedingly regret that our information upon these points is so limited, for we have no special work upon the subject extant, and we must ground our knowledge upon isolated historical facts, or upon hints, and perhaps deductions in the Latin narratives.

In Cicero's time augury had fallen into such disrepute, that one augur laughed at the science in the face of another, and it was not professed by any educated men.

Yet there was a time when it was regarded with the utmost respect, and when every young patrician was carefully instructed in the meaning of the flight of birds, the course of lightning, and the interpretation of prodigies and portents.

The magistrates were all obliged to know the signs of the heavens, for they and the patricians alone were permitted to take auspices and to consult the will of the gods, which they did even in their private concerns, such as marriages, and other ceremonies.

Between the auspices of the magistrates and the auguries for the public there appears to have been this difference, that the magistrate inquired of the

gods for the purposes of his magistracy, whilst the augur consulted for the common weal. The augur usually stood by the magistrate to enforce silence, point out to him the signs, and in very early times he conducted him or accompanied him to the field, that is, if he was Consul, Proctor, or Censor.

Cicero's description of the augur is as follows:—
"He must see into the future through signs and auspices as the interpreter of the supreme Jupiter, and he must preserve the ancient discipline. He shall take auguries for the priests and for the welfare of the people; he shall instruct the captains and leaders of the host, and they shall obey him; he shall foresee the anger of the gods and turn it away; he shall carefully observe the signs by lightning, and in the consecrated *Templum* he shall make an atonement for the land. What an augur pronounces to be unjust or unlawful, faulty or cursed, must be renounced, and whoever rebels against him is guilty of death."

Still there comes the question how far the Roman *auspicium* and *augurium* was the same as, or was derived from the Tuscan, for in Roman history they often seem to separate carefully between them, and to speak of the Tuscan as a foreign thing. It is a certain fact that the Lucumoes were carefully educated in religious discipline, of which they were the hereditary guardians, rulers of the state, and leaders of the army. I doubt not that the host was called out with the same ceremonies as the Roman, and that they never went to war without invoking for

themselves divine protection. The Romans, however, deduced their augural science, not from Etruria, but from the mythical Romulus, their first and greatest augur, and they intimate that in some points it differed from the Tuscan. Doubtless they used terms which were not Tuscan. Their "Sanguis Avis," one of the most important birds for augury, the Ossifraga (or Osprey), derived its name from the Sabine god Sancus, to whom it was sacred. There were also birds of the Tities (Titiae aves), appertaining to the Sodales of the tribe Tities, who were Sabines; but this notwithstanding, there can be no doubt that the original groundwork of augury, the Templum for instance, was purely Tuscan, and that the Sabines, the Latins, and other Italian people had adopted and nationalized, with slight variations, many of the Tuscan rites. The purely Tuscan ideas of the seat of the upper gods and the kingdom of the infernals is closely bound up with it. The Discipline of Tages indeed teaches many theories, and gives a cosmography of spiritual existences foreign to the Roman mind. But the Roman system must have been familiarly known to the Tuscans, and in the lapse of ages there would be many accommodations from the one people to the other, which, through gradual changes, would approach them to a union. According to Roman legend, their augury was not derived from Cære only, but also from Gabii, in which city Romulus was brought up. Tradition further said that by augury the whole land was divided into five classes, Roman, Gabinian, foreign,

hostile, and undetermined; and with the two first the auspices were taken in the same manner. The Romans also derive their toga from Gabii, but this is no proof that the Gabinians did not derive it themselves from the Tuscans, and so transmit it to the younger people.

Doubtless there would be slight changes in the transmission of customs, and far more of ideas from one people to another. Hence many originally Tuscan forms may have established themselves amongst the Romans with a Sabine, or even a Marisian tint upon them. The Marsii also were famous for their augurs.

The source of knowledge about augury in Cicero's time was tradition, communicated from one to another in the colleges which had been used to assemble every *nones* for that purpose. In the days of the Gracchi there were augural books, or commentaries upon augury, which apparently were composed of ancient rules and formulæ, with explanations by the most learned of the college members.

The Augur, Appius Claudius Pulcher, the colleague of Cicero, compiled from them an excellent augural book; and the Augur Messala drew from them an explanation of signs in which he declined to give the original import of "Marspedis," and in the same manner we find citations from other augural books.

The "Libri Reconditi" were distinct from these augural books, and were probably translations from the Tuscan, which were only consulted upon critical

occasions. One of their doctrines was that every bird which appeared unexpectedly could be used for an auspiciu, whilst in common augury only particular birds were effective, and by them alone would the gods be consulted.

CHAPTER VI.

ON THE LOCAL DIVISIONS AND FIXED PRINCIPLES OF THE ETRUSCAN DISCIPLINE.

THE foundation of all divinations and of the whole Etruscan system was *Templum*, that sacred division of the heavens, of the earth, and of all that was under the earth, into separate parts by the Lituus of the Augur. The *Templum* signified every circle in which auspices might be taken. The Romans divided these spheres of augury into four regions, *Cardo*, *Decumanus*, *Antica*, and *Postica*; *Antica* fronted the south, *Postica* the north; the west was on the right hand, and the east upon the left. The north was the most sacred, being regarded as the seat of the gods. The Etruscans divided their spheres into sixteen, therefore their auguries were more detailed and minute in their meanings. The holiest portion was the north-east; and that of most unfriendly import was close to it on the other side, the north-west. The Etruscans, like the Greek, regarded that quarter of the heavens as the most blessed, in which the sun, moon, and

stars rose, and attributed evil or failure to the quarter in which they set. By this means the flash which passed through the luckiest portion would by a little management be seen to pass also through the worst, and *vice versâ*. As east or west denoted good or evil, so north and south varied the intensity of the signs; that which was nearest to the dwelling of the gods being of course the strongest. There was a difference in the augury whether the seer simply looked for signs in the heavens or whether he looked for some particular sign for a particular object; and this latter constituted the augurium, which we have already described by an extract from Livy.*

Varro's assertion that the seat of the gods was in the north we learn yet more distinctly, from a very remarkable passage in Martianus Capella. He says that the whole heaven was divided into sixteen regions, amongst which the gods were distributed. In the first was Jupiter, whose house extended through them all, with the *Consentes* and *Penates*, *Salus*, the *Lares*, *Janus*, the *Favores*, *Opertanei*, and *Nocturnus*; in the second dwelt *Prædiatus* (perhaps a god of health from *præbia*, a charm), *Quirinus*, *Mars*, the *Lares* of War, *Juno*, *Fons*, the *Lymphæ*, and the *Novensiles*; in the third, *Jupiter Secundanus*, *Jupiter Opulentia*, *Minerva*, *Discordia*, *Seditio*, and *Pluto*; in the fourth, *Lympha Sylvestris*, *Mulciber*, *Lar Celestis* and *Familiaris*, *Favor*, *Ceres*, *Tellurus*, *Vulcan*, the father of the Earth, and *Genius*.

* See "Hist. of Etruria," vol. i.

Further, Jupiter's sons, Pales (who here appears as a male) and Favor, also Celeritas, the daughter of Sol, Mars, Quirinus, and Genius, have also here their dwelling. In the seventh region dwell Liber, Secundanus, and Pales, with their wives. In the eighth we have only the name of Veris Fructus. In the ninth dwells the Genius of Juno Sospita. In the tenth, Neptune, the *Lar omnium cunctalis*, Neverita, and Consus. In the eleventh, Fortuna, Valitudo, Pavor, Pallor, and the Manes. In the twelfth Sancus. In the thirteenth the Fates and the Gods of the Manes. In the fourteenth Saturn and his Celestial Juno. In the fifteenth Vejovis and the Dii Publici. In the sixteenth, finally, Nocturnus and the Janitors of the Earth.

This appears to be a fragment out of an Etruscan fulgural book, and is full of genuine Etruscan doctrine, though mixed up with a good deal of foreign matter.

The first region is beyond doubt the north-east, and this is further proved by Nocturnus, the god of Darkness, being placed in the adjoining and adverse sixteenth region. The first region is the chief dwelling of the gods, for here dwells Jupiter with the veiled deities, the Opertanei with the Consentes, the Penates, the Lares, and the Favores. Juno and Minerva are placed in the second and third regions as the equals and co-partners of Jupiter, seated by him in heaven as in the Capitol. These three divinities occupy the most favoured places, and they are "left-hand gods," rulers of the left. On the

other side, the Manes and the gods of the Manes occupy the eleventh and thirteenth regions, showing that their seat was to the west, along with the Fates. The region of Vejovis was about the west. In the sixteenth, or last, we find the doorkeepers of the Earth, by which I presume is meant, that they guarded the portals between earth and heaven, through which celestial beings descended to this lower world, and then again ascended.

But if the whole visible heaven was a Templum for auspices above, a very narrow circle was all that was conceded to them upon the earth, and this circle was marked out in the following manner. After the seer with his Lituus had marked the Cardo and Decumanus, and fixed upon the point of their intersection as his own zenith looking to the south, he was obliged to indicate a square by lines called "Cardines and Decumani." Varro has preserved to us the words of consecration as they were used for the Templum upon the Tarpeian Hill: "Templa, tescaque me ita sunt, quoad ego caste lingua nuncupavero. Olla veter arbor quirquir est quam me sentio dixisse, templum tescumque finite in sinistrum, olla veter arbor quirquir est quam me sentio dixisse, templum tescumque finito in dextrum. Inter ea conregione, conspiciione, cortumione, utique ea rectissime sensi." That is, "My temple and holy ground shall be as far as I can with a sanctified mind reach it with my voice. That old tree and whatever I may name with it shall be my boundary to the east. That other old tree and whatever else I shall

name with it shall be my boundary of the holy ground of the west. Between them I limit my temple through the drawing of lines, through supervision and through contemplation according to my best will and power."

After this, the augur observed in stillness and in silence that he might not by word or movement disturb the prosperous issue. His interpretation was not always right, as we find in the instance of Olenus Calenus, who obtained for answer, when he inquired about the head upon the Capitol, "Here shall be the head; here shall be the temple of Jupiter the Supreme." The answer arose from a strong impression, believed to be inspiration on his own mind, and his interpretation of it was, that Etruria was to be the head of Italy. The augur always believed himself in direct communication with the gods, and accepted the ideas which were impressed upon him as unquestionable indications of their will. The words used in answer were binding upon them for good and evil, and the augury formed a compact as it were between gods and men. Thus, whilst with the Greek words whether in worship or business were merely the signs of thought, amongst the Italians they carried weight as being of importance of themselves.

Sometimes a temple was only marked out by words, at other times by bands and linen cloths: the important point being to fix the corners, because every inch of it was holy, and must not be infringed upon, excepting only a space to go in and out. The

right and left, the front and back of the consecrated space, were as fixed as the templum in the heavens, and the entrance was always on the antica or southern side.

Most of the shrines and altars in Rome were in temples, but not all; for the temple was always a place in which auguries might be taken. It was not simply a *locus sanctus*, a *delubrum*, &c. The so-called temple of Vesta was not really a temple, as we may know from its form being round. The temple was originally synonymous with "fane;" and the first solemn act regarding it was to draw a cross in the centre of the space, to mark the *Cardo* and *Decumanus*.

One author, describing the *Agrimensores*, says that this was sometimes done by the elders of the assembly. Then the walls of the temple were erected, inclosing a square space, such as the temple of the Capitol, at whose foundation the Etruscan *Haruspices* presided, in which the breadth exceeded the length by fifteen feet. The worshipper was commanded after prayer to turn himself to the right, and then to depart; *i.e.*, having his face directed to the north, the seat of the gods, he was to turn himself to the fortunate East, and so cast *Veiovis* and all his unfriendly crew behind his back.

Further, we must remark that the whole civil life of the Tuscans and Romans was so interwoven with the religious, that not only places devoted to worship, but those also used for public assemblies, were consecrated temples.

The gods were supposed to guide all the affairs

of life, but they must be consulted in places set apart for the purpose. The Senate always met in a *Templum*. The *Curia*, *Hostilia*, *Pompeja*, and *Julia*, were temples of augury, in which the *Senatus consultus* might be held.

The spot in the *Forum Romanum*, from which the magistrate treated with the people, was an augural temple, in which the *Rostrum* was raised. It was originally appropriated to the *Curia Comitium*, but was afterwards used for the *Tribus Comitium*. In the *Campus Martius*, where the *Centuries* met—the spot on which the altar of *Mars* stood—was a temple; and here was the *Curule* chair, upon which the presiding magistrate sat. From this seat the magistrate spoke with priestly authority to the people.

In the temple of the *Rostra*, which lay to the south of the *Forum*, the magistrate originally was placed, like an augur, with his face to the south, towards the *Comitium* and the *Curia*, but turned away from the assembled multitude. The *Roman Asylum* appears to have been this kind of *Tuscan Templum* on its first institution, and not to have had any sacred building erected upon it, as *Dionysius* fancies.

All of these were *Templa* in the strict sense of the word, though, besides these, there were auspices connected with sacred chickens and other animals.

Almost all the *Etruscan* localities, which were sacred to the living or the dead, show a connexion

with the temple; and prove that the *Etruscans* grounded their customs and conduct in this life upon their firm belief in another of a higher and more enduring character.

The *Tuscan* rite of the foundation of cities was, according to *Cato* and *Varro*, as follows,—

The founder, on a day determined by favourable auspices, appeared clothed in a *Gabinian Toga*, leading a white ox and a white cow, yoked to a plough, whose share must be of iron; the ox on the right outwards, and the cow on the left inwards, drawing a square with a continuous furrow; all the sods falling inwards to be used in the building of the walls. At the place of the gates the plough was lifted up and carried over.

If we connect this with what we have already stated as to the corn vault in the centre of this square, we are led back to a vision of an originally agricultural tribe, with whom agriculture was a sacred occupation, and the foundation of all their civil polity (something like the *Chinese*).

All the *Etruscan* cities lay four-square, so far as the ground allowed; and old *Rome* was "*Roma Quadrata*," though it had a pointed corner beyond the *Pomœrium* of the *Palatine*, towards the *Circus Maximus*, upon which the altar of *Consus* was erected. This four-square made an analogy between the city, whose walls were all sacred, and the *Templum*.

The furrow was called "*Urvum aratri*;" the plough-share, as a component part of the plough *urvaré*,

and as *v* and *b* are interchangeable in all languages, it is not to be doubted that the Latin word *Urbs* is derived from it; and in the early days of Rome no colony became an *Urbs* unless it was founded in this manner.

With the foundation of cities was involved the site of their chief sanctuary.

The old scholiast upon Virgil gives it as a part of the Etruscan discipline, that no city of Etruria could be called an *Urbs* unless it had three holy gates and three temples (they might all be in one enclosure) to the three great divinities, Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. This, however, did not exclude other gates and other gods. It was certainly the doctrine of the Ritual books, that these patron divinities should first be appointed their holy possession, and that in the most elevated part of the ground from which they could overlook the major part of the buildings.

Before the Tarquinian era Rome appears to have had an older Capitol upon the Quirinal, in which were the sanctuaries of the three gods.

As to the gates it seems to have been undetermined which quarter of the heavens should be excluded, whether the unlucky west, the nearest to the infernal world, or the less-esteemed south. "*Roma Quadrata*" appears to have had only three gates, *Porta Romanula*, *Janualis*, and *Mucionis*, lying west, north-west, and north. The south was shut up; but all this is grounded on a very obscure tradition. *Cossa*, whose walls are nearly square,

has gates to the east, north, and south; but its situation scarcely admits of an entrance from the west. *Rusella* had gates to the north, east, and west; some cities had more.

The sanctity of the walls being a chief point in the Tuscan foundation of cities, and a consequence from their idea of the *Templum*, they were guarded by a space void of buildings within and without, called by the Latins "*Pomœrium*," divided into regions, and marked off by stones, called *cippi* or *termini*. This was also sacred augural ground, and might not be transgressed.

The *Pomœrium* was dedicated to peace and to civil government. No military oath could be taken there, and no troops were allowed within its precincts. But in time of war it formed a most convenient space for the massing of its defenders. The custom of destroying a city by passing the plough over its walls, and so annihilating its sanctity, is old Etruscan.

With the original form of a city, that of a camp bears a striking similarity, and both bear a close relation to the *Templum*.

The Etruscan lawgiver was also their first camp-founder, and the fixing of the *Cardo* and *Decumanus* in it was his first care. These lines gave the *Cardo* as the *Via principalis*, and the *Decumanus* as the broad street. The camp, like the heavenly *Templum*, placed the east in front and the north upon the left hand. The Commander, like the Augur, turned his face to the rising sun. The front gate, called the

Prætorian, was at one end of the Decuman street; and, in later times, was always towards the east.

The Porta Decumana, which lay to the west, was used to drive criminals through, and to carry out the dead, as the west was the quarter of the Manes.

Near to the Prætorian Gate stood the Prætorium, originally an Etruscan institution—a square of 200 feet—larger than the Capitoline temple. On the right lay the Auguraculum, with its altar; on the left the Tribunal—the whole forming a Templum. Here were deposited the standards of the Legions, always sacred in the eyes of the Romans; and their holy character was probably derived from the early teaching and faith of the Tuscans.

The science of land-measuring was also, in the beginning of the Etruscan polity, considered as a part of the auspices; and is here best mentioned as connected with the many-sided character of the Templum. It was a noble thought of the primitive Tuscans that the land, which, according to their belief, Jupiter had given them to cultivate, should be divided in a similar way to the place in which they heard his voice; and thus they wished that every acre should stand in religious connexion with his system of the universe, and his division of the heavens over our heads.

Jupiter himself was supposed to have ordained the partition and limitation of the lands, either immediately or through his son the Genius Tages, and it would be a crime against the decrees of heaven to disturb or neglect this order.

In this also it was the first care to describe the *Cardo* and *Decumanus*. How the Etruscans originally effected this is unknown. Their *groma* or *gruma* is evidently corrupted from the Greek *γνώμα*, and this gnomon (dial) was not known either to them or to the Romans for some time afterwards, as the Greeks first received it from the Babylonians in the days of Pherecydes and Anaximander. In previous times the Tuscans must have had some other method for fixing the place of the sun at noon-day, and from that point they reckoned all their time. Occasionally they preferred to calculate from the pole-star at night. Auspices could be taken at night, and it appears that the Templum was drawn out at sunset. Later it was common to reckon from due east and due west, whence unscientific Agrimensores, instead of measuring from the cardinal points, took the sunrise and sunset of the time of year. Hence these men usually made the Decumanus their leading line from which they measured off the others, and this led to a change in the meaning of the terms. It is, however, hard to understand how they came to make west the front and south the left. This inversion of names obtained in Lower Italy, Campania, and Bruttium. In Rome *Cardo* continued to represent the lines from north to south, and the expressions *Anticum* and *Posticum* had the same meaning in land-measuring as in the Templum.

The measure of a square of 100 feet was called a *versus*, and was rather less than half a Roman jugerum. It was the measure used in Umbria, and

was continued as a vestige of the old Etruscan rule in Campania.

In conclusion, we find the idea of the *Templum* carried out in the cemeteries as we might have expected. The entrance to a tomb was from the south, and in the large stone coffins the corpse was laid with the head to the north, the seat of the gods, and the feet to the south.

CHAPTER VII.

ON PARTICULAR BRANCHES OF ETRUSCAN DIVINATION.

It is a remark of the ancients that Italy is distinguished from other lands by the frequency and severity of its storms, and amongst the divisions of Italy Etruria in this respect stands pre-eminent, owing to its mountain-chains. The Tuscans who marked the finger of the gods even in the smallest occurrences could not fail to venerate them, especially in lightning, a phenomenon through which all the nations of antiquity believed that they spake with man. The *Fulgatores* (amongst whom the men of Fiesole were the most celebrated) were therefore placed in the highest class of the *Haruspices*. The rules of their science were laid down in the Books of *Bygoë* and other *Fulgural* treatises. In the early days of Rome they were little inquired after out of their own country; but in the time of Diodorus they were spread throughout Italy, and in the days

of Julian they accompanied the Emperor in his campaigns.

The Tuscan *Fulgurator* contemplated the lightning under four aspects,—to consult, to expiate, to ward off, or to draw down.

To consult, he observed whence the flash came and whither it went. Its mission depended upon which of the sixteen regions it passed through, and it was of more importance to observe its exit than its entrance. The best omen was, when the lightning passed out of the first region into it again. A thunderbolt was naturally considered according to the spot on which it fell. A flash in the place of common assembly or solemn magistracy was called "*Fulmen Regale*," and was interpreted according to ancient Etruscan Discipline when there were kings over all the States. Such a flash betokened civil war, overthrow of the State, an entire revolution of the place and its destination. Next to this comes lightning in the *Prætorium* of the camp, which betokened the conquest of the same and the destruction of its commander. Lightning in the Temple of Juno concerned the matrons, and in the shrines of other gods was an omen to those concerned with them. We are not told anything certain about lightning upon walls and gates; the question was in what region of the *Pomœrium* the stroke had fallen. Then came the inquiry which god had sent it. There were nine who hurled the thunderbolt, Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Vejovis, Summanus, Vulcan, Saturn, and Mars, of whom we have already spoken.

Each god had his own peculiar flash, but Jupiter held three in his hands, so that there were eleven flashes for divination, according to the doctrine of the Fulgatores. Of the three pertaining to Jupiter one had relation to himself alone, and was for peace and remembrance; one was for counsel with the other gods, and bore with it somewhat of a sinister import; one was for counsel with the veiled gods, and changed the whole aspect of existing circumstances. The different nature of these flashes was discriminated by their effects. The first was quite innocent, the second came with great noise and force, the third blasted and destroyed on all sides. That any particular flash did come from Jupiter was known partly from the colour—his flashes being all red—partly from the quarter of the sky out of which they proceeded, viz., the three first regions, and partly by the time at which they were hurled. The lightning of Minerva was restricted to the spring of the year; that of Saturn, which appeared to issue from the ground, was limited to mid-winter, and was above all others dangerous and dreaded. The lightning of Mars scorched or burnt. A deep red flaming bolt of Mars in A.R. 659 burnt the unlucky city of Volsinia. Deadly or death-bringing lightning was ascribed to Vejovis.

It was therefore a very difficult thing to determine to which god any of the various bolts, any particular one, was to be ascribed, for the time, the quarter of the heavens, the nature and effects of the stroke, must all be taken into account.

The Romans, who abbreviated the Etruscan Discipline for the use of their State, compressed the nine Etruscan thunder-gods into two, inasmuch as they ascribed all the lightning which was visible in the day-time to Jupiter, and all that came by night to Summanus. Lightning which fell as a *shower* and passed over they called "Provorsa."

Let us now inquire what the lightning meant or foreshadowed. To determine this, the locality whence the flash came, and whither it went, and the god who sent it, must be considered; also the circumstances under which the auspices were taken, and the reason why they were sought. The Tuscan Lucumo believed his intercourse with the deity to be so intimate, that the gods were interested in all that befell him, whether public or private.

Lightning which fell before the execution of a projected undertaking was called "Consiliaria," and advised for or against. After the completion of the work, lightning was called "Auctoritatis," and blamed or approved; those, finally, which had no reference to any undertaking were called "Fulmina Status," others were termed admonitory "Monitoria."

Heed was also given to the endurance of the electric sign, whether it was for life or merely for a period, or whether it threatened some evil which might be averted. Of the first kind was a thunder-bolt at birth or marriage, or the entering upon an inheritance; upon the founding of a city or the leading forth of a colony. Temporary signs of the second class might endure for ten years with an

individual, and thirty with a State. Lightning, in conjunction with other signs, might confirm and strengthen, or might overtop and change them all. Some flashes indicated that an offering was accepted, and others that a vow was absolved.

Another point in the doctrine of lightning concerned the expiation which it made. Where it struck the ground, that spot was sacred through the whole of Italy, and the origin of this was Tuscan. The Haruspex erected such a spot into a *Templum*, in which two-year-old animals might be sacrificed. He surrounded it by a wall, and left it open at the top like a well, or like that kind of altar called "*Ara*." Stones and other articles struck by the bolt were called "*Bidental*," and such an article must never be used nor even looked upon. The stone slabs which are occasionally found inscribed "*fulgur conditum*" belonged to this class. If a second bolt fell in the old place before the first had been consecrated, it was called "*fulmen obrutum*." If a tree was struck it was regarded as unlucky, and the sacrificial cake was broken beside it. Men who were killed by lightning might not be burned, but must be buried by the Haruspex without ceremonies. The idea connected with thunderbolts always was that the angry gods required a sacrifice from men, and thus warned them of their needful duty.

The third point was how to avert lightning. The Tuscans had precepts for turning away storms. Tarchon, according to Columella, surrounded his house with a hedge of white grapes; and Tages, to

secure the land against misfortune, placed upon the boundary stone the decapitated head of an ass. Such a charm was also used in ancient Rome, but Juvenal tells us that it was fixed on the banqueting room!

We now come to the fourth and most enigmatical point touching the drawing down of lightning. There is no doubt that this was practised from the earliest ages, and that in the flash Jupiter was often believed to descend out of favour to the inquirer. In this way King Porsenna invoked the lightning, and the Volsinians destroyed the horrible monster Voltu. In this way Numa consulted the supreme deity, and Tullus Hostilius accomplished his own destruction. The accustomed forms and ceremonies were known to the Tuscan Haruspices down to the very latest times, and by the use of them they believed that they had defended Narnia against Alaric, and hoped to protect Rome.

Jupiter Elicius continued to be venerated longer than any other form of that god.

So much knowledge concerning natural phenomena amongst the Tuscans seems to imply much more; for instance, a considerable insight into the causes of electricity; but here we must stop. The Etruscan faith made the priests keenly observant of every outward circumstance connected with lightning, but rather deterred than quickened their inquiries as to hidden influences.

The lightning-diviners of the Etruscans and the natural philosophers in general are classed together

by Diodorus, and we find the Greeks, especially Aristophanes and Aristotle, dividing the lightning into three systems, answering to the three bolts in the hand of Jupiter; namely, the innocent, and the destructive from the clouds, and the flash which proceeds from the earth. We may well admire the accurate observations of the ancients, but we cannot give them credit for having discovered the cause.

Another very important branch of Etruscan divination is the inspection of entrails, commonly called the taking of auspices. The rules for this proceeding are very obscure, though, doubtless, something might be discovered by a comparison of all that we are told respecting Italian sacrifices. Something depended on anatomical knowledge, and much on the observant powers of the divines. The Tuscans were diligent sacrificers, and therefore made sacrifice a part of divination. Thus priests and Haruspices divided the offerings into two classes, atoning and consulting.

By the first only the blood and life of the animal was sacrificed to the god, without the entrails being exposed and burnt. These latter seem always to have been expiatory, like the "*Acherontischen*," by means of which men's souls were redeemed from the lower world, and were turned into "*Dii Animales*." When employed for this purpose men spoke of the "*Melior Anima*," or better life.

The other class of sacrifices comprises those by which the will or counsel of the gods is consulted through the entrails, and these entrails are then

offered to them as a thank-offering. Divination is here the proper aim of the offering. In this form it was common to the twelve States and appears to have been peculiar to the Tuscans.

When at a "*Consultatorium sacrificium*" the sacrifice was slain, the first point was, that the body should be opened and the sacred portions inspected, especially the lungs, heart, and liver. The heart was first introduced for consultation after the war with Pyrrhus. The liver was originally held to be of the most importance, because it was considered as the seat of animal life.

The different organs amongst the Tuscans were sacred to different gods, the gall, for instance, was dedicated to Neptune, and betokened luck or misfortune by water, other portions related to fire. The influence of the infernal gods was discerned through the colour and form of the intestines. Further, the different sides of the offerings had different meanings. The liver had a friendly and a hostile side. The appearance of the first depended upon the fate of the offerer, the other upon that which awaited his foe; strong sinews upon the hostile side betokened misfortune; an orange-coloured liver was a sign of scarcity, and, according to Tages, it was necessary in such a case to drag up and down the "*manales lapides*," the stones which charmed down rain. A deficiency in one portion of the liver denoted ruin; an exaggerated increase of it, division; a slit in it a revolution of the existing order of things.

That portion of the inwards which was holy to the gods was sprinkled over with salt and flour. It was then cut up, placed in dishes, and carried to be burnt.

Before dividing the liver and other parts, they were sodden, and if, during the process, any portion shrank and was absorbed, this was as bad a sign as if the whole had failed from the beginning. There elapsed, therefore, between the slaying of the animal and the cutting up and offering of the sacrifice a considerable time, also there were many days of common life upon which no such sacrifice could be made, "Dies nefasti."

It is also certain that the later Romans, especially their commanders and magistrates, troubled themselves very little about the complicated rules of Etruscan divination.

The Greeks, at the time of the Persian war, had many points of divination agreeing exactly with the Etruscan, and which they appear to have borrowed from them. It is probable, if we had details upon the subject, that we should find the whole of Asia Minor observing the same rules; and it would be a strong additional proof to us that the Etruscans were originally of that race, as their earlier traditions assert.

According to *Æschylus*, Prometheus showed to mortals what must be the colour and appearance of the intestines in order to please the gods, also the various forms of the gall and the liver for divination when it was burnt. According to *Euripides*, when

Egistheus offered before his death, the liver had no head.

Plutarch tells us that *Agesilaus* was warned of his death by a similar sign, and so, long afterwards, was *Alexander the Great*. This agreement with the Etruscans cannot be fortuitous. It was probably taught by them to the Sicilians of *Syracuse* and passed from the Sicilians into Greece.

The Tuscans also observed the flight of birds in common with the Italians, Mysians, Phrygians, and Carians, and many of the Greeks; but, inasmuch as the Romans consulted them rarely upon this head, and had their own signs, which were often of a contrary signification, we have less information about this point than about most others. There is no doubt that the Tuscan doctrine was much fuller than the Roman. Instead of a very few birds of omen they could draw omens from every bird, and appear to have held them sacred to different gods. The crow, for example, belonged to *Juno*. *Pliny* tells us, that in the books of discipline birds were drawn unknown to the Romans. Some birds gave auspices by their voice breaking the silence of augury, others only by their flight, whether to or from the *Haruspex*. A bird appearing in the zenith was a sign of great fortune, and, according to *Livy*, was so interpreted by an Etruscan priestess.

Finally, the explanation of wonders, prodigies, portents, and monstrosities, was a chief part of discipline, and the rules for them must have been very numerous. The Tuscans found auspices in the

usual course of nature, and prodigies in whatever was extraordinary. Horses gave auspices. Trees were divided into lucky and unlucky. The fall of a tree had its meaning.

The Haruspices often explained new prodigies upon the spur of the moment, being assisted by native wit or sagacity.

Thus in A.R. 626 (B.C.), they explained an eruption of Etna as foreshadowing a secret insurrection; and before Cicero's consulate they advised the making of an image of Jupiter, to be placed in the Forum looking eastward over the Curia as a charm against civil disturbances.

Thus we see that the chief part of divine worship consisted in divination and in burnt-offerings to the deity consulted. The ritual of prayer was taken from the forms used in the Templum, the sacrifice was partly ruled by the Haruspex and partly by the belief in the Lares, and the gods of the Shades. Only a small portion of the animal was burnt, and the rest was divided between the offerers. The Etruscans endeavoured to give their worship every possible splendour, and to unite in it everything that could gratify and charm the senses.

Their gods and goddesses were dressed as men and women of the highest rank; and the wardrobe of Jupiter and his companions Juno and Minerva in the Capitol was of the most costly and refined description. This subject, however, leads to our next chapter upon the arts and sciences of the Etruscans.

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BOOK IV.

ON THE ARTS AND SCIENCES OF THE ETRUSCANS.

CHAPTER I.

ON THE SACRED GAMES AND THE MUSIC OF THE ETRUSCANS.

WHAT we call *Art* amongst the Tuscans, was closely connected with their religious worship. There must have been a time when undoubtedly every dance and every tune were consecrated to worship, and when every meal at which flesh was eaten must have betokened a sacrifice.

The pomp, the music, the rival games, all then formed one whole with the temple services. Gradually they became independent and were made useful in purely civil life.

We find that the twelve States were offended when the nobles of Veii withdrew their youths from the games because they considered it an offence to the gods. According to the Haruspices, neglect of the fitting games often roused the anger of the gods against Rome, and these games were expected to be

conducted with little less solemnity than sacrifices and auspices. If the dancer stood still at the wrong moment, if the flute-player ceased to blow, if the youth who conducted the procession car turned aside, or if he took his hand off the reins, the games were as much disordered as if during augury the silence had been broken. The fault must be atoned for, and very often the games must be commenced anew.

Such a superstition brings with it the consequence, that the arts subservient to them must have remained from age to age the same.

Appian, in describing a triumph, tells us that the generals went first, then the lictors in purple tunics, and then, in imitation of an Etruscan pomp, a choir of players on the cither and the flute, with girdles and golden diadems, called "*Ludier*;" amongst whom there was one in a long purple mantle, golden bracelets and necklaces, who made grimaces, as if in derision of the foe. Then followed the incense-bearers, and, finally, the triumpher himself, in his toga decked with stars; his tunic embroidered with palm-leaves; his wreath of golden oak-leaves; his ivory sceptre, tipped with gold, and his chariot with golden plates, and drawn by four horses.

All these things the Romans* borrowed from the Etruscans. The games of the Circus bore a strong resemblance to a triumph.

In them were young men on foot, and men riding in chariots and on horseback. The *Athletes*; the choir of armed dancers; then the unarmed

dancers, called by Dionysius "*Satyristen*," probably the same as the *Ludiers*; then the flute and lyre players; then the bearers of incense; and, lastly, the images of the gods. Nothing is wanting to make this ceremony identical with the triumph, except that a *Curule* magistrate should close the pomp in the gorgeous robes of triumph, and perhaps carry with him images of his ancestors, thus mingling the commemoration of the aristocracy with the worship of the gods. The chariots of the latter were of ivory, inlaid with plates of silver.

All these pomps and all religious ceremonies were accompanied by music: an art in which the Etruscans attained so much proficiency, though they were not inventors, that the reputation of their flute-players long outlived the fame and freedom of the nation.

Stringed instruments are never mentioned in the descriptions of their entertainments, though they are represented in paintings; but the wind instruments were known throughout antiquity. Flute-players attended at every sacrifice, and were present at every feast and ceremony. The dancers danced to the flute, the wrestlers wrestled—the masters scourged their slaves, the cook and the baker carried on their labours by its music. The chase was also accompanied by the flute; and it was the common belief of the people, that the boar and stag were allured into the toils by the tones of this instrument. So extensive a demand caused numbers of men to devote themselves to this calling; and amongst

Numa's guilds we find one of flute-players. These were, most probably, the Tuscan "Subulones," not natives of Rome; and the subsequent story of their withdrawal from the city upon an affront seems to corroborate this view.*

The fame of the Tyrrhenian flute-players reached even into Greece; and Polystratos, the Athenian, received the name of "Tyrrhenus" because of his exquisite playing. His love for the art even induced him to wear the long garments and the masks in which the Tuscan performers walked the streets. It seems to have been as a remnant of their Asiatic descent that they continued to wear the old costume. This was a saffron robe (the colour of the Lydian Bacchus) and Milesian shoes; and Horace tells us that, as the music became more enervating, the garments also grew longer.

Virgil calls the instrument of the Subulones *ivory*. Pliny says that at sacrifices it was of box-wood, and at the games of lotus-wood, or of asses' bones, and silver.

The lotus-wood seems not to have been Tuscan, but to have been used in similar games dedicated to the great Phrygian Mother Cybele. The ancient flute of the Circus was short and small. The sculptures leave us no room to doubt that the double flute was commonly used by the Etruscans.

Now Pliny ascribes the invention of this instrument to the Phrygian Marsyas, and another author

* Livy, ix. 30.

to the Phrygian Hyagnis, thus showing that its use was very common in Asia Minor from remote times. Alyattes is said to have set out for war with male and female fluters. On the other hand, the flute-players in Greece were almost all Asiatics; so that we must regard this instrument in Etruria as one of the connecting links with their real or legendary cradle in Lydia.

Indeed, the Greeks called the instrument the "Lydian flute;" and in Etruria it was consecrated to Minerva.

In that country it had probably a shriller and louder tone than in Asia, because the use of it, at the solemn sacrifices, was to drown every sound of evil augury.

This instrument was usually accompanied by a crooked flute or horn, with a bent mouth to deepen and modify the tone.

Varro tells us of an ancient flute with only four holes, which hung as an offering in the temple of Marsyas, on the Lake Fucinus; but the Etruscans did not rest satisfied with anything so rude and imperfect as this instrument. On a patera we have a flute with six holes; but much more remarkable is an instrument like an organ, but called by Pollux a Tyrrhenian flute. It was like a coiled-up syringe. The pipes were of brass, and blown from below by air, from a bag or billows if small, and by water if large, which, rushing in, drove out the air above, and produced a very powerful sound.

Still more celebrated was the Tuscan or Tyrrhene

trumpet, which was invented by that people. The existence of the Tuba or the Salpinx, which is the same instrument, we can trace in the very earliest annals of Greece, but always as a foreign instrument. Homer names it in his comparisons as if its use were new. So, also, it was not known to all the Greeks at once.

The Spartans and the Cretans used to go into battle to the sound of the lyre and the flute. The tragedians seem the first to have introduced it, though they gave it no place in their mythology.

Eschylus relates that Athene sounded the loud and piercing Tyrrhenian trumpet. Sophocles compares the voice of Athene to a brazen *Tyrrhenian* trumpet. Euripides and other authors call it by the same name, as do also the Latin writers. One of the proverbs in Greece was, that "Athene had invented the trumpet for the Tyrrhenians."

From this it appears that the Salpinx became known to the Hellenes through the Tyrrhenians; but as we cannot trace any commerce between Greeks and Tuscans in such very early times, to make the music of one nation known to the other, we must suppose that these Tyrrhenians were Pelasgi, who, in the days of the Heraclidæ and the following century, wandering through Greece, spread there the knowledge of the trumpet; and thence, settling on the coasts of Italy, introduced it as their martial music, and made it, as it were, indigenous.

This is one of the coincidences between Athene and Minerva, to both of whom the trumpet was

sacred. Attached to the temple of Athene Salpinx in Argos, we find the tradition that Hegeleos, the son of Tyrsenos, the son of Hercules by the *Lydian* Omphale, had brought with him the trumpet, with the Dorians, from *Temenos* to that place, and hence the goddess derived her name. Such a tradition is probably based upon some very ancient alliance between the Tyrrhenians and the Heraclidæ; and it is evident how very useful such a loud sounding call must have been to the leader of a migrating host.

The invention is sometimes attributed to the Tyrrhenian Maleos, a pirate, who takes his name from Malea, a hill in Laconia, upon which he had built a fort. He also is called the son of Hercules and Omphale. Others refer back the invention of the trumpet to Lydia as the cradle of the Tyrrhene race. Another proverb refers the invention of both flute and trumpet to Lydos and Tyrrhenos, when they endeavoured to prolong, by amusement, the lives of their starving people. Others say that the instrument was invented at sea by the pirates to keep their scattered fleet together; and, through the visits of Tyrrhenian vessels to the coasts of Greece and Italy, Asia Minor and the islands, the trumpet first became generally known. All these sayings agree together in the main.

To prove, however, that the very same sound-producing medium as the trumpet of Asia Minor was indigenous in Etruria, we have other evidences. The saying which names Pisæos as its inventor refers it to Pisa. Silius says that it was introduced

from Vetulonia into the other States. Trumpets are always mentioned along with the Tuscan armies; in Rome, the blowers of the Tuba were generally Tuscans, and all the Latin writers agree in their testimony that Etruria was the native country of that instrument.

The Etruscans had another instrument of very piercing tone, called the *Lituus*, its name showing its country. It was of a crooked shape, like the lituus of the Augur, and was much used in religious ceremonies, at funerals, and to give signals on the field of battle. It, like the trumpet, was made of metal, with a mouthpiece of bone for the safety of the musicians, the muscles of whose faces were generally strongly brought out by the exertion which these and other great horns required.

The Tuscans have no reputation for song or poetry along with their music; the only theatrical accompaniment seems to have been the dance, in gay festive robes, and with much gesticulation. They were called "Ludi" or "Ludiones," but their native name was "Hister Histriones." Some of their accessories of a Bacchic character may very possibly have been borrowed from the Magna Grecians by the Southern Etruscans, and through them have become disseminated amongst the Central States.

We must also notice the practice of war-dances amongst the Tuscans, for it was a part of the pomp of the Circus, and assimilated the Etruscan Histriones with the Kuretes. There were dances in

Veii answering to the Salian, which latter tradition was derived from *Morrio*, a king of Veii, and there is a Tuscan painting which undeniably represents such a dance. The actors in it are chiefly youths, wearing purple tunics and brazen girdles, short swords and lances. The men wear bronze helmets with high plumes. Each band had a leader, who imitated the movements of a fight in a certain rhythm. Hence we find that song was mingled with it, or they would not have observed the prescribed measure, and some fragments of the Salian songs are yet preserved to us. The first singer was named Vates, and the first dancer Præsul. All must bend or touch the ground together, and therefore they required continual practice to keep in time.

Another game of the Tuscans was wrestling or boxing. The Athletes of the Circus were derived from Etruria to Rome, but it was the lower class of people only, the dependants of the great, who took part in them. It was never the nobles, as with the Greeks, for no Italian noble would ever expose himself naked. In Tuscan representations we find wrestlers continually with the flute-players, and they were no doubt of the same professional class.

Another sport in Etruria, very similar to the Greeks, was the chariot-race. This formed the very staple of the Circus, and the *quadriga* was the form always preferred, although *bigæ* and even single race-horses were admitted. The Tuscans, who introduced these sports into Rome, continued to take

such an interest in them, that, according to one legend preserved by Servius, Porsenna granted a truce during the siege of the city that he might contend in the Circus races, and that he was crowned as victor. In later times a Cæcina of Volterra sent his quadriga to the Roman games. Still later we find the Circus arranged to represent the course of the Sun and the Seasons of the year, and then we have descriptions of the paces of the horses and the symbolical colours of the factions. The course round the Spina and the Meta always led upon the left side, or inner circle, and was in relation with the religious usages of the Tuscan people.

Amongst the Etruscan sports we must reckon the Gladiatorial shows. They were foreign to the Greeks, or only used as trials in feats of arms; they were never combats to the death. Nicholas of Damascus tells us that the Romans first took them from the Etruscan banquets. We know also that the name of the superintendent and trainer, "Lanista," was Tuscan. They were not, however, common to the whole people, but were introduced from Campania, where the Tuscan nature was influenced and modified by the barbarity of the Samnites and the enervating climate of the country. Capua was the head-quarters of this cruel and debasing sport, and continued to be so to the last. It gradually extended itself through Italy, so that at last it was advertised at all the great fairs that gladiatorial games were to take place. It became a part of the funeral ceremonial for distinguished persons, and it was perhaps

not worse than the sacrifice of slaves and prisoners on such an occasion, which continued until very late in their annals, and was regarded as a pious and suitable offer to the manes of the dead.

CHAPTER II.

ARCHITECTURE OF THE TUSCANS.

THE architecture of the Tuscans brings before us most characteristically a people who had a strong sense of symmetry and order, as is shown in their doctrines of the *Templum*; a strong inclination for pomp is evidenced by their triumphs, their games, and their ceremonials; and besides this, that through their aristocratic and hierarchical constitution they had always a superfluity of hands at their command to carry out grand designs. Such a nation must naturally have cherished a taste for architecture. They did not create art, however, but only esteemed and employed it to exalt the dignity of their courtly and priestly nobles, as their music and choral games testify. Yet they united to the most scrupulous observation of their all-embracing and most superstitious ritual the inward love of a reckless luxury and extravagance. This is shown in the gladiatorial games, the Bacchic feasts, and the general corruption of manners in later times, thus evincing that even in their most enduring works they were deficient in the spirit and pure sense of the beautiful,

the sublime, and the refined, which a lofty architecture above all other arts can show forth, and through the possession of which alone it can secure an immortality. With these observations the remains of the Etruscans singularly agree. Their ideas as to civil constructions were soon developed.

Through the Atrium they gave space and convenience to their dwelling-houses; they built regular city walls and tombs of unusual solidity: it seems indeed probable, if not proved, that the vault and the arch were known to them. But their stately buildings, before they had Grecian models, seem to have borne the inharmonious character (the somewhat Chinese character) of Porsenna's tomb, according to the description of it by Pliny and Varro; and though their words picture forth an impossible building, yet it seems to have been standing in Varro's day.

He says, as an eye-witness according to Pliny, that "Porsenna lies buried under the city of Clusium, in a monument, which he built for himself, of squared stone; each side 300 feet broad and 50 high. Within this enclosure there was a labyrinth, out of which no man could find his way without a clue. Upon this foundation stood five pyramids—one at each corner and one in the middle—each 170 feet broad at the base and 150 high, tapering up so finely that, on the topmost point, only a bronze circle and hat could be laid, from which depended a chain of bells, which gave a loud sound.

"Above these stood four other pyramids, each

100 feet high; and *above** these, again, five other pyramids, whose height Varro does not venture to calculate. According to Tuscan tradition they were as high as all the rest of the work; and their author sought, by their colossal size, to secure for himself a renown in the outer world, which he lost by their uselessness. The expense exhausted the resources of his kingdom, and the merit, such as it was, surely belonged to the architect."

It appears that Varro really saw some portion of the building (fabric), for he would scarcely have given such minute details from mere hearsay; and the upper and missing portions were magnified to him by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. It was not all fancy. It had a foundation in some gigantic work of ancient magnificence; but what that was it is impossible now to restore. Of the five lower pyramids the centre one was the larger, so as, in form again, to represent a pyramid.

The bronze *orbis* or *petasus* appears to have been of wood, and was probably covered over with plates of bronze: a wonderful work for those days from the absence of supports. The top of it may have borne another of slender size, rising from the higher pyramid of the centre; and the four pyramids of the second story were perhaps only minarets in continuation of the lower columns, and for which the scaffolding of the roof served for a wide support.

* May not "above" mean, higher up an incline? Pliny, Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 19, 4.

A portion of this plan we still see in the so-called tomb of the Horatii at Albano.

The Labyrinth at Clusium, regarded as a colossal work, was merely so for that small city. The Labyrinth of Memphis was double its size.

These imitative works seem to imply, that in the days of Porsenna there was commerce between Etruria and Egypt. Perhaps he himself had visited Egypt in one of his own merchant-vessels.

Probably the Sardinian Nuraghe, which present so many affinities with the Etruscan sepulchral mounds, were also the work of that people.

Diodorus ascribes them, by an ancient tradition, to Dædalos and the Pelasgi; and some portion of the Etruscan people appear to have been Pelasgi—those for instance, settled in Cære and in Hulina.

It is a tradition, preserved in one of the Greek poets, that Priam shut up Cassandra in a stone building without beams, or a proper ceiling in the roof; *i.e.*, not a square roof, but a vaulting of stone, like the Nuraghe and parts of the tomb of Porsenna.

In the building of their temples the Etruscans struck out an order of their own which still bears their name. We find the description of it in Vitruvius, taken apparently from the then existing temple of Ceres, Liber, and Libera; vowed by Postumius in A.R. 258, B.C. 495, and dedicated by Sp. Cassius in A.R. 261, B.C. 492. He says, "The ground-plan of an Etruscan temple is nearly square; for instance, a length of 12 by a breadth of 10. The length is

divided into one half for the cellum, and one half for the portico and pillars. If the temple contains three cells or shrines these will occupy the whole of the hinder half. If there is only one shrine these pillars will occupy the ground on either side of it. The distance from the centre of one pillar to that of the other is three, and so is their distance from the wall.

"There are two rows of pillars before the shrine, each four in number; and there is a wider space left before the principal entrance. The centre shrine has a breadth of four, the side shrines of three; so that the outer and partition-walls answer to the site of the pillars." According to this simple and clear description, the doors of the great shrine close exactly in the centre of the building. The point at which the *Cardo* and *Decumanus* cross each other, and which divides the building into the *Antica* and *Postica*, already described.

The temple of the Capitol, which was consecrated by Augurs and Haruspices, and built by Etruscan artificers, appears to agree entirely with this description. We know concerning it, from Dionysius, that its circumference was 800 feet, and its length was 15 feet in excess of its breadth; *i.e.*, $207\frac{1}{2}$ by $192\frac{1}{2}$. There were three rows of pillars in front, and one row at the sides; and from a coin of Vespasian's it appears that there were six pillars in each front row, therefore seven in the length. These we must so divide as to leave 15 feet between the columns and leave space for the grand central en-

trance, within which the Consul, or Imperator, and Augur, stood on the day of dedication.

Vitruvius further instructs us concerning the temple, that the pillars must measure one-third of its breadth, and therefore must be $3\frac{1}{2}$ in height; also one-half in the lower thickness; this proportion gives one quarter the lower diameter. It would appear that originally the pillars were shorter, but the thickness remaining the same, when they were heightened, the proportions became more slender. The temple dedicated by Sp. Cassius had certainly slenderer pillars. There can be little doubt that the Tuscan order was a native imitation or development of the Grecian Doric.*

It was a Tuscan peculiarity that the beams in the stone buildings were invariably of wood. They seem to have attained a perfectibility in wood-work beyond other nations; and hence we are told that the first Pons Sublicius, at the foot of the Tuscan settlement, on the Janiculum, had no metal in it. Vitruvius describes to us how artistically these beams were placed to form an architrave; how they crossed each other, and to what a height they rose.

It appears, also, that the indigenous buildings of Italy required very deep and strong foundations, that they might admit under them the graves of young children, who were allowed to be buried in

* May it not rather have been a development of the Egyptian Proto-Doric, which it so much more nearly resembles?

the dwellings of their kindred, whilst all adults were required to be carried forth beyond the city.

How much the Etruscans prided themselves upon the skilful timbering of their houses may be seen by the imitation of roofing beams in the stone-work of their tombs.

The spaces between the beam-ends appear to have been fastened with nails, forming the *antepagmenta* of Vitruvius. Over these beams, at either end a light gable seems to have been erected, either of wood or slight masonry, one-third the height of the temple—too high according to Grecian taste.

Though the exterior of such a building, on account of the width between the pillars and the overhanging thick beams, must have been top-heavy, too low and too broad to be compared in majesty or grandeur with even the old Doric temple, yet it had a proportion and a charm of its own, especially as the Tuscans, with their love of pomp, spared nothing in plastic ornaments or painting, or even gilding. So much the more remarkable is it, that no traces of these remain amongst their ruins, nor amongst their innumerable works of art, which teem with every variety of Grecian ornament, triglyphs, dogs-tooth ovals, beading, &c. These are used as decorations without any rule, or any respect to their original meaning, yet they show an intimate acquaintance with the Doric and Ionic architecture. They have even columns with capitals, not unlike the Ionic and the Corinthian.

We must take this as a proof that Etruria, in

later times, allowed free entrance to the beautiful inventions of strangers, embodying them in her own art and literature, without having taste enough to adopt them, and still less to originate something yet more new and perfect from them.

It is quite certain that the Etruscans had other public buildings besides the temples of their gods, — Curiae, circuses, theatres for dancers and public shows: the last-named probably imitated from the Greek. In Rome the State erected the course for the races, levelled the ground, and constructed the *meta*. The spectators were expected to provide their own accommodations. Of the purely Tuscan circuses we have no separate descriptions. In their theatres, to judge from the remaining monuments, they closely imitated the Greeks. There are ruins of theatres in Fiesole, Adria, and Arretium, and of amphitheatres in Luna, Lucca, Florence, and Arezzo.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE PLASTIC AND DESIGNING ARTS AMONGST THE ETRUSCANS.

IN this chapter I will endeavour to combine the accounts of ancient authors in one view, casting a glance here and there upon the existing remains which show the progress of the plastic and designing arts amongst the Etruscans, without binding myself to separate between the arts and the manual profi-

ciency in it. This appears to me the fittest place in which to collect together and pass in review their works in clay, metal, and stone.

The Tuscans were skilful potters and workers in clay in the widest sense of the word. That potters were expressly included amongst the guilds of Numa shows, as Pliny remarks, that the manufactory had very early passed over to Rome, probably through the Inquilini; and yet those same wares which came direct from Etruria, whether for divine worship or for domestic use, were especially valued. The vases, or vessels from Arretium (which city Lanzi rightly names the Samos of Italy), where there were ancient brick-kilns, were not despised even under the Empire, and were sought by the common people for domestic use.* These Arretian vessels were red, chiefly of the colour which usually marks the Roman pottery, and they were not painted. There is no mention in antiquity of painting connected with Etruscan pottery, and this silence would betoken little if upon other grounds we could demonstrate that the numerous vases found in the neighbourhood of Tarquinia with black figures in the archaic

* Pliny, xxxv. 46: "Retinet hanc nobilitatem et Arretium in Italia."

Martial, xiv. 98:

"Aretina nimis ne spernas vasa, monemus:
Lautus erat Tuscis Porsena fictilibus."

I. 54:

"Sic Aretinae violant crystallina testæ."

"Aretina" sometimes stands for *testea* or *argillacea*.

Grecian style, or the numberless vases scattered through Etruria with the red figures of the later style, were of native manufacture, and need not pass for mere importations. Apart, however, from the results of local investigations, it seems most probable that the Etruscans ornamented their vessels more with plastic forms than with painting; because in the first branch of art they were far more esteemed than in the latter, which Pliny notices merely as the potter's art. The fame of the manufactories of Mutina and Hatria, for example, was founded upon the durability of their wares; and even the Surrentinian drinking vessels frequently lauded were originated undoubtedly at the time when all these places were Tuscan.* In the days of Augustus the Campanian vessels stood in the same estimation as the Arretian, yet they were mere pottery. No one in that time looked for painted vases. However such as were made in earlier days at Capua and Nola in that secondary branch of art, merely copying Grecian models, must be reckoned as Tuscan. The commencement of the Samnite domination in Campania falls about B.C. 421, and at this date there is no doubt that a very great amount of the population of Capua was Tuscan; and this is particularly evidenced by the lively commerce in Tuscan manufactures. Still, further, after the Samnite conquest, Capua continued to cherish and support the Tuscan Nola by strict amity and by a brisk trade with the Hellenes upon the coast, and also by adopting the

* Pliny, xxxv. 46.

Hellene manners; and when, through the citizens of Posidon (Pæstum), the original Greek degenerated so much into the Oscan and Etruscan manner, that the people themselves bewailed the loss of their ancient language and customs, there yet remained in Nola for a long while an orderly and industrious population closely united with the Hellenes, not indeed by speech or nationality, but by commerce and the love of arts; and these, doubtless, formed an influential element in the history of national culture.

That the Tuscan works in clay attained to a high eminence is proved, not only by the accounts of the ancients, but by their remaining statues and other works of high art. The ridge tile ornaments in Rome and in other *municipia*, which were of the very finest workmanship, and of very early date, were almost all Tuscan, and, according to Pliny,* must be regarded as in *relievo*, and we must remember that the later practice to adorn the gables with statues was not the early mode. Also the clay "antefixa," by which it seems we are to understand the ornaments at the corners of the gables, which stood over the water-leads (*gurgoyles*) at each side. These also appear to have been very richly adorned. Cato reproaches his generation for their contempt of these ancestral temple ornaments of baked clay.

Without doubt also statues of clay by Tuscan masters filled the temples of ancient Rome. We need not be surprised that little is said of them, for

* xxxv. 46.

the early Romans did not trouble themselves about art; and the later, surrounded by works of the first Grecian artists, cared nothing for former native productions. Tuscans adorned the Capitol with their plastic masterpieces. The clay statue of Jupiter in the central cellum was indeed manufactured by a Volscian, Turrianus of Fregella, apparently a scholar of the Tuscans, whom Tarquinius Priscus, or Superbus, employed. On high feast-days the face of the statue was painted with vermilion, and in his right hand he bore a clay thunderbolt. It was of importance to have a distinctive representation of the character, attire, and position, of this Jovian image, and Greek ideas seem to have influenced it considerably. But above this, upon the very apex of the front gable, there stood a clay *quadriga*, which, according to tradition, was expressly manufactured for that place in Veii, immediately after the driving away of the kings. It swelled instead of shrinking in the furnace—a miracle concerning which the Haruspices predicted eternal greatness for the city which should possess it. Upon this, the Vejentines refused to deliver it up to the Romans, but were constrained to do so by the gods. We can comprehend this *quadriga* perfectly from old Grecian works, and from examples upon coins and vases; it only seems strange that it alone should have been chosen for the ornament of the Acroterium, and that where a god might have stood, this should have been selected in preference.

Probably it was intended to indicate that Jupiter

was the first and original triumpher, more especially, if it is true, that they considered the four white horses to be sacred to Jupiter. Then may we believe that the people were pleased to see the chariot stand empty, even as the Persians were with that of Ormuzd, according to whom his stirrups sprang up to his foot.

But there must also have been statues on the roof of the temple, for this was common with Etruscan shrines, and the spacious front with its broad overhanging cornice would afford room for a whole Tuscan Olympus. Apparently there was a group, and the statue of Summanus, which alone is mentioned, and *that* accidentally, is only one of the many which once occupied this space. In later days works of a large material (bronze or stone or marble) supplied the place of these fertile images, here and elsewhere, and they must bear the blame that so few of the baked clay images of Etruscan gods have descended to us.

With works in pottery we may class also works in bronze; far more than works in marble amongst a people who did not imitate their models very exactly, and in these metallic works the Tuscans attained pre-eminent excellence. Etruria's most famous cities, Arretium, Volsinia, and others, must for centuries have been as fertile in these works as Ægina, Corinth, Athens, and other cities in Greece. Metrodorus of Skepsis reproaches the Romans, whom he hated, that they plundered Volsinia before the first Punic War, merely to obtain 2000 statues; and

from an expression of Pliny's it appears that these statues were fabricated in many parts of the civilized and populous Etruria. Hence we may safely conclude that all the bronzes in Rome of early workmanship were Etruscan. What, however, were called Etruscan statues in Pliny's time, must almost all have been images of the gods, for the historian says, that he should have believed all such statues to have represented divinities, but for the fact of the Volsinians having possessed such a prodigious quantity. Their size was very various. Horace mentions Tyrrhenian statues as precious articles of furniture. Pliny, on the other hand, describes a Tuscan statue of Apollo, in the library of the Temple of Augustus, whose height was fifty feet, and the weight and finish of which were worthy of all admiration.

The Etruscans were also skilful in the mixing and handling of metals. The native mines yielded copper, and which they loved to gild. The bronze statues, which in time were substituted for the clay ones upon the roofs, were generally gilded. Stone statues were not used, because the wooden beams would not have borne them. But so far have the names of the ablest masters of Volsinia, Arretium, and other schools, receded into shadow behind those of Polycletes and Praxiteles, that not the name of a single native Etruscan founder has reached us, unless we adopt "Veturius Mamurius" for a Tuscan, who is commemorated in the Salejan songs as the maker of the Ancilia, and to whom the brazen

image of Vertumnus in the Vicus Tuscus was ascribed. Now if we believe him to have been a real person, we must set him, not in the days of Romulus, but of Tarquin, for the tradition seems quite authentic, that Rome during the first 170 years of her existence was without images, and it was the Etruscan dominance which introduced them into the Latin shrines. That Arretium was also a great manufactory for arms agrees also with its renown in plastic fabrications.

Parallel with their skill in casting metal was their excellence in toreutic works, meaning by that term works in gold, silver, and ivory, as applied to statues. In this respect the Etruscans were so eminent, that in one branch of the art, the manufacture of articles of luxury, they scarcely ranked behind the Greeks, renowned as were Myron, and Mys, and Mentor. Perhaps the Etruscan inclination to the grotesque and the fantastic, with which their works were very early impressed, seemed most congruous to the ornamenting of a cup or a candelabrum. The ancient Attic comedian, Pherecrates, mentions Tyrrhenian lamps. No testimony as to Etruscan art can surely be stronger than that of the refined Athenian, the contemporary of Mys, Kritias the son of Kallaschras, who asserts that the Tyrrhenian cups in gold and bronze were the very best of their kind, as well as every other vessel which serves for ornament in a house; of course this includes candelabra, bowls, basins, and even arms.

The various vessels in metal of antique work-

manship, to obtain which the sepulchres of Capua were rifled in Cæsar's time, were held to be the workmanship of the Etruscans of Vulturnum.

We may understand the constant exercise of skill which was demanded from the Etruscan goldsmith, when we remember the garlands of ivy and oak leaves set with gems, the gold earrings, whose use the Romans borrowed from the Tuscans, and which they wore upon the fourth finger of the left hand, the golden bullas of the noble children, the quantities of ornaments worn by the women, the golden plates of the triumphal car, the silver breastplates of the horses, which appear to have been in common use, the silver patterns upon the procession cars, the curule chairs, which were certainly adorned with precious metals, besides ivory, and amongst which very probably we ought to reckon the throne of the Tuscan Arimnestos, which he dedicated to the shrine at Olympia: all these things give us a glimpse of the proclivity of the nation towards luxury and its proficiency in arts. We see hence that the account of a guild of goldsmiths amongst the nine instituted by Numa probably consisted of Etruscan Inquilini. It appears that one reason why the Tuscans minted so little gold or silver as a nation, was because they liked better to employ these metals upon objects of luxury, both in war and peace. How sensitive they were to the splendour of gold, we see also in the superabundant quantity of it expended upon the sarcophagi, though it may be an exaggerated expression to say, with Gori,

that the eyes of the first beholder were sometimes blinded by it!

Amongst toreutic works we must reckon the bronze gates of Veii, which Camillus wished to retain as his own booty. Many beautiful fragments still remain of Etruscan works in metal, such as the plates which in 1812 were found at Perugia of bronze and silver, richly covered by figures in the pure Etruscan style, which appear to have belonged to the apparatus of a chariot, and a whole class of monuments called mirrors, and sometimes "mystical or sacred mirrors."

Sculpture in wood or stone appears to have been much less common amongst the Tuscans, though we have some examples of it in the mention of wooden idols beside the clay ones in the early temples of Rome, all of which were the work of Italian artists, such as the Jupiter of Populonia, made from the vine. We have also antique work in Tarquinian stone at Ferentinum, besides the funeral urns (sometimes elaborately carved), in tufa or alabaster. Later, indeed, we find scarcely a trace of the old Etruscan style, which we must search out in a few tablets or *cippi* preserved in local museums. Had the art of sculpture been more in exercise, and had the Etruscans possessed more skill in the workmanship of hard stone, the marble of Luna would have been much sooner in request. We have already stated that the marble they used was the inferior stratum from Pisa. We must adduce in excuse of the Tuscan artists that even in Greece Dipœnos and Skyllis,

about the 50th Olympiad, are the earliest marble-workers named, and until the days of Scopas and Praxiteles scarcely one-tenth part of the statues of the gods and heroes were in marble. Before the sculptor in Etruria the engraver seems to have been the favourite of that ornament-loving people, for there are many precious scarabei, gems of Etruscan art in the purest style, and some of them with letters, which can only be ascribed to the earlier and more flourishing ages.

Painting had also its school in Etruria, not only for ornamenting statues and vases, but as an independent art in the form of frescoes. Pliny saw in Cære, in Ardea, and in Lanuvium, pictures, which he, following the opinions of the inexperienced Cicero, believed to be older than Rome. Of the last he says that they represented Greek characters, Atalanta and Helena. We should probably date them prior to the paintings in the tombs of Tarquinia and other neighbouring cities.

We must concede to the Tuscans also as much of encaustic painting as is needful for the use of ships. We have an allusion to it in the fitting out of Scipio's fleet from Volaterra. It is well known that in Greece and Rome ships were covered over with a preparation of wax, on which coarse patterns were drawn, thus ornamenting the vessel and preserving the wood against both the salt water and the sun. Probably Philostratus, in speaking of the many colours of a Tyrrhenian pirate vessel, had an eye to the usual brilliancy of Tuscan art.

In Greece the custom of painting a ship was of the highest antiquity, and it may have easily passed through the Tyrrhenians to the Tuscans.

After these notices of the various branches of art cultivated amongst the Tuscans, if we wish for an idea of the perfection to which they had attained upon the whole, we must fix our attention upon the epoch when their relations were most flourishing with the Greeks, as it was from that people that all the higher developments of art in Etruria took their rise.

The extensive national relations between the Greeks and Tuscans, as also the intimate communion between them through the Tyrrhenian Pelasgi, which at one time obtained, during which time the Grecian mind expressed its inner life very little in bronze or stone, could scarcely have introduced those arts amongst the Tuscans, and therefore the Etruscan art in comparison with the Greek does not appear to have been indigenous, but rather to have been an offshoot transplanted to a foreign soil. Hence the imitation of the Doric pillar in the so-called Tuscan, and the almost universal agreement in style of the antique Greeks and Tuscan statuary, above all things the employment of Greek mythology throughout Etruscan art. According to Pliny it was Corinthian artists, Eucheir and Eugramma, who brought their skill to Demaratus, in Etruria; and it must be conceded that Corinth, whose trade and colonies lay to the west, exercised a great influence upon Tarquinia, the city which, from the beginning, had

adopted the largest measure of Greek civilisation through the Tyrseni, and which, by this means, surpassed them all in splendour and riches, exercised, if not an active commerce, yet at least a friendly and frequent intercourse with the powerful and industrious Corinth. The astounding similarity of the vases with black figures found in the Tarquinian sepulchres with the works of antique Corinthian potters, give a singular weight to the historical legend, which might not otherwise have been so readily accepted. Stronger indeed and more lasting was the immediate influence of the Greeks upon the Tuscans in Campania, which began very early and continued actively, until the Samnite conquest of Capua (A.R. 332) B.C. 421. Even this conquest did not soon destroy the arts in Capua and its neighbourhood. It is probable that it lasted long, through the uninterrupted commerce between Grecian Naples and Tuscan Nola; but the connecting links of the chain, through which, in earlier times, the genuine spirit of Greek art was introduced into the Twelve States of Central Etruria, we have now lost irrecoverably.

There were Greeks from the mother country, free Greek cities on the coast of Campania, and free Tuscan cities on the same coast, besides the cities of Tuscany proper. Campanians, Faliscii, and Arretinians, were no longer the same people. They did not hang politically together; and though the bulk of them might be Tuscans, yet they formed parts of different nations. We may assume that this confederation had been broken up fifty years

earlier, because the Tuscans, certainly until the 70th Olympiad, took a lively interest in the art-culture of the Greeks, and appear to have advanced along with them, and then gradually to have become stationary. We must, however, take into consideration, that it was not all the artists nor all the schools in Greek itself, to say nothing of foreign offshoots, which made the giant strides of Athens, between the Olympiads 75 and 85, under the teaching of Phidias and his scholars and contemporaries; and we can even show that many of the associated members, fifteen years later, when Phidias accomplished his Olympic Jove, had become weak or degraded, they had evidently degenerated, and therefore beauty of composition, and light, and skilful execution, never were predominant in the sculptures of Etruria. That this was the case we know with certainty, because "Tucanica signa" betokened a peculiar style in ancient art, which could only be compared with the archaic Greeks.

Strabo classes the reliefs upon the Egyptian gateways, the Tyrrhenian, and the oldest Grecian works together, apparently because of their stiff and hard outlines. Quintilian, in his famous parallel between the progress of painting and eloquence, says that Kallon and Hegesias had produced the strongest and most finished works in Tuscan art, but that Kalamis and Myro had enriched the art itself with more fulness and flexibility. Kallon flourished, according to our most trustworthy accounts of him, from the 60th to the 65th Olympiad. The Attic

Hegesias first appeared in the 75th. These masterpieces, which can scarcely be ranked after the Eginetan statues, were imitations of the widely-spread Tuscan bronze works, but they had less freedom and vigour. Very likely, at that epoch, there might be an emulation between the Tuscan and the Greek sculptors, for the temple of Ceres, in the Circus Maximus, was built in the Tuscan style about A.R. 260 (72d Olympiad, B.C. 493); and its decoration with clay images and frescoes was, for the first time in Rome, entrusted to the Greeks, Damophilos and Gorgasos, whose art long after excited admiration.

Any man would be much mistaken who would limit the works of Etruscan artists to the time between this period and their decay; for that some of them, belonging to an earlier age, were even superior is evidenced by the Tuscan Apollo, which Pliny would not have praised so highly if it had shown less talent than the works of Kallon, and many isolated remains testify to the same effect. It is, indeed, probable that in later times, the restricted use of Tuscan art, almost to the funeral urns of Volaterra and other cities, had freed themselves from many of the faults of the old Tuscans; but there can have been no revived outburst of art over the whole of Etruria, or the term "Tuscan" would not have been appropriated to the more ancient productions. When taste and feeling for art had arisen in Rome, there was little industry of any importance existing in Etruria. Had there been all traces of it

would not so entirely have vanished. In fact, high art always appears to have been an exotic, which the soil and the climate did not bring forth, and could not sustain. It withered away when the foreign influence ceased, without having attained to its full maturity. With all their most carefully finished works, there failed to the Tuscans that inspiration of genius, that ray from heaven, which makes of art a living body, animated by a free and independent spirit.

Finally, these brief notices from antiquity can serve to sink the pillars upon which we may construct a history of art in Etruria by means of the monuments which remain, and these may teach us how much of Tuscan proficiency was original, and how much was due to that old Greek influence which adorned and ennobled it, and may show us why the taste and inclination of the Tuscans, in their choice of subjects and manner of representation, always leaned to those Greek mannerisms which had first become naturalized in their land.

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE HEROIC MYTHOLOGY OF THE TUSCANS.

THE art of sculpture leads us, through its objects, into the region of a mythology, which is not strictly connected with worship, and therefore is better here treated as an art or handicraft, from the style

of its usual exercise, than be considered as a part of religion. The religion of the Tuscans was far less mythological than that of the Greeks. It seems that they never allowed their Gods to appear upon the earth, and only granted them to show their presence through Genii, or by signs. The heroic legends appear to have been limited to the oldest cities, or to the ancestors of the most illustrious families. On the other hand, the Greek heroic mythology was early naturalized amongst them, and universally known. This may remind us how far and how early, through tradition and song, the myths of the Greeks were known to their neighbours; so that Xerxes offered sacrifices to the heroes of Ilion, the Egyptian priests related to Herodotus many of his own stories in a somewhat different version, and the wise men amongst the Persians and the Phœnicians had much to tell of Io, Medea, and Helena.

It is even stronger language, and by no means vain boasting, when Pindar affirms that there was no state or city so barbarous that it did not know the divine ancestors of Peleus, or the fame of Ajax of Telamon. All the world known to the Greeks rang with the praises of their heroes. Now Etruria was surely earlier accessible to all these tales than the foreign nations of the East, for quite, independently of their meaning and their national interest, they must have amused as mere narratives. What the Tyrrhenian Pelasgi brought over with them could only be some few fundamental propositions, for no-

body now believes that there was any participation in an extended Pelasgian mythology which served as the groundwork of Etruscan art. In what way, however, Greek myths were transplanted into Etruria is not easy to divine. It is not likely that the Tuscans should have learnt Greek and read their national ballads simply out of a thirst for knowledge. It is more credible that they should have become known through those who were settlers in Greek cities, and *vice versâ*. It is not, however, to be supposed that the song and legend would be transplanted and transmitted quite pure, the easily varied tale would submit to many alterations in a Tuscan mouth, and some additions of home imagery. A remarkable example, and one which may serve as a useful standard for critics upon Greco-Italian legends, is the following:—Theopompus tells us, that when Ulysses had landed in Ithaca, and had received intelligence of the situation of affairs with Penelope, he immediately took ship for Tyrnesia, came ashore at Cortyna, and there died. Now in Aristotle's Epigrams upon Homer's heroes, there are two named Ulysses who settled in Tyrrhenia. The grave of one of these was believed to be upon Mount Perga, near Gortyna—Gortyna is the Hellenic form of Kortona, "Kurtun"—and no other city of Etruria can be meant. But this Ulysses of Cortona was widely different from the Ulysses of Ithaca. He was indolent, surly, and morose. He must have been victor in some combat with the Tuscan fleet. His Tuscan name was Nanos, which means "a wan-

derer." This shows that Cortona had traditions about a hero of those parts named Nanos, who sailed thither and settled himself in the city, and whose adventures bore a certain resemblance to the Greek Ulysses, and therefore became confounded with them. Now let us compare this fragment out of the Greek Phoronis, "Pelasgos, the king of the Pelasgians, and Menippe, the daughter of Peneios, had a son Phrastor, who was the father of Amyntor, the father of Teutamides, the father of Nanos. Under this rule the Pelasgians were driven out by the Hellenes, and directed their vessels to the river Spina in the Ionian Sea, and seized the city of Kroton on the mainland; sallying forth thence they conquered the people called Tyrrheni." In this legend and genealogy every detail is Greek down to Nanos—for Teutamides, or Teutamias, the prince of the Pelasgi, came from Larissa in Thessaly.

Nanos is the Cortonian hero, the wandering chief who finally settled there. Hellenicos, or his predecessor in this narration, accepted the Tuscan tradition, and maintains that the Tyrrheni were Pelasgi, that they took Spina, a city near to Greece, and always friendly to it, and that out of this for their starting-point they evolved the rest of the story. So was this same chief, whom he called a prince of the Pelasgi in Larissa, confounded with the Greek hero Ulysses as one condemned to perpetual wandering, and one who had performed many wonderful voyages in their seas.

The result at which we arrive from this combi-

nation is, that the Tuscans themselves amplified the Greek mythology by engrafting upon it their own; and thus we must consider many other Greek myths, which extended themselves to Etruscan cities, not as arbitrary inventions of the Hellenes, but as probably combined with the local traditions of the Etruscans. However there are great differences amongst them, some of which shall be noted here.

Tarchon, as we have already stated, is the hero of Tarquinia (Tarchuin) and the representative of the ancient Lucumoes of the place, therefore it was he who ploughed up Tages and first received his doctrine. This native aboriginal Tuscan legend, as well as the sequence that he founded the twelve States on each side of the Apennines, justifies the claims of Tarquinia to the highest antiquity and importance amongst the Etruscan cities. The name of Tarchon was widely renowned. Lycophron speaks of him as a prince of the Tyrrheni, and he, as well as Virgil, makes him a contemporary and ally of Æneas. It is with Tarchon's name also that the Lydian legend is connected, doubtless because those Tyrrheni who had really dwelt upon the coasts of Lydia, afterwards established themselves by preference in the neighbourhood of Tarquinia. Tarchon, from Tyrrhenos, the son of Atys, was esteemed the founder of the twelve States. He is called the son, or the brother, of Tyrrhenos, and it is by no means unlikely that Tarchon, gutturally pronounced, was the Etruscan name of Tyrrhenos.

That the Etruscans during their period of civil-

isation recognised this connexion with the Lydians is not to be doubted, and their coins bear an allusion to it. Had they denied the genealogy of their Tarchon from the Lydian gods and heroes, it would scarcely have been so generally promulgated.

It is much to be regretted that Dionysius imparts to us none of the legends about the ancient Etruscan leader of the Rasenas; perhaps they would have shed a gleam of light over the perplexing relation between the aboriginal Rasena and the Tuscan Tarchon.

Similar to Tarchon and Tarquinia is the relation of Halesus to the city of Falerii, whose high walls he is said to have founded. But here, also, the transformation of the name by a people not Tuscan brings confusion into the story. We can perhaps better show in another place that the Tuscan letter θ , which has been derived from the Greek ϕ , carries with it a strong aspirate, a 'sibilus,' so that it may express H in other languages, though it is translated by the Latin F. A similar letter in some other Italian dialects, the Sabine for instance, varies between F and H, so did also the old Latin. The name of the Tuscan city must have been expressed $\phi\theta\phi\lambda\alpha\theta$, or Phalese, according to the letters out of which the Romans, by their interchange of S and R, have made Falerii for the city and Falisci for the people; but we can equally find in the sounds of the hero of the city, Halesus or Alesus. With this name also, as Silius tells us, the little port of Alsium stood in connexion.

Morrius, one of the kings of Veii, derived his descent from Halesus, and dedicated a war-dance to his memory. In the local ballads he was styled the son of Neptune, *i.e.*, a maritime genius.

Now the worship of Juno prevailed in Falerii, which, as we have above remarked, in many respects was ordered after an Argive model. It was suggestive, therefore, to connect Halesus—a hero unknown to Greek mythology—out of Argos, and to connect him with the leader of the Argives, Agamemnon, and finally to assert that Falerii was a colony from Argos, a statement which Cato apparently gives us from native records. If this is rejected as a later association, then Halesus stands alone unaccounted for, but more exact details of any Etruscan hero we cannot expect to find amongst our scanty extracts from their scattered annals.

There was an old hero of Perugia named Aucus, which name is sometimes turned into Aunus, and sometimes into Ocnus. Aunus, the son of Faunus, according to Silius, ruled over the plains of the Lake Trasymene until the arrival of the Lydian Trasymenus. This Perugian Aunus is evidently the same person with Ocnus, or Aucus, who separated himself from his father or brother Aulestes, the founder of Perugia, that they might not quarrel, and then founded the ancient capital of the twelve cities of the Po, namely, Felsina or Bononia, as also Mantua, according to the Mantuan Poet.*

* Virg. ap. Serv. ad *Æn.* X. 198. "Hunc Ocnus alii

Virgil calls him "son of the Tiber," which flows by Perugia, and this seems taken from an old tradition. His mother, the Theban Manto, is a Greek etymological myth.

Pisa and Cære were the cities of Etruria with which the Greeks had most intercourse by commerce and navigation, hence both are frequently mentioned by Lycophron. The name of Pisa, very likely altered from its Etruscan pronunciation, reminds us of Pisa in Peloponessus. And upon this is founded the tale of the Greek descent of the Pisans, as is witnessed by their interchanges. For sometimes Pelops, the founder of the Alpheian Pisa, is the founder of Etruscan Pisa also, which thereupon is assigned to Alpheios. At other times the foundation was attributed to the neighbouring Pyliern, whose kingdom extended to Alpheios, and who is called the comrade of Nestor. Here it is difficult to decide whether this is the invention of an individual writer, or whether it was a tradition current amongst the Pisans.

The most enigmatical of all the legends are those relating to Corythus at Cortona, which plays so important a part in Virgil's *Æneid*, and are assigned as a reason for *Æneas* taking refuge in Italy. Corythus, who is regarded as the hero of Cortona (*Corythi sedes*), was the father of Dardanos

Aulestis filium, alii fratrem qui Perusiam condidit, referunt, et ne cum fratre contenderet, in agro Gallico Felsinam, quæ nunc Bononia dicitur, condidisse."

Silius calls Bononia "Oeni prisca domus."

and Jason, who quitted Italy, the one for Troas and the other for Samothrace. Most of the learned are now convinced that "Corythos" was really the old Pelasgian name for Cortona, although this city was also called Cortona, Kroton, and Gortyn, and possibly may originally have belonged to a hero of Corythos; but to me it is evident that we have here nothing but a Greek legend, which has been transferred to Cortona. The Korytheer was one of the nine ancient names of Tegea, and represents a mythological hero "Korythus." Now the Tegeans associated him with Dardanos, and married the latter to Chrysa, the daughter of Pallas, and hence they naturally constructed the genealogy of Korythus and Dardanos. That the name of "Korythus" is to be found amongst the Trojans is not wonderful considering the ancient community of legends between Troy, Tegea, and Athens. Cortona was doubtless united with these; first, when the Italian legends were regarded as offshoots of the Hellenic, and the assertion that the city in Pelasgic times was called Corythus agrees exactly with this idea.

It is interesting to note how in the middle ages down to the revival of literature a similar working of the imagination took place, and new relations of Greek eponyms to the Italian cities were assumed. Who in antiquity even thought of connecting the shining Phæsole, one of the Hyades of Hesiod, with the city of Fæsulæ? But in modern times the similar sounds of Phæsole and Fæsulæ was thought to be very enlightening. The Hyades were then changed

into the daughters of Atlas, the Pleiades, and Atlas was made to travel into Italy, and to name the first city he founded after his daughter. The Italian poet Facio Uberto relates this modern fable, and adds, "As an ancient historian informs us."

I have placed these traditions together (from which many others purely Italian have arisen) in order to demonstrate that the Tuscans, supposing that no Greek colony was ever really settled amongst them, yet that they took a keen interest in Greek mythology—that Ulysses, the Argives, and the Trojan heroes were well known, and almost naturalized amongst them, and so in their artistic representations the mythological details were not the merely formal relation of a legend which they are to us. In many cases Rome drew her knowledge of Greek gods and heroes first from the Tuscans. At any rate we find that the ancient Roman Ulixes comes from Uluxe, the Tuscan transformation of Odysseus; so also Alexanter, Kassantra, Pulyxena, Culchides, all Tuscan forms, turning the soft consonants into hard, and the *o* into *u*. The Roman Polluces comes through the Tuscan Pultuke.

In the native mythology of Etruria heroic legends always occupied an inferior place. Their faith was absorbed in the gods whose wearisome and many-branched services occupied their minds. What remained over of religious thought formed to itself vague and shadowy classes of beings, like Lares and Genii, and had not the individuality and the energy of Heroes. Their popular sayings were

doubtless rich in allusions to spectral existences, such as the Mania of the Romans, or in imaginary monsters, such as the Volsinian Volta. This is surely a sufficient reason why the arts of painting and sculpture amongst the Tuscans should have found its more suitable subjects amongst the heroic tales which they learnt from the Greeks.

CHAPTER V.

ON THE POETRY, LITERATURE, AND LANGUAGE OF THE TUSCANS.

THE poetical faculty which we miss so much in the Tuscan mythology appears to have been deficient in the national mind. The Tuscan *Histrion* danced and gesticulated, but was mute, and the Tuscan tragedies of Volnius appeared not long before Varro in the literary age of Rome, and were very likely composed to keep alive a language which was rapidly dying out.

The Tuscan flute-players played and danced at sacrifices—according to Greek ideas the universal accompaniments of worship, and had not one soul-stirring or heart-inspiring song to accompany. Yet there certainly were songs in Etruria which were sung in divine worship, and which were accompanied by the flute, their sacred instrument, and the old Romans sang to the tibia. The books of Tages

also were appointed to be sung at certain ceremonies, and were written in verse. At the annual festival of Juno at Faleria, a choir of young maidens praised the goddess in native songs. The War-dancers of Veii sang songs in praise of Halessus, which were compared to the Roman hymns of the Salii. The Tuscans possessed also a sort of Liturgical poetry, which we might imagine to ourselves, from some brief extracts out of the Salian Hymns, a few lines from the Arval Brothers, and some portions of the Eugubian tablets, which contain addresses to Jove, or "Di Grabovi," and other gods—if we could only understand them better.

The last-named appear to be antiphonal and recurring forms—or at least a measured rhythm, which is characteristic of that style of poetry—whether a connexional rhythmus or peculiar simple metre dominated in the ballads of the Tuscans, we do not know. The Saturnian measure may have come to the Latins through their more civilised neighbours, and nothing forbids us to esteem it the production of its native soil. A more musical versification, however, seems not to have been possible for the Tuscans, owing to the preponderance of consonants in their language.*

But, besides this Liturgical poetry, the Etruscans had another kind to express a joyous and somewhat

* The Litany of the Eugubian tables is very remarkable. We select as an example the prayer in the sixth table to Jove Grabovi, on the sacrifice of the three oxen. It is

boisterous humour (viz. the Fescennine Verses), deriving their name from the city of Fescennium, in South Etruria. This city, however, was probably rather a seat of the original Siculi, or, according to Dionysius, of the Pelasgi, than of the pure Etruscans—Etruscan manners and speech, however, had the predominance, and the dances that we have already described show an unmistakable taste for

repeated three times; only the second time, instead of "pihaclu," we have "etru," and the third time "tertiu:"—

"Suboco Dei Grabove.

Di Grabovie tiom esu bue peracrei pihaclu ocreper fisiu to-
taper Iiovina erer nomneper erar nomneper.

Di Grabovie orer ose persei ocrem fisiem pir oriom est toteme
Iiovinem arsmor derseeor subator sent pusei neip
hereitu.

Di Grabovie persei tuer perscler vasetom est pesetom est
peretom est frosetom est daetom est tuer perscler
virseto avirseto vas est.

Di Grabovie persei mersei esu bue peracrei pihaclu pihafei.

Di Grabovie pihatu ocrem fisim pihatu totam Iiovinam.

Di Grabovie pihatu ocrer fisier totar Iovinar nome nerf arsmo
veiro pequo castruo fri pihatu futu fons pacer pase
tua ocre fisi tote Iiovine erer nomne erar nomne.

Die Grabovie salvo seritu ocrem fisim salvam seritu totam
Iiovinam.

Die Grabovie salvom seritu ocrer fisier totar Iovinar nome
nerf arsmo veiro pequo castruo friif salva seritu futu
fons pacer pase tua ocre fisi tote Iiovine erer nomne
erar nomne.

Die Grabovie tiom esu bue peracri pihaclu ocreper fisiu to-
taper Iiovina erer nomneper erar nomneper.

Die Grabovie tiom subocau."

comic amusements amongst the people. Horace deduces the Fescennine Verses from the uproarious joy of the peasants in their harvest festivals, and describes them as alternate verses, bandying an interchange of taunts and satirical jests. These responsive repartees were doubtless essential, and they were popular at all festive meetings, even in the songs upon a Roman triumph. According to the testimony of the ancients, these Fescennine satires were quite foreign to the national representations of the Tuscan Hester. It was the Roman youth who first employed both in the same games. Now, though both were naturalised in Etruria, and their suitableness was evident, yet we must believe that, in their original cradle of Fescennium, these verses were represented on the stage like the Sicilian Mimos, and that they were accompanied by dances. A work of high art could never emerge from such a narrowly restricted measure, binding together dance, music, and speech; and whilst the Greek availed himself of these accompaniments with freedom and taste, the Tuscan seems to have bounded his desires by the coarse effusions of the Fescennine rhythm. Even at bridal feasts, they were satirical and licentious (*convicia festa*). In Rome, pasquinades took their place.

When regular books of Fescennine Verses were afterwards composed in Rome, such as those by Annianus, a contemporary of Gellius, who had an estate at Falerii, and who wrote them in a peculiar measure, we must not assume that this was the rule

in Etruria, for we can scarcely attribute to that nation a poetical literature. In the proper signification of the word, "literature" of any kind must always have been very scanty, even in the days of their independence and highest prosperity. The Tuscan histories, quoted by Varro, seem first to have been written in the sixth century of Rome, about the time the Roman Annals began — though, according to another calculation, they may be 150 years older.

Their Annals, kept by the high-priest, must have been contemporary, and their religious bond was not dissolved until it was absorbed in Christianity. Amongst the earliest remains are those of the Haruspex Vegoja, from his book upon Aruns Voltumnus, of which we have a fragment in the Agrimensoral Hymn. The voluminous works upon Discipline, as we have already shown, were chiefly composed or compiled in Roman times, though portions of them may have existed in writing much earlier. The songs of Tages, in so far as they are genuine, were apparently handed down verbally by the Lucumoes, and so taught in their schools. Oral tradition is their source, but when the use of writing became common, they very much increased in bulk. Other songs used in worship we must consider in the same light.

The first writing was used, according to all probability, to register such events as we find in the Pontifical Annals of Rome, and which were inserted in their linen books, viz. prodigies, the names of magistrates, and other matters for the current year.

The Etruscans may well have preceded the Romans in these things by a century, for the Romans do not appear to have kept written annals before the middle of their third age; but the nails driven into the temple of Nortia were a more ancient mode of record still. One mainspring for a history of the written documents amongst the Etruscans must be sought in the character of the writing itself, and I will endeavour to investigate this in a subsequent section.

How far the Tuscans had cultivated their language we can only judge from the miserably few remains which have come down to us. How little can be determined from these with any certainty we have already discussed in comparing the relation of the Tuscans to the other nations of Italy. Hence we shall merely add, that their speech, both by mouth and to the ear, appears to have been far removed from the euphony of the Greeks, and less adapted to civilisation and refinement. The greatest of their monuments, the Perusian inscription, combines consonants which, according to the principles of articulation, cannot be sounded together—for instance, we have a vowel, then a mute, then an aspirate, then a liquid, and then a mute and an aspirate again—such as amefachr, lautn, tesns, epl, eple, srancxl, thunchulthl, a—combination of sounds which must have pleased the Tuscans, though we know not where to divide the syllables. On the other hand, this superfluity of consonants does not avoid the combination of many vowels. They fre-

quently added an s and an a to the end of their words, and thereby actually destroyed their grammatical forms. When Greek influence began, they dropped some of their first sounds; and if the patera painted with the visit of Hermes to Paris be indeed Tuscan, it was a useless device to substitute "Alixentros" for the more properly native "Elchsntre."

To judge from the sepulchral inscriptions, the language was never so fixed that forms, which admit a short vowel or leave it out—words which call in the aid of a liquid, and those which reject it, were not used indifferently. At any rate, we find amongst them differences which mean the same thing, such as were never admissible in the Greek and Latin languages.

From these specimens we must place the Tuscan language below the Latin, and conclude that it never was formed into a grammar with artistic rules, otherwise we should never find such variations in the inscriptions as actually exist. It cannot, however, be denied that culture and taste had an influence, even upon the language of a genuine Tuscan. They were sensible to a more agreeable accent and a greater choice of expressions, for we know that the speech of a townsman* amongst them was easily distinguished from a rustic of the country.

We are not without hints that the Perusian accent was very harsh.

* Livy, x. 4.

CHAPTER VI.

ON THE WRITING AND NUMERALS OF THE ETRUSCANS.

As our fountain-head for a history of Etruscan civilisation, and in default of other aids, we must make use of their written characters. We will first compare them with the Greeks, the Umbrians, and the Latins, and advance some inferences from their intimate connexion with these people, and then, combined with other considerations, we will draw conclusions to the degree of literary culture to which this nation had attained.

As regards the origin of the Etruscan letters, it is now certain, from our wider acquaintance with the archaic monuments of Greece: 1st, that they did not come to the Tuscans immediately from the Orient, but that they were received through the medium of the Greeks, for their alphabet contains few forms which are not also found in early Greek inscriptions;* 2dly, on the other hand, many purely Phœnician forms, which the Greeks long retained, are missing in the Etruscan alphabet, and therefore seem to have become obsolete before their transfer; and 3dly, purely Greek signs, which the Greeks added to the Phœnician alphabet, were adopted by the Tuscans. It appears, from a comparison of the Syriac-Phœnician letters upon in-

* The Tuscan *t*, *u*, *x*, *m* and *n*, are not found in Greek.

scriptions and coins with the archaic Greek and Tuscan, that a conviction is forced upon us, that the Tuscan stands in a nearer relation to the early Greek than to the Oriental forms, and that therefore the introduction of alphabetic signs into Italy was not immediate, but came through the Greeks. Of course, we must make allowance for the changes which the original Phœnician characters underwent in the course of time, and during their transmission into Europe through Ionian commerce, as is proved by existing monuments. This migration we must not regard as accomplished all at once, as if the Etruscans had received this writing at some one determined date, and had thenceforward retained their letters unaltered. Rather, we have in them a proof of long-continued alliance and sympathy, for, in many cases, where the Greeks have older and newer forms of a letter, we find both with the Etruscans; and it surely follows that, for a long series of years, the Etruscans were observant of the changes in Greek literature, and adopted them for their own benefit.

I will endeavour briefly to give my reasons for this view, and to fix the epochs within certain limits in which the current writing of Etruscans took its rise from a somewhat abnormal, but older form. For though, from the inspection of stones and bronzes with inscriptions, we may trace several epochs, yet they are distinctly divided into two classes. By far the greater number of inscriptions, especially upon the mortuary urns, belong to one

mode of writing common to the later Etruscans, as is testified by the authors themselves, and only a few monuments, gems, cippi, and bronzes, very scanty in words, are distinguishable from them by their incontrovertible archaisms. To the following comparison of some ancient Greek and Etruscan letters we must premise that the Hermes of the Pisistratides and the helmet of Hiero are selected, because they are the only inscriptions before the *Nointelschen* (Olymp. 80), whose date we can fix—the one Olymp. 63–65; the other, Olymp. 76; and therefore they are of inestimable worth for genuine palæography.

The first letter of the alphabet in Greece apparently differed little from the Phœnician, a sort of perpendicular hook with a stroke through it, from which, through intermediate forms, in some places sooner and others later, was developed the regular A, as we find it in the helmet of Hiero. The Etruscans used at first the old Greek A, like the Phœnicians, as several antique inscriptions prove, but more commonly they used a letter very like A, viz., A more rounded, of a form also found in Greece, but which became dominant in Etruria because their style of writing was more rounded. We deduce from this that the change in Greek writing took place between Olymp. 60 and 80, and from this date forward that it permanently influenced the Etruscans.

The Greek literals B, Δ, Γ, were not used by the Etruscans, because these sounds were not in their language. Therefore, the two first are never found

in Tuscan inscriptions. The ρ was adopted, but only as another form for K. In the old Greek alphabet ρ plays a singular part, for sometimes we find it as like the Phœnician, sometimes as ρ, or <, or ρ, which last is the latest. Sometimes this appears as ρ turned to the left, as on the column of Milos, and it is hard to determine which of these two is the earliest or latest. A third form is rounded like C, and this was adopted by the Etruscans, but *why* they adopted it, seeing that their sound of it was already so fully expressed by K, would be hard to define. They could scarcely intend to mark by it a difference of accent. In the mass of their inscriptions K is very seldom used, but it frequently appears in their more ancient ones, and it seems there, even as in Latin, to have been gradually supplanted.

This is a point from the solution of which we may perhaps gain some light upon the Latin alphabet. The Romans did not take their writing as a whole from the Tuscans, because they could give them no B, or D, or O, or Q, but the example of their more civilized neighbours had certainly an influence upon them. They, like the Tuscans, accepted C for K, in its third form, where it stands as a medial between B and D very inconsistently, when they felt the want of an appropriate sign for the soft consonant, in the place of which for a long while they used the C. About the time of the second Punic war, or perhaps a little earlier, they found out of it their G, and fitted it into the vacant place

of Greek Z, which they did not use, so that once more the alphabet of the Æolians, if they had not by that time lost their digamma, and that of the Latin, were brought into a certain harmony:—





A B Γ Δ E F Z H
A B C D E F G H

The Greek E, which underwent little change with that nation, remained unaltered also by the Etruscans. In their common writing it was perhaps somewhat more rounded, and underwent slight modifications occasionally.

The digamma F we find with this form common in Tuscan inscriptions, but along with this comes another (J), which was in later use with the Hellenes, and in the family sepulchres we find the same name sometimes spelt with the one form and sometimes with the other. Besides these we have a third form, apparently derived from both. Sometimes this digamma is replaced by V or r, though it is a letter of quite a different power, so that we must regard the interchange as a mistake in orthography.

The Etruscans had another literal much nearer in sound to the F, viz., 8. This we find in the names Phlafe, Phulne, Caphate, and others, and it always retains in them the same form. The feminine name Phastia or Phasti is also written with the same letter, but sometimes it is replaced by another, which appears to have been an equivalent,—a circle or square divided by a line through the centre, the Greek Φ. The family name Pherini, which appears to mean

the same under many forms, is sometimes written with 8 and sometimes with the divided circle or square. These two examples prove the identity or great similarity of the two sounds, and also that they are derived from the Greek literal Φ. In the names Amphiaraas (Amphitiare) and Perseus (Pherse) we have the circle with the stroke through.

Φ is a letter which the Greeks invented for themselves, and did not borrow from the Phœnicians. In the pillar of Melos there is an archaic PH, and that this should be so much used by the Etruscans evidences that they derived it from the Greeks. The forms of Φ which we find in ancient Greek monuments are  and , which latter is sometimes made square, and from these the Etruscans have taken  and . Out of this last again comes 8, and the square form in like manner, although another element seems here to come into play. That the oblique or slanting divided circle and the diagonal square should also express *th* must be regarded as a mistake in orthography or a variation in speech, and indicates that the pronunciation of Φ was never regulated by any fixed rules.

As regards the signs F and 8, however, they prove distinctly that the Etruscan and the Latin letters were formed from independent sources. F in name belongs to both languages, but it is synonymous with the Latin V; thus Fipi, Fulsine, Menerfa, are written Vibius, Volsienus, Minerva. Tuscan F retained the sound it had with the Orientals, expressed in Latin by V.

Latin F, on the other hand, expressed a strong and peculiar aspirate not far removed from a sibilant.

The Tuscans, who had the same uncouth sound in their speech, chose to indicate it by the Greek Φ , and kept the digamma for its original use. Consequently the Latin F is synonymous with 8, as in Phulni-Folnius, Pherini-Ferinus, Phlase-Flavius, &c. With the Etruscans the vowel V is interchanged with F, and is occasionally found between F and 8, but that 8 should ever have been translated by V, I never recollect to have found; and this because the two sounds are separated by another which comes between them. In Sabine and in old Latin we often find *ficus* instead of *hircus*, *fasena* instead of *harena*, and *f* and *h* alternating in many dialects; so in modern Romish *f* is sometimes a mere aspirate, and so also it is often impossible in Etruscan to distinguish between the sounds of 8 and H. This does not prevent the Etruscans from having had some other sign to express the simple aspirate.

The old Greek H, a square broken through, generally served to express the first sound in the names of Heracles, Hercle, Hercla, Hercole, and in the great Perusian inscription (which has a very consistent orthography) this H recurs with the same power, and always as quite a different letter from 8, with which nevertheless in the above and other examples it sounds identical. The confusion of the signs for Φ and for H is increased by this—that the

horizontally-divided square which, according to Etruscan custom, is somewhat sounded, passes easily into the Φ , and so we find it in the Eugubian tables, where 8 is substituted for the Latin F, and the digamma ν and the divided circle is used where the Latin writing has an *h*.

The Th was a very common letter with the Etruscans. They took \odot from the Greek sign, and so we find it, though in an angular form, upon the Cospian Patera. But as the point in this letter merely seems to distinguish it from the O, and the Etruscans have no O in their language, they usually expressed the *th* by \bigcirc without any point, or in its square form. In common writing we find, times without number, Larth, Arnth, Thana, written with \bigcirc , but the most ancient inscriptions are all written thus, \odot . Latinized, the aspirate was omitted, and the form of these names is Lars, Lartis, Aruns, Aruntis. Thanchufil becomes Tanaquil, and sometimes the sound is expressed by D.

The I has always this simple form in Etruscan. The broken line common in Phœnician and old Greek inscriptions did not pass into Etruria,—a proof that the alphabet had undergone a certain degree of improvement in Greece before it was transmitted to the Tuscans.

K has always been the same both with the Greeks and Etruscans, or has been very slightly modified.

L, both in the Etruscan and Phœnician alphabet,

has either an acute angular form or a line turned back, the same as that first used by the Romans, and which we see on the tomb of the Scipios. The exceptions to this are insignificant. The oldest Greek inscriptions place the oblique line sometimes on the right side, or in the corner, sometimes under, or in the middle, and sometimes above, and for this we can discover no rule; but the Etruscans could not use the last form, because with them it expressed P; they therefore restricted themselves to the angular corner.

As to the letter M, this form with the Greeks originally expressed S, and our M was figured in another shape, with an abbreviated final stroke, and this unequal figure had its root in the Phœnician alphabet. It was used in Athens in the 64th Olympiad, but by the 76th Olympiad they had adopted the present M, which we find also in the important older Elean "Rhetra." The Etruscans first appropriated to themselves this later form, only they added to it a small stroke inclining outwards, as we find it in their earliest inscriptions.

Therefore this letter is not properly Etruscan. The pillar of Melos exhibits it five times in four lines. But when this irregular form was obsolete and still M was used for S, and could not be changed, the Etruscans adopted *m* for their ordinary writing.

The same was the case with N. The Etruscans at first adopted the old Greek unsymmetrical form, and afterwards replaced it with *n*.

But sometimes the older form of the M has its small stroke prolonged, as is seen in some very ancient monuments, and this suggests that their alphabet was the work of many hands. Lanzi constantly writes Nu or Nui for words which we otherwise know began Mi.

It follows from this that the Etruscans took their first letters from the ancient Greek, and after the latter had changed that they followed them, but unwillingly and only from necessity.

O is never formed as *o* in the Etruscan words.

The Etruscans formed their P from the old Greek, although they left out the vertical line and made the cross-line somewhat more oblique, a modification they could not avoid, although they did not require to distinguish it from the gamma.

The Latins appear to have rejected the Greek P independently of the Tuscans, although it is found in some of their inscriptions, and they seem to have formed their own P from it.

The Etruscans did not adopt the koppa, although the Romans used *q*, which they formed as *Q*. The Tuscans gave the sound as *chf* or *cf*.

R in common writing has two forms, *ṙ* and *Ṙ*, which are also sometimes made angular. Lanzi finds both in early inscriptions. The ancient Greeks also sometimes used one form and sometimes another, and we cannot determine that the one belongs to an older and the other to a later age.

R is very seldom found in Etruscan inscriptions.

The Romans took it immediately from Greece, where it was used at the time of the 76th Olympiad.

S. The oldest form of the Sigma in Greece was M; yet by the 64th Olympiad we find Σ used in Athens, which long remained the reigning form, and which when dashed off shortly and with freedom might be compared to a Scythian bow with a curl at the end. With the Tuscans we find both forms in their earliest inscriptions, and sometimes both used in the same word. Nor can we even discriminate between the more frequent use of one form or the other, for in the great Perusian monument we find S used three or four times in these words, slél, tesns, tesne, cemulmlescul, enesci, masu. In all the other words without exception the form is M.

The names Aphsi, Caspre, Feltsna, Fesi, Senti, Fusine, Leskine, are written with Σ . The final *sa* in Canxasa, Curfesa, and so on, is written Σ . The final *si*, on the contrary, is written with M; and M is more generally used at the end of a word as when *Rexusa* becomes *Rexus*.

The Etruscans appear to have distinguished between the two sounds of the S, the buzzing and the hissing sound, but we cannot tell which was which.

T. I cannot at all account for the reason why the Tuscans should have given this letter the form of a cross with an oblique line, one-half of which is broken off.

V and Y the Etruscans took from the Greeks. The former is very generally used; the latter rarely.

X. By the time the Tuscans adopted this letter it had already replaced K H with the Greeks, and assumed the form of χ . Thus it was transplanted, and we never find it in any other shape.

The double consonant Ξ was indeed not in common use in Greece until after the days of Simonides and Epicharmos, but we find it as $+$ in the brass tablet of Petilia and on the coins of the Pyxoeis. It appears, therefore, to have been used the earliest in Italy. The Etruscans used it in the form of \ddagger (the simple $+$ being appropriated to T), for the Greek name Uluxe and for the Tuscan such as Canxna, Arnxle, but, like T, it was often cut off upon the right side. We also find *chs* for X, as in Elchsntre for Alexander.

The Latins took their X from a Greek form rarely used.

Ψ for Ps we scarcely find in any Etruscan inscription, but it is also one of the most modern letters of the Greeks.

Z, the long vowel, H and Ω , and the antique *schin*, are entirely wanting; the last because it was already obsolete, the second because it was superfluous, and the Z because the Etruscans had not the sound in their language.

When we endeavour out of these notices to construct a history of the Etruscan alphabet, we must remember that writing from right to left in the Oriental manner prevails in all the Etruscan monuments, whilst this fashion was so early aban-

done by the Greeks that it is difficult to find it followed out for two lines together.

The oldest Greek inscriptions carry us up to the 40th Olympiad, and, therefore, we must place the introduction of writing into Etruria somewhat earlier; and in this way we come very nearly to verify the tradition which makes Cypselos bring it with him to Tarquinia when he was driven away from his country by Demaratos, of the family of the Bacchiadae, about Olympiad 30; however the still earlier frequent and thriving commerce between the Greek and Etruscan cities makes any such fixed date unnecessary.

The first tradition brings into Italy signs for A, M, N, S, as we find them in the oldest Italian monuments, and yet these are not so very ancient but that we occasionally meet with Σ or Ξ , which were certainly not introduced into Greece until M was becoming obsolete. Then, as the communication between the States continued, the Etruscan letters followed the changes of the Greek. A, M, N, were first invented when A, M, N, were common to both, and the two last were changed when M ceased to express the sound S. But these signs first became common about the time of the Persian war, though single examples are found of them earlier. It required, however, that the change should be very general to induce the Tuscans to adopt it, and hence the probability that the sepulchral inscriptions in which these letters appear do not date earlier than

A.R. 280, *i.e.*, 473 B.C. They may, however, have replaced writing and sculpture of a much older date, as was certainly the case with some monuments which no longer show the old Tuscan style. Also the inscriptions found in Padus-lund, which belong to the ancient days of the Tuscan dominion, as also those of Volsinii, which I am inclined to ascribe to the year 488 of Rome (B.C. 265), when the city was destroyed, and which chiefly exhibit the older writing.

Towards the end of the third century of Rome the Roman letters took their rise, being before that time nearly the same as the Tuscan, as we see on the family coins and on some very ancient inscriptions. In this writing we generally find A, M, N, S, and R, which forms were used in Sicily in the 76th Olympiad.

The Romans could not acquire these forms earlier. But, on the other hand, we must not allow ourselves too great a distance from the Persian war; the D and the ancient Q appear to have been quite obsolete from that time, and the V gradually went out of use, though long retained in Athens.

The Roman alphabet, as a whole, was derived immediately from the Greeks, probably from Campania; and the Tuscans only added a letter here and there; as, for example, their < or C had the value of K.

In the order of their letters also the Romans followed the Greeks and not the Tuscans, a positive

proof that in the A.R. 300 (B.C. 453) the influence of Grecian culture was much more powerful at Rome than the Etruscan. Before this date all the Roman writing was either Greek or Tuscan; we find no earlier Latin, but the necessity for a writing of their own must have increased with the Pontifical Annals, and the Twelve Tables were certainly written in a character familiar to the people.

Upon the other nations of Italy near the Tiber, especially the Umbrians, the influence of the Tuscans was predominant.

The coins and the sepulchral inscriptions of Pup-lece are almost identical with the Tuscan. The Eugubian Tables have all their letters of the same form, excepting two. This, however, as little answers for any similarity of language as the certainty of all our alphabets being originally derived from the Phœnician implies any derivation of our tongue from theirs.

The so-called Oscan letters, as seen in the monuments of Abella, Pompeii and others, evidence by their form that they are derived from the Greek *through the Tuscans* when they ruled that country with power. The want of O in the alphabet, though not in the speech, the absence of signs for soft consonants, with the exception of B, has been already noticed. The form of the C (>), the digamma, (J), the H, and the S, are all Tuscan, particularly Φ, is constantly used in the Tuscan form of 8. F keeps its original value as in Tuscan, and in the Tables of Abella changes with V (thesafrei, for thesaurum).

8 in Oscan appears to express rather the soft aspirate *bh* than the hard; *ph* is frequently exchanged for B, as in TRI8ARA and Tribara in the same inscription, and on coins, SA8INIM for Sabini.

The R has both the Tuscan form of D and the Latin of R, with a modification in sound.

Other variations are found in the forms of A, T, and P, which last comes nearer to the Greek Π. Very remarkable is the I, with a side-stroke (†), reminding one of the Phœnician.

It does not detract from the truth of anything we have advanced that we should find the Southern Tuscans yielding in their alphabet to surrounding influences which did not touch the Motherland. It is worthy of remark that the forms M and N, which were not adopted in Etruria until later, belonged to the Oscans. From them they seem to have been taken by their neighbours not long before the time when Capua was conquered by the Samnites, and they show the close connexion which obtained between the literary culture of the Oscans and the Tuscans.

If we glance over such Etruscan inscriptions as were engraved between the 400 and the 700 of Rome, and especially during the last centuries of the national existence of the Tuscans, we shall be convinced that they were not a literary people, and especially when we compare them with the regularity, correctness, and beauty, of the Attic writing during the period of the Peloponnesian war.

A few of the Tuscan monuments are engraved

with skill and care, but as a rule we find neither the one nor the other. Different forms for the same letter are used arbitrarily in the same word; exchangeable letters, such as *r* and *F*, or *F* and *8*, stand confusingly for each other. The same name is often written differently, as *Lart* and *Larth*, *Arnt* and *Arnth*, in the same family sepulchre.

There was no system in their abbreviations, and sometimes the middle syllable, sometimes the final, is omitted; short vowels are abundantly thrown out, but without rule and according to the pronunciation of the place. The punctuation also is as irregular as possible. In the well-written Perusian inscription the words are sometimes divided by a point and sometimes not, and on the mortuary urns words are frequently torn asunder by points. They wrote without skill or method, and it is clear from their remains that up to the destruction of their freedom and nationality their chief concern was with oral tradition.

How long the Tuscan tongue and writing were in use is hard to say.

Latin inscriptions gradually supplanted them in every possible manner.

Thus we find in the sepulchres Tuscan words written with Latin letters; Latin and Tuscan forms mixed; Latin and Tuscan inscriptions used together. The right of citizenship in Etruria and the merciless desolations of Sulla may have driven out the native tongue and infused the Latin. Yet the Haruspices continued to read their "Etruscos li-

bro's" in Cicero's time. Dionysius speaks of the Etruscan as a living language in his day, and many urns with Etruscan legends show us, from the style of their decorations, that they belong to imperial times. At this period, however, the language became extinct, and even the Tuscan seers used in their rites the Tarquitian translation instead of their ancient Ritual and Fulgural Books.

I have deferred until this place reviewing their numerals, because it is still a matter of doubt whether they belong to the same system as the letters.

The Tuscan cyphers up to 100 are perfectly known from the funeral inscriptions, where they generally precede the words *aifil* (age) and *ril* (apparently years). They are the following:—*I*, *II*, *III*, *IIII* or *IA*, *Λ*, *AI*, *ΛII*, *ΛIII*, *IX*, *X*, then *XX*, *XXX*, *XXXX* or *XT*, *T*, *TX*, and so on. The inverted letter *V* is sometimes, but very rarely used. For *T*, which is sometimes angular, *T* and *↓* are very common forms; *↓* is doubtful; *↓* with *Λ* is often found on Roman family coins, and out of this they have invented the common *L*.

So far all is well ascertained; but to discover their system beyond 99, I only know of one work of art, a beautifully cut cornelian in the "Cabinet du Roi," marked with the Tuscan letters "Alcar." In this a man is seated at a table on which there are three little balls, one of which he is about to seize, whilst he holds the table with his other hand, upon which a number of signs are figured. There are the

same signs upon both tables, and they appear to be cyphers. A stands for 5, the figure next it has a stroke in the middle, apparently from accident. X stands for 10, and if we may decide further, a cross in a circle stands for a 100, an 8 for 1000. The whole seems to represent an abacus with its different variations. The interpretation of the last sign is corroborated by the Romans having often expressed 1000 by ∞ . Indeed the common $\epsilon\iota\sigma$ is nothing more than this ∞ , as the self-same figure placed vertically ⊗ frequently comes in place of the common Tuscan 8.

The Duilian column has a middle form ⊕ , the half of which is the customary sign for 500, D. The Romans used this sign until they substituted M to form their Mille, and hence the Tuscans formed their sign for 100 as they had done for 5, and 10, and 50. Even in the Latin C for centum we can detect the old Etruscan form. The first lines of a very archaic inscription given by Grüter run thus:

iae serveis contul. H-S. ⊕ . ⊕ . ⊕ . Ψ . V.
mag. X ded. H-S. S. S.
saleiu. l. p. s. leiber coeravit.

This certainly does not mean, as Scaliger reads it, "three thousand six hundred victors," but "three hundred and fifty-five sesterces," in which we easily perceive the Etruscan cyphers for 100, and for 50, slightly altered in form by the transcriber.

If this is granted it follows that the higher cyphers, which are only modifications of the fore-

going, belong also to the Tuscan system. This relates to the signs $\text{cc}\iota\sigma\sigma$ for 10,000 and $\text{ccc}\iota\sigma\sigma\sigma$ for 100,000, which signs in an older form, as seen upon the Duilian column, are expressed by an elliptical, somewhat abbreviated figure. A Latin inscription of Nepete, given us by Grüter, which contains the number of 15,000 sesterces, gives the cyphers in an upright form, which is probably the genuine Etruscan still lingering in the land, at any rate they cannot be any different.

Now if we compare these signs up to 1000 (for the higher numbers are all formed out of the 1000), we shall trace their similarity to the letters of the alphabet, and also an endeavour to make them somewhat different. Thus the sign \vee for 5, + for 10, \downarrow for 50, \bigcirc for 100, 8 for 1000, vary very intentionally, whilst the rarer forms for 10 and 50 are exactly the same as the letters. From this it appears to me that the cyphers have originally been formed from the letters, and have only been varied to avoid confusion.

Now there are only two ways in which letters can be used as cyphers. We must either let the letters indicate the number, according to their place in the alphabet, or we must take those whose names have the same beginning.

We cannot here assume the first, because \downarrow cannot be so far separated from \bigcirc and from 8. We are, therefore, driven to the second, which cannot at present be proved, because we do not know a single Etruscan name for a numeral, but perhaps in the

future, when the mortuary urns shall be better read, we may arrive at a greater certainty.

CHAPTER VII.

ON THE KALENDAR AND COMPUTATION OF TIME BY THE TUSCANS.

THIS chapter shall contain what we know of the Tuscan distribution of time, as divided into days, months, and years; of their Civil Kalendar, and of their religious doctrines about men, nations, and the universe.

The beginning of the day, which the Persians and Babylonians fixed at sunrise, the Athenians and many other people at sunset, the Roman Augural Discipline and civil reckoning at midnight, the Etruscans at midday, when the sun was in the zenith.

In this the Umbrians followed them, and seem to have remained more faithful to the rule than the Tuscans themselves. The regulation befits a people who strive after a constant and stationary division, for when the sun is in the zenith the shadow is always shortest and does not vary with the season of the year.

That the Tuscan months were lunar months is evident from this, that the calculation of the Ides and of the Kalends, which was certainly made by lunar months, was derived from them. Varro and Macrobius tell us that the Tuscans wrote Itis or

Itus for Ides, which is so much the more credible that the hard consonants lengthen out their words. The word itself came to bear different meanings. Some made it imply trust in Jupiter, because the day was sacred to Jupiter. Others refer it to the victim sheep, which in Etruria and Rome was on that day offered to the chief god, a derivation which seems very far fetched; or it may come from "idure," to divide, which word is also Tuscan.

The last derivation is surely the correct one — it was a Tuscan or rather an Italian root, whence come "dividere," "vidua," and many other similar words. The Tuscans called the time of full moon "the division," even as the Greeks, διχομηνία. But that the period of full moon was in Etruria sacred to Jupiter, *i.e.* the Ides, we know with certainty, and herein the Romans followed the Tuscans. That the Kalends, which were sacred to Juno, should agree with this in so serviceable a manner, justifies us in ascribing them to the Tuscans also.

Equally certain is it that the ordering of the Nundinæ or Nonæ, or eight-day week, was Tuscan. On one day in each such week the kings of the Tuscans were accessible to every one for counsel and justice. It was a market-day and devoted to business. Servius Tullius, the Tuscan prince, imported this ninth day, this Nundine into Rome, he having been born upon a nundine or none; on the Ides a ram was sacrificed to Jupiter. Now it can admit of no doubt that the arrangement of the Nundines was made in a fixed and thorough agreement

with the lunar months, although in the later Roman Kalendar the Nundines were as independent of the months as our weeks. Why was the ninth day from the Ides made a period from which other days were to be reckoned, unless to distinguish it as a Nundine?

Numerous traditions point to this argument, which was first altered after the times of the kings leaving the ancient Nundine character to the Nones. The Pontiff proclaimed the Kalendar, announcing how many days it wanted to the Nones, that the country population might know when they were to assemble in the city. On the Nones itself the sacrificing priest proclaimed the festivals of the ensuing month. It is plain that on these occasions a Nundine meeting was held. In Etruria the whole month was divided by these Nones, so that they not only reckoned backwards, but forwards from them. Hence we deduce that the termination *'atrus*, which signifies the day after the Ides, belongs to the Tuscan language. The day before the Ides indicates, if we substitute a Latin for the unknown Tuscan word of number, a pre-Nonatrus. But lunar months, such as the Tuscans had, if they consisted of eight-day weeks, must have been divided into twenty-four or thirty-two days. Every month must have extended beyond the three weeks, and of the duration of this time the country people (who in Etruria were strictly separated from the townspeople) required to be publicly informed that they might observe the Nundines at the right date. Apparently this was so

ordered that, after the Ides of the full moon, two regular Nundines were held, of which the second must fall on the first or second day of the new moon at the conjunction of the sun and moon. On the morning of this Nundine the Lucumo, whose duty it was, stepped forth and announced in how many days of the next Nundine the Nones would fall, whilst he deducted the time which must elapse before the next full moon, judging from the appearance of the lunar crescent, or perhaps from the easily ascertained length of the lunar month, and took from it eight days. Hence, according to Varro, sprang the Roman Kalends, concerning which the Pontiff cried, "*Quinque or septem dies te kalo Juno novella*," and this custom as to Juno I also hold to be Tuscan. The Kalends thus proclaimed must, when they fall into the second Nundine after the Ides, have occurred within sixteen days after, and this appears to have been a law of the Annual Kalendar. The second half of the month being once for all settled, the first half must have been specified also.

In how far the Roman rule that every month should consist of twenty-nine or thirty-one days rested upon a Tuscan foundation, I do not venture to determine; but whatever length the month was made, the number of days over twenty-four must have been repeated on every day of proclamation. It appears to me that this dividing of the month and arrangement of civil business together give a greater unity and purpose to the whole society,

especially under an aristocracy like the Tuscan or the Roman, where the populace could do nothing without the counsel and direction of their superiors. Even the labours of the field it seems that Tages intrusted to the intelligence of his favoured disciples.

Ides, Kalends, and Nones, were religious institutions, although not withdrawn from the service of ordinary life, and especially when they became partly Nundines. The Kalends or Nones which followed the Ides were reckoned unlucky by the Tuscans—"atri dies"—at least a Tuscan Haruspex, L. Aquilius, B.C. 387, obtained an acknowledgment from the Roman Senate that they were such. The Dies, *nefasti*, *religiosi*, *atri*, and many others of the Romans, must be traced to this source; but how many it is difficult to say.

It was easy for the Tuscans to keep their Kalendar in agreement with the moon, seeing that they had the length of the month always in their hands, but how they solved the problem of making a lunar year agree with a solar one no author has informed us. The acute hypothesis which makes their cycle of 110 years consist of ten-month years of 304 days each, I dare not reject, because the duration of many Tuscan and Roman truces agrees remarkably with it, and seems to point to a ten-months' year in common use.

It is deeply to be regretted that we have no better or more circumstantial description of the driving of the annual nail into the Temple at Vol-

sinii, for this would have explained to us the Etruscan cycle. The annalist Cincius saw it, and he says that it marked the number of the year. The custom had passed over into Rome, and was bound up with the service of the Capitol. Here was to be read, on the right-hand wall of the shrine of Jupiter which separated it from the shrine of Minerva, a decree, in antique speech and character, that the chief magistrate (*prætor maximus*) should strike in a nail every year at the Ides of September, and it appears that it was to be in that wall. That it was to happen in September seems to imply that the Tuscan year either began or concluded in this month.

Originally this festival was annual in Rome as well as in Etruria, but gradually a supreme magistrate was only named for great emergencies.

For the regular observance of such a rule the Romans must every year have created a Dictator, but they contented themselves gradually with only doing this when startling prodigies reminded them that they had neglected their religious duties. As to the manner of the thing we trace in it a rude kind of numeration which maintained itself many centuries in the land, although I believe that the Tuscans invested it with a much higher meaning. Certainly the striking in of a nail symbolized throughout Italy an unalterable law like Fate. Hence the Fortuna of Antium had a nail for her attribute. Hence Horace gives to the Genius of Necessity large nails in her hands, and tools to fasten them with.

Hence we find the Fate Atropos (spelt *Athrpa*) upon an Etruscan patera foreshadowing the inevitable death of Meleager (*Meliacr*) through the piercing of a nail. The pin which the wronged virgin holds in her left hand and is striking into the wall is certainly a nail, as is further proved by the hammer in her right hand. But this "*Athrpa*" is nothing more than a Hellenized form of *Nortia*, which she very fairly represents; and this *Nortia* was in the great festival of the "*clavus annalis*" represented as leading the irresistible course of the year, and conducting one after another into annihilation.

But as the year was a circle of life and destruction to the vegetable world, the Etruscans sought for a wider period which should embrace a circle of human life; and this search, according to the Ritual books, was the origin of their *Sæculum*. The *Sæculum* was to equal the longest duration of man's life, or rather it was to conclude with the death of him who had outlived all those who were born at its beginning. Therefore the Secular Games in Rome were sacred to the worship of *Ditis* and *Proserpina* (alias *Mantus* and *Mania*) celebrated in Mount *Terentus*, and hence called "*Ludi Terentini*." They were celebrated when the last man of the *Sæculum* was laid in the tomb, and death was supposed to reign over the whole of that generation. Now the Tuscans knew that it was impossible for them to ascertain this longest life by their own experience and observation, therefore they made it a matter of faith that the gods would make known to

their favoured votaries the termination of each *Sæculum* by particular signs. These signs (portents) the Tuscans recorded in their books with religious care; and in the Tuscan histories, which, according to *Varro*, were written in the eighth *Sæculum*, the length of the already elapsed seven *Sæcula* amounted to 781 years, some of them numbering 105 and some 123 years: whence we perceive that the original idea of the *Sæculum* was not that of the century. In each of these their peculiar portents were described. These *Sæcula* were regarded as having reference to the age of the nation as well as the individual, and the tradition was that the gods had granted ten to the "*nomen Etruscum*." Other nations having other appointed numbers, the precise commencement of this era was naturally shrouded in myths. I believe it dates from the appearance of *Tages* and the founding of the twelve cities by *Tarchon*. It may, however, be that it was counted from the first nail struck into the temple of *Nortia*, and that ceremony probably long preceded the introduction of writing. It is important to history to ascertain as nearly as possible the beginning of the Tuscan era, even if we do not believe the *Haruspices* about the "*Etruscum nomen*." The nails themselves merely evidenced a number. What more they might mean we can only learn from popular sayings and priestly traditions.

It appears to me that we possess another date from which to trace the commencement and termination of the Etruscan *Sæcula*. The Emperor *Augustus*

relates* that, on the appearance of the comet which shone upon the funeral procession of Julius Cæsar in the A.R. 708 (whose orbit Halley calculates at 575 years), the Haruspex Vulcatius proclaimed in the public assembly that the star denoted the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth Sæculum; that he revealed this contrary to the will of the gods, and that he must die immediately after.

Now the Haruspices concerned themselves also with the Sæcula of Rome, and accorded to it twelve of them, as foreshown by the twelve vultures of Romulus; but Rome could not according to any reckoning be at the end of its ninth, not even if, with Ennius, we restrict them to seventy years (*septingenti anni*). We must hold it established that the Etruscan Haruspex was speaking of the chronology of his own nation; and if we reckon the eighth and ninth Sæcula at the average sum of 220 years, the prophesied termination would fall about the A.R. 850. Some Tuscan histories which were written about the middle of the eighth Sæculum, coincide with the A.R. 560 (B.C. 193). Contemporaneous also we find a fragment of a Tuscan Haruspex and Agrimensor "Vegoja," which is preserved in a collection of the "Auctores finium regundorum." He says there exist "men who through covetousness have craftily broken and removed from their places boundary stones which had stood there for 800 years."

Now it is difficult to imagine how this an-

* See Servius, Ecl. ix. 47.

nouncement of Vulcatius, which is preserved to us by Plutarch, can have been grounded upon any other principle than the Etruscan computation of time. Before the outbreak of the Civil War under Sulla in B.C. 89, when many prodigies terrified the Roman world, the Sages amongst the Tuscans predicted the advent of another race, and that the sign, the blast of a trumpet in a still clear air, would betoken an overthrow of the present state of things. For there were eight races of men, differing from each other in manners and customs, but to each a fixed time was given, which, "by the will of the Gods, would be fulfilled in their Cyclical Year. And when the course of one such was ended and another begun, a wonderful sign would appear either in heaven or upon earth. From this it would be clear to those who observed and could learn, that a new race was born into the world, differing from them in their modes of life and thought, and who would be more or less dear to the powers above, than those who had preceded them. For, as everything would change with the change of race, so would their prophesying augury, which had been held in honour, whilst the Gods sent clear and distinct omens; but this art would be despised by a new race, who trusted more to blind counsels, and sought to penetrate the future by weak and obscure means."

It is plain that the whole of this doctrine is derived from the eight-day week of the Tuscans, so that each race has its day; but it is more obscure in

what relation these days stand to the age of each nation.

That the races should typify Sæcula cannot be accepted, for one reason, that in character they cannot differ from each other, and because, if the announcement of Vulcatius, in B.C. 45, was true, the end of a Sæculum could not occur in B.C. 89, and the terms γένος (race) is never used for Sæculum. Some are of opinion that the eight races apply to the age of nations, and to the termination of the Etruscan period, more particularly because the sound of the trumpet is named, which was their national instrument, and would naturally be supposed to foretell their extinction.

Against this we have the silence of Plutarch and the still more significant declaration of Vulcatius, besides the great improbability that the Tuscans should have measured other nations and other ages by their existence, so as to predict that one should come to an end and another rise in its place, and yet not to perceive how to bring it into accordance with their experience. Hence it appears expedient to separate between the Sæcula of a nation and its centuries, so that they should not necessarily begin and end together. The flourishing times of the Etruscan nation must be referred to a much earlier period, when the divination of the Haruspices was universally believed in, and held in honour. But in the ninth Sæculum another age of the world began, in which divination sank into disrepute, even as the nation dwindled away. We must

compare with this the doctrine of the Ritual books, that, after a man's eighty-fourth year (therefore long before the close of his sæculum), no more tokens could be granted him, and there was no propitiation possible to turn away the divine wrath from him.

I will conclude with the mention of another sacred calculation of time, naturalised in Rome, though of a foreign origin. We know from Virgil that the Sybilline books spoke of an ἀποκατάστασις, in which a certain number of ages followed each other, always becoming worse in succession, but after the currency of the last and worst, the orders began over again, and Apollo, who was the god of the first, again resumed his sceptre. These ages are nine. The tenth begins the new course, and it is in allusion to this that Juvenal speaks of the ninth age as the worst. These ideas are foreign to the Etruscans: their world week—or perhaps even some longer period—agrees well with the extinction of those mortal divinities, the Consentes.

CHAPTER VIII.

ON THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE ETRUSCANS AND THEIR GENERAL CULTURE.

THE question whether the Tuscans were scientific can be answered both in the affirmative and in the negative. Science, in our sense of the word, is not so old in the world as we are inclined to believe,

judging of former centuries by our own time. Whatever was practically useful we find prominent in the life of ancient nations, more compact, better regulated, and adapted to more uses than with us. It is the same with what regards the ideal — acts of faith or of divine worship. Both require a great deal of varied knowledge, and yet all the time the essence of intellectual progress. The love of learning for itself may not be there. This appears to have been the case with the Tuscans on the whole, although much experience, observation, and knowledge show themselves in their religious discipline as well as in their industrial and classical arts.

In all of these the maxims of men had more weight than the study of nature, but these maxims were the fruit of an acute penetration, which stood the test of learning.

Besides which, it is not to be denied that offices were connected with their religious discipline which exacted the study of nature; and one proof of this is, that the Romans endeavoured to transplant from them the "Aquaëlicium," or knowledge of the laws of water.

But it may appear that the Tuscan aquaëlicium was only a superstitious custom, like the "Elicia sacra" of the Fulguratores, and that the real science which improved the nature of the soil by drainage and irrigation, had quite another origin.

That custom belongs to the "manalis lapis," which was the name of a stone drawn from the top of the Mundus, and laid before the Capenian Gate of the

Temple of Mars, and was afterwards drawn towards the city to ward off drought. So called also were other cylindrical stones, which were dragged to the Granines to attract rain, a ceremony named "lapides manales verrere," which was commanded in the books of Tages, and also formed part of their discipline.

These all pertained to the Aquaëlicium and were connected with sacrifices to Jupiter, the rain-god. Varro's Tuscan Aquilex, therefore, who caused waters to spring forth, must be regarded in the same light as a physician who tapped a patient for the dropsy, and not as a mere conjuror; and so we must confess that here superstition and a useful art worked hand in hand.

Whenever an Aquilex is mentioned in Roman history, it means a Tuscan who is a discoverer of subterranean waters (for which they had many signs and rules), and whenever the construction of artificial wells is described, it means the same.

It was through this genuinely Italian art that Paulus Emilius discovered the sources on Olympus, and saved his perishing army.

This art was of the greatest importance wherever the lands were not well watered in Italy or Greece. It was studied with the utmost zeal, and maintained its reputation until late in the Imperial times, during which the Aquilices, Aquileges, or Aquilegi, of inscriptions, fixed the localities in which wells were to be excavated — this alone requiring a considerable knowledge of mechanics.

They formed a Guild apart, and were probably connected with the Agrimensores.

How far the art of the water-finders was indigenous to the Tuscans, and how far they were influenced by Greek natural philosophy, we cannot determine; but it is certain that the Tuscans had an art peculiar to themselves, both for attracting fire from above and water from below. They also very early sought out their mineral and warm-water spas, although the land so abounds in them that they were scarcely worth any trouble. In the Roman times, Pisa, Vetulonia, Populonia, Volaterra, Clusium, and especially Cære, all had baths (Thermæ) either still or vapour.

For the rest, the Tuscan seems to be indebted to the fable of the Kirkes for the medical fame in which they were held by the Greeks, whose sons Hesiod calls Princes of Tyrrhenia. Kirkes, in old Greek traditions, belonged to a race who were devoted to the arts of healing and to enchantment. Then out of the remote part, in which their era took its rise, this legend was transferred to the Italian coasts, and the fame of their art was also attached to the story of the more ancient rulers. It is probably on this account that Eschylus calls the Tyrrhenians a nation addicted to the arts of healing. It is well known how far mythical ideas influenced their ethnography, and even sometimes their natural history. Amongst the Romans I cannot find a single trace of an Etruscan physician.

At least, we shall expect to find in Etruria a

native development of philosophy, unless we choose to call their speculative and yet utilitarian doctrines about Genii and Lares a priestly philosophy, and with Seneca assert that even all their maxims about lightning are grounded upon the researches of the Stoics. It is certainly not to be denied that, in the days when Pythagoras flourished in Magna Grecia, and began to spread abroad his ideas, they extended through the greater part of Italy—(in Rome he was always esteemed the wisest of the Greeks)—and most particularly so in Tuscany.

An Etruscan Pythagorean, Nausithoos (the name indeed is suppositious) ransomed a Messenian of the same school (Eubulos), from the pirates: that Pythagoras should himself have been called a Tyrrhenian does not prove him to have been a Tuscan, but it shows that the authors of antiquity knew that he came from some island in the north of the Ægean Sea. Now, in early times, these islands were inhabited by Tyrrhene Pelasgi, who may actually have passed over into Samos; and it is most likely that the native inhabitants of Samothrace contracted marriages with them: from one such marriage, I suppose, Pythagoras to have been descended. This would best harmonise all our various traditions as to this enigmatical man, even the assertion that he was descended from Phliasirn, the Argonaut, who may actually have passed into Samos.

According to the various notices which we have now combined, we can form a good idea of the

education which was given to a young Etruscan of noble birth.

He was not exercised in gymnastics and music, like the Greeks, for these arts were held to belong to the professional class, and were not cultivated as parts of education. And yet many Greek customs must have passed over to those schools of Etruria in which the Roman youth of the earlier ages were brought up. Writing and reading were taught. Arithmetic was necessary to a commercial people; and with this a system of weights and coins stands in near connexion. But their principal point was the knowledge of their religious ritual and discipline, the groundwork of which was laid in the young boys' schools through the songs and books of Tages, which they were made to repeat. The special schools of the Haruspices imparted to them a more exact knowledge. That the Romans derived from them much acquaintance with this art is not to be doubted, but it does not appear that any of the Roman cities required by law that their youth should be instructed in the Etruscan discipline.

These are the notices about the individual branches of Etruscan culture and mental activity, which I have been able to deduce from within the limits of information which I have prescribed to myself. Perhaps more fortunate discoveries, and a more enlightened decipherment of the monumental inscriptions, particularly a more comprehensive treatment of their existing works of art, or perhaps merely a more acute combination of the facts we

possess, may considerably enlarge this sphere of knowledge, and will clear away many obscurities which, consciously or unconsciously, I have brought forward. But that which up to the present time we do know of the Etruscans, helps us very little to ascertain their true place in history. We see in them a race apparently isolated in Italy, which, allowing that it did belong to the Grecian stock (and this is the opinion of Niebuhr), yet was certainly a very remote offshoot; and yet it undeniably preserved traces of its original culture.

The nation has been from all time an agricultural and city-building nation, full of industry and activity, managing its arable land, full of talent and skill in all the arts of life. From their ordinary habits we find reason for believing in their external power, and seldom-disturbed domestic polity. In their maintenance of pomp and strictness of order, we see admirable arrangements for their strong aristocratic government. With this practical sense was combined a religious creed from the earliest times, which, by arming the nobility with the prestige of the priesthood, invested them with a solemnity and an earnest importance, which belonged to the character of the race, and which they continued to develope and to propagate.

Those primeval fancies, out of whose mysterious promptings other nations have formed their belief of divine things, were here forced to confine themselves within narrower limits. They were formed into an artificial and consistent system, in which an account

was given of the origin of man and of his ultimate destiny. Gods and men were united in one polity, and a covenant was established between them, in virtue of which the Gods were bound to warn and guide men, but the strongest desires of men were to be subject to them. Out of the idea of this interchange, especially with the priestly aristocracy, there was formed a regulation of public and daily life, which penetrated even invisible objects and invested them with important consequences. They evidence a people striving after what is positive, and believing that on the whole all things were ordered for the best. Through the strength which order gives, this people was mighty, and ruled for some centuries the richest and fairest portion of Italy. They developed their industrial talents, and carried on an extensive commerce in every direction, by which they heightened and increased the enjoyments of life.

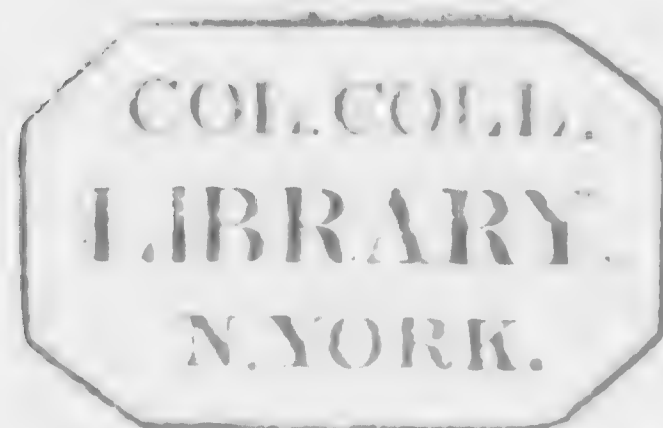
At the same time, this people, through the partial degree of their original culture, and because they could not, like the Egyptians, exclude all others, was always deeply under the influence of those nations which were more advanced than themselves, especially the Greeks. A colony of Greeks, in very early times, came swarming over to them from the coasts of Asia Minor, through whom their music for war or sacrifice, shipbuilding and piracy, and probably other arts and customs, soon became native. The military discipline and arming of the soldiers, as they were practised in Greece in post-Trojan

times, were also established in Etruria. The aristocracy adorned their houses and persons with the production of Grecian art, as well as with such luxuries of the Orient as commerce brought to them; and, above all, they esteemed those arts which they could turn to the glorification of their native gods. In many ways Grecian proverbs, legends, arts, and sciences, passed into Etruria, and were often naturalised and combined with passing events, without being developed, as with a more imaginative race, into anything fresh and new. In all their arts it was more the external than the ideal which they showed forth. They were wanting in the inner agreement of an object with its representation, and again in any unity of the different representations with each other, which the creation of any original invention would certainly have produced.

But, from naturalising much of foreign art culture, the Etruscans were early withheld by internal decay. Very soon their superfluity of property degenerated into luxury; they required increasingly to be ministered to by foreigners, because their arts were not home-born, but imported from without; and because, when they were pressed on all sides by the Gauls, the Samnites, and the Romans, they found themselves as a nation weakened and broken up. Art withered like a solitary cut-off branch, and in the Roman times only maintained itself in some technical manufactures, whilst their native discipline, on the contrary, continued, though dege-

nerated, until the time when the national worship of whole Roman world was overthrown. In so far, however, as their ancient spirit imbued the civil polity of the Romans, and influenced their daily life, we may say that, in a remote and inductive manner, they are influencing our own even now. So generally is the one strictly primeval, the original and the national, also the most durable.

*Bolsover Castle,
23d July, 1867, L.D.*



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